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Modern
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

from the Revolution in 1688,

— TO THE —

General Congress at Vienna, 1815:

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The French Revolution,

WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL;

The Campaign

IN RUSSIA, &c:

Exhibiting a Complete

HISTORY OF THE WARS OF EUROPE

BY HEWSON CLARKE, Esq.R

Of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

Landing of the Allied Sovereigns at Dover June 1814

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MODERN
HISTORY of ENGLAND,

WITH A

Continuation to Hume,

From 1688 to the Present Period, forming a Third Volume,

BY

HEWSON CLARKE, ESQ.
Of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

(Vol. III.)

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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

From the Revolution in 1688.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

[1689 to 1691.]

Accession of William—The Convention converted into a Parliament—Discontents in Scotland—James arrives in Ireland—Siege of Londonderry—Battle of the Boyne—Inglorious Conflict between the English and French fleets—Exploits of Marlborough in Ireland—Conspiracies in London—Proceedings of Ginckle in Ireland—Affairs abroad—Cruel treatment of Macdonald.

THE flight of James, and the establishment of William on the throne of England, impress the reflecting reader with admiration and gratitude for the dispensations of that providence, which converts even the vices and infirmities of individuals to the purposes of general felicity, and deduces from a train of circumstances, apparently unpropitious to the wishes of the good, and to the progress of national happiness and freedom, the most important and most favourable results. It is to that very intemperance of spirit and that bigotry of principle which threatened our religion with continued persecution, and our liberties with extinction, that we are indebted for the establishment of our constitution on a durable basis, and for the perfect and rational enjoyment of our rights as members of one great and free community.

WILLIAM began his reign by issuing a proclamation, continuing in office all protestants who had been in place on the first of the preceding December; and on the 17th of the month he formed a privy council, consisting chiefly of such persons as had been most active in raising him to the throne. To facilitate the introduction of his friends, the several boards and the chancery itself were put into commission. The earl of Nottingham, who had so violently opposed the elevation of William, and the earl of Shrewsbury, who had adhered to his views, were made secretaries of state. The marquis of Halifax and the earl of Danby, though rivals in policy, were admitted into the cabinet; the former as lord privy seal, the latter as president of the council. Among the Dutch friends of William, Bentinck his favourite was made privy purse, groom of the stole, and privy counsellor; Auverquerque was appointed master of the

horse; Zuylistein received the office of master of the robes, and Schomberg was placed at the head of the ordnance. Burnet, who had contributed by his intrigues to the success of William's designs, was nominated, in spite of the opposition of Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury, to the diocese of Salisbury. The whigs were selected as the peculiar objects of favour and preferment; an indication of partiality which excited in the breasts of the opposite party the most uncontrolable feelings of resentment and suspicion.

The privy council, having determined that the present convention might be legally converted into a parliament, the king went in procession to the house of peers, with the usual state of a sovereign; and in a speech to the two houses from the throne, expressed his sensibility to their kindness, recommended to their care the perilous situation of Holland, descanted upon the necessity of a well-defined and stable settlement at home, and represented the dangers which threatened Ireland. He observed that it rested with them alone to adopt those measures, which promised the most effectually to preclude delays, and to attain that first and greatest object of their anxiety and his own, the prosperity and happiness of the nation.

A bill was immediately brought in to prevent all questions and disputes concerning the assembling and sitting of the existing parliament; it was read twice, unimpeded by formal opposition, and passed the next day. In a committee, however, of their whole house, the commons were agitated by a violent debate, whether a king, elected by coming to and consulting with the lords and commons, did not constitute as complete a parliament, as if such king had ordered new elections to be made by writs. Afraid of the inconvenience of re-elections, and convinced of the necessity of expedition, the majority of the house decided the question in the affirmative, but on the bill which had been passed by the house of lords being brought down to the commons, it experienced considerable opposition. Its opponents having declared in the course of the debate, that they would give no countenance, by taking their seats, to an illegal parliament, and influenced by a real conviction, that the formation of the parliament was inconsistent with constitutional principles, or by a secret wish to evade the oaths of allegiance to their new sovereign, they retired into the country.

Having determined that the revenue of the late king expired with his power, and after many indications of a disposition to withhold the grant of a permanent establishment, so long as their reluctance might lead their sovereign to concessions, which they had neglected to demand, at a more propitious opportunity, they resolved, that the propriety of granting a revenue to the king and queen, should be taken into consideration. In the midst of their discussions, a message was received from the king, in which he acquainted the house, that Ireland was threatened with an invasion conducted by the late monarch, and four hundred and twenty thousand pounds were therefore voted to be levied by a monthly assessment; a sum as inadequate to the service of the kingdom, as beneath the expectations of William.

The party averse to the government of the new monarch, who rejected the notion of a king de facto, and all other distinctions and limitations, who contended for the absolute power, and the hereditary and indefeasible right of sovereigns, and were denominated *Nonjurors*, had already engaged in secret intrigues, or open hostilities against the stability of government. Notwithstanding the complacency of the commons, who waited upon him in a body with an offer of their lives and fortunes, and the suspension at his request of the act of *habeas corpus*, the situation of William was neither secure nor enviable. His prejudices in favour of the Calvinists, excited the jealousy and the resentment of the people, and the secret or open opposition of the most powerful members of the church, the senate and the bar. He was foiled in his endeavour to abolish the sacramental test; and his declaration on the 16th of March, in the house of lords, that he was anxious to admit *all* protestants into the public service, exasperated the adherents of the church, and awakened the vigilance of its legislative advocates. To that part of the oath in which the king swears to maintain the protestant religion, the church party subjoined the words, "as established by law;" an artifice which appeared to exclude the dissenters from his protection, and which equally offended the king and disconcerted the ministry.

PERCEIVING the discontents of the army, William resolved to transport to Holland the regiments whose spirit appeared most dangerous. The states had demanded their own troops, but the king was not willing to part with soldiers on whose fidelity he could rely; and the royal Scotch regiment of horse, with Dumbarton's regiment of foot, the command of which had been conferred on count Schomberg, were ordered to Ipswich to embark for Holland, in order to replace the Dutch battalions, that William determined to keep in England. The horse having almost totally deserted, they were followed in a body by five hundred foot, headed by five captains, and directed their march in triumph towards Scotland. William, after sending a message on the subject to the two houses, dispatched under the command of Ginckle three regiments of Dutch dragoons, in pursuit of the deserters. Discouraged by the treachery or cowardice of other troops, who had promised to support them, the mutineers surrendered to Ginckle at discretion. They were brought back with every mark of disgrace, and as an appropriate punishment, sent to Holland according to their former destination.

AFTER vainly exerting his regal influence, to oppose the progress of the bill respecting the coronation oath, in which it was prescribed, that the monarch should swear to maintain the protestant religion, as established by law, a clause which, as I have before observed, was apparently introduced with the intention of excluding the dissenters from his protection; his attention was diverted from objects of more immediate anxiety, by the fortunate concurrence of events in Scotland. Notwithstanding the lenity and moderation which had characterised the conduct of James towards the Scottish people, the injudicious choice of his servants had excited their jealousy, and enflamed their prejudices. The declarations of the prince of Orange were circulated by means of Scottish refugees, who, influenced by the expedience of paying court to a prince apparently destined to ascend the English throne, had taken up their residence in Holland: the religious tenets of the king, who was an enthusiastic Calvinist, extended his popularity throughout every rank of the Scottish nation; and the persons who composed the regency, already hated and despised, were weakened by reciprocal quarrels. The marquis of Athol assembled the council, and proposed a warm address to the prince of Orange, which was rejected for one more moderate. Disappointed in his expectations, he repaired to London, where the progress of political events was so prosperous as to satisfy the most sanguine expectations. Thirty peers, and near eighty gentlemen, formed themselves into a convention. The prince of Orange requested their advice; and after some confusion, occasioned by the earl of Arran, son to the duke of Hamilton, the president of the convention, who proposed that they should invite back the late king, the meeting waited upon William in a body, and requested him to take into his hands the administration of the affairs of Scotland.

THE duke of Gordon, a Roman catholic, still held the castle of Edinburgh for the king, but being a person of timid character, they hoped to terrify him into a surrender of that fortress. The duke of Hamilton having been re-elected as president of the convention, in opposition to the marquis of Athol, the first business of the convention was to summon the duke of Gordon to quit the castle in twenty-four hours. The duke yielding to his fears, promised to obey, but was afterwards persuaded to evade his engagements, by demanding terms which could not with decency be granted. After summoning him to surrender by the heralds at arms, in all their formalities, he was formally proclaimed a traitor at the market cross of Edinburgh.

ON the day after this proclamation, two letters were received at the same time from the abdicated monarch and from William, the one expressed with good sense and moderation, the other more characteristic of passion than of prudence. The bearer of James's letter, Crane an Englishman, after being consigned for a short time to proper custody, was dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. The relation of the various contentions in which the partisans of William and James struggled for success, belongs so peculiarly to the history of Scotland, that I shall confine my attention to those important measures and events which bear most directly on the ultimate result of these internal commotions. The committee appointed by the convention agreed that James, by his misconduct, had *forfeited* his right to the crown; and having afterwards drawn up an act, by which the

claims of William and Mary to the vacant throne were established, the king and queen were on the eleventh of April proclaimed at Edinburgh.

The castle of Edinburgh was still retained in the name of James, by the duke of Gordon; but despairing of relief, and pressed by a siege, he surrendered the place on the thirteenth of June. The adherents of James, alarmed and dismayed by so unexpected a misfortune, turned their eyes to the viscount Dundee, a nobleman who, having been urged in vain to return to the convention, was publicly proclaimed a fugitive, an outlaw, and a rebel. Driven by his enemies, he sought refuge in the Grampian mountains; and being afterwards joined at Gordon castle by fifty gentlemen, he passed through the county of Murray to Inverness, before which town Macdonald of Keppoch was encamped, with seven hundred men. By pledging himself to the magistrates of Inverness, for the money extorted by Macdonald, he induced the latter to join his arms; and after many marches and counter-marches, and being frequently misled by false intelligence, he re-occupied the station of Lochaber, two hundred only of his force remaining in the field. His fate was decided by the battle at Killikranky, between the miserable force he was afterwards able to collect, and the troops of William, under the command of Mackay. As he was raising his arm, and pointing to the Camerons to advance, he received a ball in his side. He survived the battle, but died the next morning at Blair.

The perverse and unadvised policy, by which James had lost the dominion of England and Scotland, had been carried to excesses still more alarming in the management of the affairs of Ireland. The earl of Tyrconnel, who had obtained by corrupt means the favour of Sunderland, a man of profligate habits, and a bigotted Roman catholic, was raised in the year 1687 to the government of that kingdom. His abuses of power were frequent and infamous; and the earl of Castlemain, who had fixed his views on the government of Ireland, found means to convey the mismanagements of the lord deputy to the king, and proposing to call a parliament, which should be servilely devoted to government, transmitted to England the outlines of a bill, which, under the pretext of relieving a few distressed and injured papists, should artfully destroy the whole settlement of the kingdom. Though James received the proposal with complacency, he decided against it on future consultation; and the Irish commissioners, being dismissed with contempt, were hooted from the English metropolis.

On the accession of William to the crown of England, aware that, should Ireland submit to his dominion without resistance, no pretence would remain for keeping an army in pay, he listened with coolness to the overtures of Tyrconnel, who, offended by his indifference, and Londonderry having shut its walls against the new-raised troops of the king, dispatched lord Mountjoy, a protestant, to reduce the refractory city. The inhabitants, regarding him as a friend, admitted him upon conditions, and he assumed the command with a secret determination to assist the cause of William.

The whole force of the expedition, with which James, adventured to attempt the preservation of Ireland, amounted to fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire-ships. His force amounted to one hundred French officers, and twelve hundred of his native subjects in the pay of Lewis. After leaving Kinsale in a state of tolerable defence; after placing in that fortress the arms, money, and ammunition he had brought from France, James advanced to Cork, where he was joined by Tyrconnel. Having summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the seventh of May, he received an address from the protestant clergy, representing their grievances; and from the university of Dublin a statement of complaints, and congratulations. In the appearance of prosperity, however, he was involved in the utmost distress. He was totally destitute of every implement of war; and having been joined, since his arrival, by several thousands of an unarmed and indigent rabble, he retained out of the number only fourteen regiments of horse and dragoons, and thirty-five regiments of foot. On the eighth of April he left Dublin. The protestant insurgents retired on his approach to Derry and the other side of the river Finn, where they defied the unarmed and undisciplined rabble by whom they were pursued. A passage, however, to Cladiford was effected by Hamilton, Pusignian, and Berwick, in the face of six thousand of their enemies, the

insurgents having determined to reserve their efforts for the defence of Derry. Through the mismanagement of Rosen, to whom the attack upon this place had been entrusted, the intended capitulation of the city was delayed till the arrival of two English regiments, under the command of colonels Cunnyngham and Richards. Lundy, who commanded in the place, was swayed by treachery or fear. Without permitting the men to land, he ordered the officers to hold a council of war, who agreed that the town was untenable. Their resolutions were communicated to the magistrates, and they resolved to offer terms to the king. The English regiments prepared to return; the populace were alarmed; the governor and magistrates lost all their authority, in the violence and clamour of the crowd. Some desperate persons flew to the walls, and turned the cannon against the enemy. Walker, a clergyman, and one major Baker, were elected governors. Their whole force consisted of seven thousand and fifty men, and three hundred and fifty officers, with which they determined to defend the town to the last extremity.

But the chief defence of the people of Londonderry, consisted in the weakness and destitution of their enemies. Unprovided with battering cannon, and almost unsupplied with musquets, they formed a blockade rather than a siege. The insurgents had to contend with no enemy but famine; though, impatient of inactivity, they made a sally on the day after the king's departure, and were only repulsed after the death of Maumont, to whom the command of the besieging army had been entrusted, and after a resolute and formidable struggle.

The hopes of James rested upon the scarcity of provisions, which threatened to create a famine in the town. Upon the arrival, however, of some artillery in the Irish camp, the blockade was converted into a siege, but the works of the besiegers were destroyed in a sally. The latter possessed neither the means nor the skill adapted for attack. A force sent from England appeared in the lake of Londonderry on the thirteenth of June; but Kirk, who commanded the succours was either too cold or too cautious in his operations. Though he assured the spirits of the townsmen, by promises of speedy relief, he avoided every hazardous enterprise, and for five weeks remained inactive in his ships, or loitered on an island in the lake. Apprised of the arrival of the English, the mareschal de Rosen was sent by James to command before Derry. Rosen committed the care of the siege to Hamilton, and posted himself on the banks of the lake, to prevent a descent from the English fleet. From the deficiency of warlike stores and ammunition, the siege proceeded but slowly; and the only hope of the besiegers rested on the apparent impossibility of conveying provisions into the town. On the 29th of June, the town proposed to surrender, but the firing of the besieged was continued, and Rosen rejected the overture as a stratagem for gaining time.

Rosen, incensed at so determined and unexpected a resistance, placed four thousand unfortunate persons, collected from the surrounding country, between his lines and the town; expecting that the besieged would relieve their friends, or surrender themselves. Convinced, however, by the conduct of the townsmen, who fired upon their friends from the wall, of the folly of his expedient, he withdrew the unhappy people, after a few hours' exposure, and permitted them to return to their homes. The cruelty of Rosen on this occasion, and his obvious disregard of the commands and wishes of James, awakened the just indignation of the latter; but such was his dependence on the aid of France, that he durst not indicate his displeasure, by depriving him of his command. Desertion and sickness had now reduced the besieging army to five thousand men, destitute of every necessary, and equally deficient in discipline and enthusiasm. The siege was again converted into a blockade; the besieged were reduced to the last distress, and were obliged to subsist on the flesh of horses and dogs. At length the serjeants and soldiers, disregarding their leaders, transmitted a signed paper to major-general Buchan, offering on certain conditions to surrender the next day. In the mean time, the wind became favourable for the ships; two victuallers, advancing in full sail, broke the boom which the Irish had placed across the river; the town was supplied with provisions; and Rosen, having made every disposition for a retreat, retired.

While Rosen was conducting the siege of Londonderry, lord Mount Cashel advanced against the protestants of Inniskillen; and,

after making an unsuccessful attempt on Crom castle, resolved to retreat to his former station at Belturbat; but being pursued as far as Newton, and forsaken by his men, he was overpowered and taken prisoner.

Afflicted and dismayed by this humiliating intelligence, aware that the individuals surrounding him, and particularly De Rosen, were prepared to render him a sacrifice to the real or supposed interests of Lewis, and unwilling to recal the parliament, which he had prorogued to the eighteenth of July; the distress of James was exasperated, and his difficulties multiplied by the invasion of Ireland by a foreign force. Ten thousand men, commanded by the duke of Schomberg, appeared on the twelfth of August in ninety transports, on the coast of Donaghadee. He first marched to Belfast, and then invested Carrickfergus. Having summoned the garrison in vain, he opened four batteries against the town, attacked it with the guns of the fleet, and commenced a furious bombardment. The garrison, after all their ammunition was expended, marched out on the ninth day, with all the honours of war: but the soldiers broke the capitulation: they disarmed and stript the inhabitants, without any regard to sex or rank; women deprived of their apparel were whipped between the lines; and every outrage perpetrated that could disgrace humanity.

The duke of Berwick, having broken up the roads to retard the enemy, abandoned Dundalk, in the neighbourhood of which place Schomberg immediately encamped. Joined by the Inniskilliners, and the regulars under Kirk, he had advanced slowly through a difficult country, deformed with bogs and encumbered with mountains. But the country now before him was perfectly level. It was his duty to prevent the cavalry of the enemy from cutting off his communication with the fleet, which had not yet arrived, as he had directed, in the road of Carlingford. His troops were without experience or discipline, weakened by disease, and destitute of provisions. The rain and frost were uncommonly severe, and he therefore was resolved to remain at Dundalk, and to fortify himself against the attacks of an enemy, whom he could not engage in the field with any prospect of success.

Having arrived within three miles of Dundalk, James advanced on the 20th of September close to the lines of the enemy, and endeavoured to provoke him to fight. But Schomberg remained within his entrenchments; and James, after standing three hours in order of battle before Dundalk, retired slowly to his camp, and ordering Atherdee to be fortified, in anticipation of future hostilities; by thus demonstrating that he could stop the progress of the enemy, terminated the present campaign with unexpected reputation.

The French having invaded Ireland, and clandestinely assisted the Scots, the king, at the pressing instance of his parliament, on the seventh of May proclaimed war against France. On the twenty-fourth of July, the princess Anne of Denmark was delivered of a son, who had the name of William given at his baptism, and was created duke of Glocester.

Among the other less important transactions of the year, may be numbered, the passing of an act of indemnity, the burning by the hands of the common hangman of a pastoral letter from bishop Burnet, asserting that William had obtained the crown by right of conquest, and the reversal of several attainders passed in the preceding reign. Dr. Oates, the notorious witness respecting the popish plot, endeavoured to vindicate the veracity of his evidence, and excited considerable agitation in both houses of parliament; but obtained only a remission of the remainder of his sentence, and liberation from his imprisonment. A bill was passed determining the succession, and containing a clause in favour of the house of Hanover. A feeble and absurd discovery of the conspiracy of lord Griffin, who had been raised to the peerage, by the late monarch, only a month before his abdication, and of which the particulars were discovered in a pewter bowl, ended in the admission of his lordship to bail; and viscount Preston, a Scotch peer, having the presumption to claim a seat among the English lords, under a patent from James, after his exclusion from the throne, was committed to the Tower; but obtained his liberty, on asking pardon and pleading ignorance.

On the fourth day of June, in the next year, William left London, and on the fourteenth arrived at Carrickfergus. He passed from thence to Lisburn, the head-quarters of the duke of Schomberg, and afterwards reviewed his army, which consisted of 1690.

thirty six thousand men, at Lough Britland. His troops were composed of English, Dutch, Germans, Danes, and French; all confident in the justice of their cause, and supplied with all that was necessary to render their strength effectual. On the approach of William, the Irish army having abandoned Othardee, retired to the south of the Boyne, a river of which the south side was hilly, and strengthened by ditches. The river itself is deep, and rises very high with the tide. Influenced by these advantages, and reflecting that flight would dispirit his troops, and tarnish his own reputation; he determined, notwithstanding the inferiority of his numbers, and the advice of his officers, to retain his position. Assured of the aid of a powerful fleet, and encouraged by a projected invasion of England, he had previously determined to quit Ireland, but the strength of his situation, and the danger of retreat before a superior enemy, induced him to change his resolution.

On the thirtieth of June, 1689, the two armies were opposed to each other on the opposite banks of the river. William, having reconnoitred in person the position of the enemy, determined to attack them on the next day. His army was divided into three columns: the right, under the count de Schomberg and Douglas, was ordered to pass near the bridge of Slane; the centre, commanded by the duke of Schomberg, was directed to force the fords in front of the enemy. The king himself led the left to a fordable part of the river, between his camp and the town of Drogheda. James had extended his troops in two lines opposed to the deep and dangerous fords of the Boyne; his left was defended by a morass, and his rear was protected by the village of Dunmore. Three miles beyond this village was the narrow pass of Duleck, calculated equally to retard and cover his retreat.

At six in the morning, general Douglas, with young Schomberg, advanced towards Slane bridge, and passed the river with little opposition. When they reached the opposite bank, they found the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable amount in horse and foot, with a morass in their front, so that Douglas was obliged to halt, in expectation of reinforcements, which, having at length arrived, the foot advanced to the charge through the morass, while count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry to fall upon the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, wheeled about, and fled towards Duleck, with the utmost precipitation; but were overtaken in their flight by young Schomberg, who put a considerable number of them to the sword.

The centre, commanded by the duke of Schomberg, passed the fords with little interruption. The Dutch guards formed gradually upon the bank, and then advanced. The Irish regiments descended from the rising grounds upon the enemy, but instantly deserted their officers. The cavalry behaved with more spirit, and drove a body of dragoons into the river, but were afterwards repulsed with slaughter by the Dutch. The duke of Schomberg fell in the conflict; but whether by the arms of the enemy, or by the bullets of his own soldiers, who, in their endeavours to rescue him from the French guards, who had been mistaken for friends, poured in their fire upon the enemy, it was not in the power even of those engaged in the conflict to determine.

After young Schomberg had forced the passage of the river, he stretched his line to the right, James believing that the *main body* of the English was following his right, had weakened his own right wing and centre, by reinforcing Lausun, who had marched with his left to observe the motions of the enemy. While James and the French general having united within half cannon-shot of their opponents, were consulting together on the manner of attack, they were informed that the enemy had forced the passage of the river. The only resource that remained was an immediate charge upon Schomberg; but the ground was so much intersected with ditches, as to render it impracticable: and the whole line of the English began to move towards their right. James, in order to prevent the enemy from obtaining possession of the pass of Duleck, and intercepting his retreat from Dublin, marched towards his left; his forces being already acquainted with the defeat of his right. Influenced by the persuasions of Lausun, he effected, in the course of the night, his retreat to Dublin.

Such was the result of the partial, and comparatively bloodless, battle of the Boyne. Of all the troops which had fought under the banners of James, the French alone remained

attached to his standard. Both monarchs incurred a certain degree of blame, for not improving their respective advantages. William, it is asserted, by pushing on directly to Dublin, might have seized all the principal papists, effectually secured Limerick, Galloway, and other important places, and have struck the whole party with such consternation, as would have disabled them from the possibility of further resistance. James, it is alleged, might have collected his scattered troops; and, by reinforcing his army from his numerous garrisons, have put himself in a condition to keep the field, or to act on the offensive.

When James arrived at Dublin, he found letters from the queen, and an account of the victory obtained by the French at Fleurus, over count Waldec. Encouraged by this intelligence, he complied with the wishes of his friends, and determined to retire into France. On the next morning he posted to Waterford, accompanied by the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis, having previously ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, in order to prevent a pursuit. He immediately embarked in a vessel, which he had caused to be prepared before the battle. He was taken up off the coast by M. du Quesne, who had been dispatched with three French frigates, at the earnest entreaty of James's queen to M. de Seignelai the French minister of Marine. Arriving safely in France, he returned to St. Germains, the place of his former residence.

The flight of James was succeeded by the departure from Dublin of all the considerable papists: and a committee was formed to take care of the government. The precipitate flight of the abdicated monarch diminished the confidence of his friends, and was of the most injurious consequence to his interests. Lewis XIV., who had been master of the sea since the battle of Bantry bay, had intended to assist his cause by diversions in the channel; and M. de Seignelai, the author of the project, having been taken suddenly ill, his commission devolved on the chevalier de Tourville; but the flight of James rendered the full execution of the plan no longer possible. His reception by Lewis accorded with the folly and imbecility of his conduct; he was greeted with coldness, and regarded with neglect.

Having sent a detachment under M. Mellionere to invest Drogheda, which surrendered after a short resistance, William proceeded to Dublin, which he entered in triumph, and published a declaration of pardon to all who should return to their places of abode by the first of August; but with a singular degree of injustice and impolicy, he excepted the gentry, whom he resolved to abandon to all the rigours of war and conquest. He issued a commission for selling all their estates and effects, though no court of judicature was open to proceed according to law. The opportunities thus afforded to his dependants were pursued in every form of avarice and rapacity, and exasperated the Irish to despair. The generals who had accompanied James to Waterford, returned with a determination to continue the war. The Irish, assuming courage from the langour of the enemy, assembled round their colours, and directed their march to Limerick and Athlone.

On the ninth of July, William sent general Douglas, with a strong detachment of horse and foot towards Athlone; while he himself, having committed the government of Dublin to brigadier Trelawny, proceeded with the rest of his army to Inchequin, on his way to Kilkenny: at Carlow he detached the duke of Ormond, to take possession of the latter place. Major-general Kirke was sent with a party to Waterford, the garrison of which surrendered on honourable conditions: and the fortress of Duncannon submitted on the same terms. Intelligence of disasters and dangers in England, had induced the king to form the resolution of returning to that kingdom; but being informed that the designs of his domestic enemies were discovered and defeated, that the fleet was refitted, and that the French had done very little injury on the coast, and had already retired to Brest, he changed his resolution, and determined to invest Limerick, which M. Boisseleau commanded as governor, aided by the duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield as inferior officers.

Douglas, in the mean time, pursued his destructive route to Athlone; plundering the country as he proceeded, and murdering or persecuting the peasantry, who, trusting to the king's declaration, presented themselves in numerous bodies, to demand his protection. He sat down with his cruel followers before

Athlone, and having summoned the place to surrender, colonel Grace, the governor for king James, fired a pistol at the trumpeter, saying, "These are my terms." Having lost his best gunners, and being alarmed by a report that Sarsfield was advancing with fifteen thousand men, Douglas thought proper to abandon the enterprise.

On the ninth of August, the king, having advanced with his whole army, augmented by the junction of Douglas, sent a trumpeter into the town, with a summons to surrender. Boisseleau replied, that the most likely mode of obtaining the good opinion of the prince of Orange, would be a vigorous defence of the town. Before the siege was regularly formed, colonel Sarsfield, with about six hundred horse and dragoons, passed the Shannon in the night, attacked the king's train of artillery on its way to the camp, split the cannon, destroyed the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned in safety to Limerick.

Notwithstanding this disaster, the trenches were opened on the 16th of the month, and a battery was raised with some cannon brought from Waterford. William directed the troops to make a lodgement in the Counterscarp; but the assailants were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men, either killed on the spot or mortally wounded. This disappointment, together with the badness of the weather, induced the king to abandon the siege on the twenty-second day after its commencement.

Nor was this the only mortification which William was condemned to endure. The English and Dutch fleet, having sailed from St. Helen's, on the twenty-fourth of June, admiral Torrington came to an anchor at Dunnose, and perceived at eight in the morning the French fleet, which had been hovering off the coast of England, and repeating signals of defiance, at anchor in Compton bay. On the thirtieth of June, the two fleets stood in their lines off Beechy head, and about one in the morning the Dutch, leading the vanguard, gave the onset; but, not being seconded by the admiral's squadron, the Dutch, and the few English ships by which they had been joined, were severely shattered. The engagement continued till the evening, when the French bore away and came to anchor. One English ship was taken, and five burnt: the Dutch lost several burnt or sunk, and the French coasted after our fleet, till it took refuge in harbour, when having landed some men, and committed some petty depredations, they retired to their ships. For this inglorious result, which was attributed, by the Dutch officers, and the English populace, to the conduct of the English admiral, Torrington was tried on shipboard, and acquitted; but one Godfrey Cross, of Kent, who had been seized on his return from on board a French ship with treasonable letters, was tried, and suffered the penalty of his crime.

Having sent away from before Limerick the heavy baggage and cannon, in the direction of Clonmell, having appointed lord Sidney and Mr. Coningsby lord justices of Ireland, and entrusted the command of the army to count Solmes, William set sail from Duncannon with prince George of Denmark, and arrived on the next day in king's road near Bristol, from whence he repaired to Windsor. Notwithstanding the violence of the whigs and tories, who formed her council, the good sense and circumspection of the queen precluded the otherwise inevitable consequences of their dissentions, and enabled her to act with the spirit and promptitude required by the domestic necessities, and foreign relations of the country.

On the 21st of September, the earl of Marlborough, having been dispatched from England, landed his men, after trifling opposition in the neighbourhood of Cork: he was joined at that place, with five thousand men, by the duke of Wirtemburg, with whom, after some dispute respecting precedence, he agreed to command in turn. Between five and six thousand seamen, soldiers, gunners, and carpenters, were occupied in raising works, and erecting batteries. The besieged being attacked both by the army and the fleet, the garrison beat a parley, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition of favourable terms for the inhabitants. The victory was dearly purchased, for the duke of Grafton, the most accomplished of all the children of Charles the second, was mortally wounded in one of the attacks, and died lamented by the nation and the army.

After a siege of ten days, one of the forts of Kinsale surrendered on honourable terms, the other having been taken by storm. By the reduction of these maritime places, communication between France and the enemy,

on that side of the island, was effectually cut off, and the Irish were confined to the province of Ulster, where their subsistence was scanty and precarious.

Having proved his title to the character of an able general, Marlborough returned with his prisoners to England, and was graciously received by the king, who observed to his courtiers, that he knew no man so fit to be a general, who had seen so few campaigns.

After presenting an address of congratulation on William's safe return, the parliament proceeded to grant him the supplies necessary for carrying on the war with promptitude and vigour. The marquis of Carmarthen being deeply engaged in the interest of the tories, and obnoxious to the opposite party, a number of the latter, at the suggestion of the earl of Shrewsbury, resolved to revive his old impeachment. A committee of lords was appointed to examine precedents, and to enquire, whether impeachments continued in force from parliament to parliament; but the merits of the marquis, and the evident injustice of the attempt, prevailed over the machinations of a few turbulent individuals, and the enquiry was not pursued to its conclusion.

Having adjourned the parliament in a very conciliating speech, the king left Whitehall for Holland, on the 6th of January 1691, and after some delay and difficulty, occasioned by the frost, arrived at Oramen Hack, from whence, after being complimented by the deputies of the states, he proceeded to the Hague, and received the congratulations of the constituted authorities. The other confederate powers agreed, in conjunction with the assembly of the states, to furnish an army of 220,000 men, in the prosecution of the contest against France, of which 20,000 were to be provided by England.

While the king was thus exciting the nations of the continent to resistance, against the ambition and rapacity of France, and communicating energy and system to the exertions of his native country, London was agitated by a conspiracy to obtain the restoration of James. Lord Preston, a Scot, John Ashton, and Edmund Elliot, were captured on board a smack by captain Billop, as they were proceeding to France, with papers containing secret intelligence, and an intimation to Lewis, that he might successfully contribute to the restoration of James, while William was in Holland. Preston and Ashton were brought to trial, and condemned; but only the former endured the infliction of his sentence. The earl of Clarendon, who was implicated in the conspiracy, after a short confinement in the Tower, was afterwards permitted to seclude himself at his country-house; a favour for which he was indebted to his affinity to the queen, of whom he was first cousin. Graham, Penn, and the bishop of Ely, having absconded, a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

On his return from Holland, the king appointed Ginckle to the direction of the campaign in Ireland. Though the winter had suspended the regular operations of war, the miseries of that unhappy country had increased during the season. The French having retired to Galway, to wait for a passage home, the whole weight of their own defence devolved on the native Irish. Despair and animosity seized their minds. Their success against William at Limerick, had lately increased their confidence and courage. In their excursions against the enemy, their progress was distinguished by misery, ruin, and desolation. The inhabitants were plundered, and their houses and cabins burnt to the ground. The winter was throughout disgraced by acts of severity on both sides. Tyrconnel, though stript of his character of chief governor, had returned from France with a trifling sum of money, to continue the Irish war. Yielding to despondence, or swayed by resentment for his disgrace, he endeavoured to persuade the Irish to submit, on certain conditions, to the government of William. This measure was opposed by Sarsfield, who had acquired so much reputation during the former campaign. To terminate a dispute, which threatened his interest in Ireland with ruin, James conferred the chief command upon St. Ruth, a French general of experience and reputation. That officer arrived in Ireland, but he was furnished with none of the necessaries of war. Unprovided with arms, ammunition, or provisions, a great part of the army were compelled to disperse: St. Ruth was obliged to act on the defensive, and having placed a strong garrison in Athlone, he resolved to wait for the enemy, on the other side of the Shannon.

Having compelled the town of Ballimon to surrender, general Ginckle appeared before

Athlone. The English town was taken by storm; great numbers of the Irish were killed, and several drowned by crowding upon each other, in passing across the bridge which divided the new town from the old. The castle and fortifications of the Irish town were laid in ruins by the vigour and constancy of the assailant's fire, but without exciting alarm in the minds of the enemy, or paralysing their exertions: nor would the contest have been easily decided had not an advantage obtained, by burning their bridge of boats, lulled them into a fatal security. On the 30th of June, Ginckle, suddenly entering the river in columns, surprised the town, after a feeble resistance. The boldness and vigilance of Ginckle, who for this exploit was created earl of Athlone, could only be equalled by the negligence of the Irish. History can scarcely furnish a parallel to the successful execution of an enterprise, apparently so impracticable. A fortified town, attacked across a river, while sustained behind by a considerable army, was taken in less than a quarter of an hour, by a body of three thousand men, who advanced to the breach, breast-high in water. St. Ruth, when informed of the assault, would scarcely give credit to the intelligence, though he ordered some battalions to hasten to the succour of the beseiged; but their arrival was too late; the works of the town towards his camp were entire, and the enemy had already lined the walls, and repulsed the Irish from their own works.

Ginckle having left a garrison in Athlone, pursued the French and Irish to a position near Agrim, where they halted in a situation defended by a bog in front, and surrounded by hedges and ditches. On Sunday the 12th of June, the general attacked the enemy, about three in the afternoon, under disadvantages which stimulated St. Ruth to express his confidence of victory. In the midst of his exultation he was killed by a cannon shot, and with him died the courage of his army. The English having gained the pass, and edged in behind the bog, dismayed the French by the impetuosity of their onset, and compelled the Irish to accompany their flight. The horse and dragoons pursued them more than three miles; but the approach of night, and the heaviness of the rain, prevented them from intercepting the retreat of the fugitives to the advantageous position of Lough Ireah. The loss of the English in slain was 1000, that of the Irish 4000.

The army having been indulged in a short repose, general Ginckle marched to Galway, and summoned the governor, lord Dillon, to surrender. On his refusal, a part of the English army crossed the river, and, seizing the fort which the Irish were busily employed in erecting, the governor changed his resolution, and surrendered on advantageous conditions. The only strong place which now remained in Ireland, to the cause of James, was Limerick, to which the army rapidly approached. On the first of October, several batteries having been erected, the Irish agreed to twelve articles, by which it was stipulated, that all other towns, forts, and castles, which yet held out, should be surrendered; that as many of James's army as were desirous of being conveyed to France, should have that liberty, and that all Roman catholics should enjoy the same toleration, as in the time of Charles II. The place was put into possession of the English; the French and many Irish were sent away in transports, the remainder of their army in the field submitting to be included in the amnesty. Such was the termination of a war, which had threatened the catholics with absolute destruction.

William, in the mean time, having retired from the Hague to Loo, placing himself at the head of the army, advanced to Hale, within the sound of the enemy's guns. The state of his troops was so bad, and the plans of the enemy so good, that he durst not venture a battle, and Mons was taken, after a gallant defence, on the ninth of April. He therefore returned to the Hague; embarked on the 12th of April for England, and the next evening arrived in London, where he found the palace of Whitehall in ruins, by an accidental fire. His first business, after his arrival, was to fill the vacant sees. Though the nonjuring bishops had been long in a deprived state, in consequence of the act for altering the oaths, their removal became the subject of much polemical disquisition and altercation. Having settled the affairs of the church, and prorogued the parliament, he resolved to return to the continent, to place himself at the head of the allied army. He embarked at Harwich on the second of May, on the evening of the

third arrived at the Hague. Having learned that Luxemburgh, with an army of forty thousand men was advancing to besiege Brussels, while the marquis de Boufflers, with 40,000 men, sat down before Liege, he immediately put himself at the head of his troops, and arrived in time to cover the former place, and raise the siege of the latter. Luxemburgh, however, having suddenly possessed himself of Hale, kept close within his lines; and William, at the head of a superior army, failed in all his attempts to place the fate of the campaign on the decision of a battle. Some unimportant movements were made on both sides, but the French had determined to engage only at a manifest advantage. Fatigued and disgusted by so tedious and profitless a warfare, the king resigned the command of the army to prince Walduck, and returned to the Hague. That prince, in withdrawing the troops from Leuse, was attacked unexpectedly in the rear by Luxemburgh, but the French obtained only a trivial success. The glory of having checked the progress of a superior army, was the only advantage gained by Lewis, on the side of Flanders, since the capture of Mons.

After a short residence at the Hague, William embarked for England, and arrived at Margate on the 18th of October. On the 22nd of the same month, the parliament having met, the king in his speech represented the necessity of recruiting the fleet, and maintaining a considerable army. The reply of both houses was consonant to his wishes. They congratulated him on his safe return, and on the success of his arms in Ireland; and declared their determination to assist him, in prosecuting the war against France with vigour. Notwithstanding these gratifying and loyal professions, it soon appeared that a powerful party was formed against the government. They descanted with vehemence and plausibility on the dangers of a standing army, and on the prejudices of William in favour of the Dutch, to the exclusion and neglect of the English. The deportment of the king was cold, formal, and reserved; and his distrust of the whigs, and his evident attachment to the theory, if not the practice of arbitrary government; equally disgusted and alarmed, those who, convinced of the rectitude of public measures, were dissatisfied with the principle of the new settlement, and of those who believed the measures of the court to deserve reprobation, but were firmly attached to the established government.

In the course of this year the war with Scotland was fortunately terminated by the submission of Sir Evan Cameron, who at the head of a few Highlanders had opposed all treaty with William. The lenity of William to the presbyterians, the influence of James, who was anxious that his friends should keep their means of action in reserve instead of wasting them in desultory efforts, and the arts of bribery, all contributed to this timely and desirable result of a war, which promised neither the glory of a splendid contest, nor the usual rewards of an easy victory.

The English parliament was occupied, during some part of the session, by examining the case of one Fuller, who having been unjustly suspected, as a party in a pretended conspiracy, resolved to take advantage of the delusion; and by an enquiry into the conduct of admiral Russel, and the cause of his inactivity during the last season. The admiral was so fortunate as to transfer the blame from himself to the admiralty, and Fuller, having been declared guilty of a gross and scandalous imposition on parliament, and insult to the queen, was condemned to expiate his offences in the pillory.

A circumstance occurred at this moment, which contributed to excite the discontent even of the moderate party, and to render the king still more suspected and unpopular. The earl of Marlborough, having represented to his majesty the dangerous consequences of his partiality to foreigners, and his wife being suspected of having persuaded the princess of Denmark to solicit an independent settlement, was dismissed from all his employments, civil or military. The odium thus acquired, was much encreased by a barbarous massacre committed in Scotland, though his knowledge of the circumstances by which it was accompanied, is more than doubtful. In the preceding August, in consequence of the pacification with the Highlanders under Cameron, a proclamation of indemnity had been issued to such insurgents, as should take the oaths to the king and queen, on or before the last day of December. Of the chiefs who had

taken up arms in the cause of James, all complied except Macdonald of Glenco; and even he set out, towards the end of December, to make his submission at Inverary before the magistrate. The way to his place of destination lay across almost impassable mountains. The season was extremely rigorous, and the whole country covered with a deep snow. So eager, however, was Macdonald to take the oaths before the limited time should expire, that, though the road lay within half a mile of his own house, he would not stop to visit his family. After various obstructions, he arrived at Inverary. The time was elapsed, the sheriff hesitated to receive his submission; but Macdonald prevailed over his reluctance with importunities, and even with tears.

The profligate and specious sir John Dalrymple, afterwards earl of Stair, who acted as secretary of state for Scotland, took advantage of Macdonald's neglecting to take the oaths within the time prescribed; and procured from the king a warrant of military execution, against him and his adherents. Campbell of Glenlyon, a captain in the earl of Argyle's regiment, and two subalterns were commanded to repair to Glenco, with one hundred and twenty men. Campbell being uncle to young Macdonald's wife, was received by the father with friendship and hospitality. The men were treated in the houses of his tenants with free quarters and kind entertainment. The officers, on the very night of the massacre, (the 13th of February) passed the evening, and played at cards in Macdonald's house. In the night, lieutenant Lindsey, with a party of soldiers, called in a friendly manner at his door. He was instantly admitted. Macdonald, as he was rising from his bed to receive his guest, was shot dead from behind with two bullets. His wife was already dressed; but was stript naked by the soldiers, who tore the rings off her fingers with their teeth.

The slaughter now became general. Neither age, sex, nor infirmity was spared. In one place nine persons, as they sat enjoying themselves, were shot dead by the soldiers. Several who fled to the mountains perished by famine, and the inclemency of the season. Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who had the charge of the execution from Dalrymple, was on his march, with four hundred men, to occupy all the passes which led from the village of Glenco. He was obliged to stop, by the severity of the weather, which proved the safety of the unfortunate clan. He entered the valley the next day, laid all the houses in ashes, and carried away the cattle and spoil, which were divided among the officers and soldiers!—That the warrant, which was thus productive of bloodshed and misery, might have been signed through inadvertency, or that it might have been enforced beyond the rigour of Hamilton's orders, have been the usual topics of apology by the friends of William; but his refusal to punish the authors of the tragedy, his promotion of the most active and distinguished to his favour, apparently belied the excuses of his advocates, and rendered him the object of general and excusable suspicion.

CHAPTER II.

[1692 to 1697.]

Disaffection of Russel—Victory of La Hogue—Siege of Namur—Repulse of the Allies at Steinkirk—Debates in Parliament—Triennial Bill—Operations in Flanders—Successes of Tourville—Communications between King James and Russel—Death of the Queen—Military Operations—Various Acts, for the benefit of the Subject—A Conspiracy discovered against the Life of William—Distresses of Lewis XIV.—Negociations at the Hague—Treaty of Ryswick.

1692. THE resentments of Marlborough and Russel, were stimulated into action by the general diffusion of distrust and discontent. The former solicited, in terms of extraordinary humiliation, the forgiveness of James and his queen; and so far wrought on the weakness or affection of the princess of Denmark, that she wrote a letter imploring his forgiveness, and promising to join him whenever he should land in England With regard to Russel; to refrain from action with the French fleet, should it fall in his way, was impossible; but it was always in the admiral's power to steer the fleet in a course distinct from that of the enemy, under the pretence of orders. The native subjects of James in France, were almost equal to the purpose of an expedition. The transports which conveyed the French to Ireland in 1690, conveyed 500 Irish to France. Fourteen thousand troops were sent to France, in consequence of the capitulation of Limerick. While the king of England, therefore, was conducting the army of the confederates in Flanders, Lewis, in order to facilitate the landing of an army in this country from Normandy and Bretagne, dispatched to sea nearly the whole of his naval force. Russel, after loitering at St. Helen's, and avoiding as much as possible all observation of the French squadron, was at length enabled or compelled, on the 19th of May, to discover the enemy, consisting of about one half his number of ships, sailing on the same tack with himself. Either borne away by the impulse of a sanguine spirit, induced to politic compliance with the enthusiasm of the fleet, or having wavered in his policy, Russel performed the duties of an English admiral. After two severe engagements, and the loss of many ships, either sunk or blown up, the contest ended in the rapid and disastrous flight of the enemy.

YET such was the imperfection of our naval arrangements at that period, and such the activity of the enemy, that the victory of La Hogue was productive of no decisive consequence. The French privateers abounded in the channel, and commerce was almost at a stand. The ministry complained of Russel, and Russel of the ministry.

THE fears of invasion were removed by the victory of La Hogue, but the domestic tranquillity of the country was still disturbed by surmises of plots, conspiracies, and treasons. A person, named Young, a prisoner in Newgate for forgery, had drawn up a fictitious set of articles, designated as containing the principles of a pretended association against government; to which he annexed the names of Salisbury and Marlborough, the deprived archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and other persons of rank. The bishop of Rochester being confronted with Blackhead, a coadjutor with Young, detected the villainy of the accusation, to the satisfaction of the council; but the court suspecting Marlborough of secret designs, discharged Young from custody, and Marlborough, in defiance of the laws, was detained as a prisoner in the Tower.

LEWIS XIV. and William set out on the same day to join their respective armies. The first arrived in his camp on the twentieth of May. On the twenty-third, all his troops were in motion, and he immediately undertook

the siege of Namur, with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men. The place being amply supplied and strengthened with a new work, under the superintendance of Cohorn, and the governor being convinced that William would take every method of relieving it, the parties besieged were confident of successful resistance; but the assailants acted with so much vigour and dexterity, that within seven days after the trenches were opened, the town surrendered, and the garrison retired to the citadel.

The king, being reinforced by the troops of Brandenburg and Liege, encamped within cannon-shot of the army of Luxemburgh, which was posted on the opposite side of the river; but such precautions had been taken by the French general, that the siege could not be interrupted, nor the French lines attacked, without evident disadvantage. The assailants were so animated by the presence of their monarch, that the fort of Cohorn was surrendered after a very obstinate defence. The fate of the citadel was soon afterwards decided. The garrison evacuated the place on the thirtieth of July, and Lewis returned in triumph to Versailles.

To retrieve the glory which he had lost before Namur, William endeavoured to surprise the French army, under the duke of Luxemburgh, at Steinkirk. The attack was chiefly carried on by the English in columns. They ascended, with the most determined resolution, the rising ground on which a wing of the French army lay encamped. They took possession of their batteries, and were for some time masters of their line. The whole camp was in confusion, but the assailants were not properly supported; the second line of the French advanced, and, after an obstinate contest of four hours, the allies were repulsed, having left many thousands of the enemy, as well as of their own number, dead on the field. The king gained no reputation for his conduct, but the valour of his troops deserved great applause. The generals Mackay, Lanier, and Douglas, the earl of Angus, and several officers of distinction were slain, and 3000 English left dead upon the scene of battle.

The campaign in Flanders languished after the battle of Steinkirk. The discovery of a plot against the life of William, and the execution of one Grandvil, the pretended assassin, gave occasion to much reflection and surprise. Lewis XIV. and the abdicated monarch, were involved by the discoverers in this conspiracy; but the suspicion of participation in such a design, is utterly inconsistent with the character of Lewis; and it is now ascertained beyond the possibility of doubt, that though many plans of a similar description were offered to his acceptance, he rejected them all with indignation and abhorrence.

King William, in conjunction with the states-general, having adjusted the plan of the next campaign, and appointed winter-quarters for the army, embarked for England on the fifteenth of October, and landed on the eighteenth at Yarmouth. His majesty, in his way to the palace at Kensington, passed through the city of London, amidst the acclamations of the populace. The parliament meeting on the fourth day of November, the king thanked them for the last supplies, congratulated them on the success by sea, and expressed his concern for the advantages gained by the enemy on land; he intimated his determination to make a descent on France, and demanded large supplies, to assist him in prosecuting the war with vigour, as the best security for a safe and honourable peace.

The earl of Marlborough and other noblemen, having been admitted to bail by the court of king's bench, the peers declared their resolution of asserting their violated rights. The judges were summoned to attend the house; and upon witnesses being examined, respecting the evidence against the lords, who had been committed to the Tower, a vehement debate took place; and the opinion of the judges proving unsatisfactory, the matter was referred to a committee of the whole house, who passed a resolution, purporting that, in pursuance of the *habeas corpus* act, it was the duty of the judges to discharge the prisoner on bail, if committed for high treason, unless it be made to appear on oath, that there are two witnesses against him, who cannot be produced until the sessions or jail-delivery. A warm debate then took place, as to the manner of restoring the lords to liberty; and the controversy being warmly maintained, the fears of the courtiers dictated an expedient, which had the desired effect. The house being purposely adjourned to the eighteenth day of the month, the king released the

noblemen from prison, after which they were made acquainted with the late proceedings. After another spirited debate, a formal entry was made in the journals, purporting that the house, being informed his majesty had given orders for the discharge of the lords, who had given bail in the king's bench, no further debate on the subject should take place. The resentment of the peers being thus appeased, they proceeded to the consideration of his majesty's speech.

This concession from the court was not sufficient to allay the heats in parliament. The commons, on the tenth of November, had voted thanks to the king for his speech. They ordered an address to the queen, acknowledging her prudent administration in the absence of her husband. But they, at the same time, resolved to present an address, requesting that the alliances made with the states in the months of April and August, 1689, and all other alliances with foreign states or princes, should be laid before the house. They entered into an examination of the management of the war at sea. They voted thanks to admiral Russel for his victory, but they resolved to enquire, Why that victory had not been pursued? A violent animosity appeared in the house against the preference given to foreigners: and it was suggested, but afterwards abandoned, that the king should be advised to fill all vacancies as they should happen among the general officers, with the subjects of Great Britain; and that the commander-in-chief of the English troops should be an Englishman. This resolution was aimed at the count de Solmes, on whose conduct towards the national troops, the parliament severely animadverted.

The parties were so equally poised, that almost the whole winter was spent in the fiercest debates. The people themselves were not unconcerned spectators of the contest. The opposition lords in some measure at length prevailed. A remonstrance was presented to the king, consisting of five articles. The peers desired, in accordance with the wish of the commons, that the commanding officer of the English, next the king himself, should be an Englishman; that the English officers should have precedence of all officers of the same rank, in the confederate armies, except those of crowned heads; that the abuses committed in pressing sailors should be remedied and prevented; and that all foreigners should be excluded from sitting at the board of ordnance. William was not of a temper to grant demands, so contrary to his views and predilections. He refused the request of the lords, by answering, that he would consider their address. The opposition had carried their point with so much difficulty, that they dropt the remonstrance without farther efforts. Their ill-humour, however, continued, and filled the remainder of the session with ineffectual altercations and debates. In the midst of their struggles, they framed a bill, providing for triennial parliaments, and annual sessions. It passed both houses, but William resolved to obstruct a bill so hostile to the power of the crown, and rejected it when presented for the royal assent. This was the second time he ventured to exercise a prerogative, which neither of his immediate predecessors had assumed the courage to exert.

On the third of March, lord viscount Sidney was raised to the government of Ireland. 1693. The arrival of Sidney in his government, though it might lessen the fear of future oppressions, diminished not the resentment of the people for former injuries. Having carried a proposition for an additional excise, he gave vent to his resentment against the parliament. He sent for them on the fourth of November, reprimanded them severely for invading the prerogatives of the crown, and prorogued them to the sixteenth of April. Inflamed with what they deemed a public insult, several members of the Irish house of commons, came in the name of their country to England, and on the 24th of February laid their complaints before parliament. Some circumstances appeared, upon the enquiry, which served to heighten the mismanagement of government, and the grievances of Ireland. The army, in want of pay from the crown, had levied money, by military distress, to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds; the stores left by James in the kingdom, to the value of eighty thousand pounds, were embezzled by Coningsby; the lord-lieutenant himself, and Ginckle, who had been created earl of Athlone, were accused of possessing themselves of almost all the forfeitures which ought to have fallen to the public; and among the most flagrant violations of justice, and instances of disregard to the interests of the

constitution must be numbered, the wresting from the citizens of Dublin the right of electing their own magistrates.

To prevent the two houses from proceeding in their enquiries, or from acting with decision and effect on the ample materials afforded by the complaints of the Irish, William prorogued the parliament on the fourteenth of March, immediately after receiving the remonstrance. The dismission of the parliament, however, could not prevent the clamours of every rank of society, from disturbing the tranquillity of the throne. The malcontents were so much disgusted with the manners of William, or by real and imaginary grievances, as to receive the assurances, and listen to the promises of James with eagerness, and sometimes with enthusiasm. But the plans of James were frustrated, and his hopes defeated, by the duplicity and inactivity of Lewis, who listened to his proposals with complacency, but entertained no serious determination to assist him in carrying them into effect.

The king, impatient to open the campaign in Flanders, left Kensington on the thirty-first of March, and arrived in the Maese on the twenty-second of April. The French had disturbed the winter itself, with military excursions and attacks. They had taken Furnes and Dixmuyde, in the end of November, with their garrisons, consisting chiefly of the English, who had reduced those places in the close of the preceding campaign. His own preparations detained the king at Loo, and at the Hague, till the middle of May. Having joined the troops of the allies at Deigham, he marched from thence to Parks near Louvain, and by that judicious position, confounded the designs of France on Brabant. Lewis XIV. had placed himself at the head of his army, with a luxurious equipage and numerous attendants; but having fallen sick, he resigned to Luxemburgh the conduct of military operations in Flanders. That general, on the fifteenth of June, placed his headquarters at Meldert, within half a league of the camp of the allies. The two armies continued in this situation above a month. Each endeavoured to find an opportunity of giving battle to advantage, while both suffered great hardships from the incessant rains.

The mareschal de Luxemburgh, despairing to force William to fight at a disadvantage, left his camp on the eighteenth of July, and sat down before Huy, which surrendered in two days. Having amused the enemy with a feigned design upon Liege, he suddenly quitted his post at Hellicheim, crossed the Jaar in four columns, and directed his march towards the allies, being determined to attack them in their camp, or, if they retreated, to fall upon their rear. His van was in sight before they were apprised of his march. The king made the necessary preparations for receiving the enemy with vigour. He sent away his heavy baggage, he ordered his infantry to entrench themselves within the front of his camp. The river Geette bounded his camp, and ran winding along his rear. On the left, and in the front of the left, was the brook of Landen. A thick hedge joining with one end of the right wing, the Criette covered part of its front. The village of Neerwinden, with intrenchments before it, was between the left end of the hedge and the centre. The village of Romsdorf stood further advanced, opposed to the front of the left wing, and the intrenchments before it stretched to the village of Landen. A line of intrenchments extended themselves behind the two villages, and behind these the army of the allies was formed. Their whole front was covered with one hundred pieces of cannon, which, by being advantageously placed on an eminence, commanded all the approaches to their line.

On the evening of his arrival in sight of the allies, mareschal de Luxemburg dislodged a detachment of the enemy, posted in the village of Landen, which stood far advanced before the brook of that name. Between this village and that of Romsdorf, he placed forty battalions in the night. He formed his centre of eight lines of horse and foot intermixed. His horse on the left wing were ordered to extend themselves to the Geette, opposing their line to the thick hedge, which covered the front of the enemy's right. The French were formed before five in the morning, and the cannonading began on both sides. Six brigades, under the duke of Berwick and two other lieutenant-generals, attacked the village of Neerwinden. This important post was carried, but was soon recovered by the vigilance of William, who had the good fortune, at the same instant, to see his enemy repulsed on every side. The centre of the French army was not properly sustained by either wing

But Luxemburgh was not to be intimidated. He made a second effort at Neerwinden, and succeeded. He was again repulsed. He resolved to attack some other quarter of the enemy; but they were inaccessible every where. Neerwinden was attacked for the third time. William with great bravery led twice the English infantry to the intrenchment, which the enemy endeavoured to force. Nothing, however, could resist the impetuosity of the French. Their centre, reinforced by their right, opened a way for their cavalry, into the very lines of the allies; out-flanked the English, and charged and put to flight the Hanoverians and the Spaniards.

William, perceiving this disorder, advanced suddenly with a part of his left wing; but the enemy allowing him no time to form, flanked the Dutch horse as they came, and broke them in a furious onset, before the English could draw into a line. The king, however, was not to be driven from the field; he ordered his troops to charge even in their present situation, when he perceived his right wing driven headlong into the Geette. Nothing but confusion could now be seen throughout the camp; the bridge being too much crowded by the runaways, many were drowned in the river. William retreated in some order, with the remains of his left wing, leaving a complete victory to the enemy. Sixty-six pieces of cannon, eight mortars, eighty standards, colours, and other trophies, fell into the hands of the French. Twelve thousand of the allies were slain, and two thousand made prisoners. Luxemburgh gained little but glory by the conflict. He lost eight thousand of his best troops in the field, and his number of wounded was so considerable, as to prevent him from taking immediate advantage of the consternation of the enemy. Being at length reinforced by detachments from the coasts of Picardy and Normandy, the French marshal moved towards Charleroy, and sat down before that place on the eleventh of September. William made no efforts to raise the siege, though the garrison behaved with such spirit as deserved relief. The king quitted the army on the fifth of October, and Charleroy surrendered on the eleventh of that month.

Nor were the fortunes of William more propitious at sea. While the navy of England had been culpably neglected, the navy of France had been augmented by every means which ingenuity could devise. All their ships in the ports of the ocean, had assembled at Brest under Tourville. The designs of France were facilitated by the judicious but unfortunate conduct of the English merchants. Having suffered, in consequence of the neglect of the admiralty, to a great extent, from the privateers of the enemy, they resolved to keep their richest ships in their ports, till sufficient convoys could be obtained. Four hundred merchantmen, consisting of English, Dutch, and Hamburghers, many of which had been for eighteen months ready to sail, and bound for the Straits, lay waiting for convoy on the nineteenth of May, when orders were sent from the admiralty, for the whole fleet to sail, with as many merchantmen as might seem convenient. They accordingly sailed for the Straits, under the protection of sir George Rooke, with a squadron of 23 men of war, English and Dutch.

The fleet commanded by Tourville had sailed from Brest in the middle of May, and had steered towards the Straits, in hopes of joining the squadron expected from Toulon, under D'Estrees. Having arrived in the bay of Lagos, he remained in that place till the fifteenth of June; when Rooke, and the fleet under his convoy, appeared. Deceived by false intelligence concerning the strength of the enemy, the English admiral prepared to engage. Perceiving his mistake, he stood away with an easy sail. He ordered, at the same time, the merchantmen nearest to the land to take refuge in the ports of Spain. The French came up with the sternmost ships of the fleet: three Dutch men of war fell into the hands of the enemy, and eighty merchantmen were taken in their flight, or destroyed in ports where they had taken shelter. Had Tourville pursued the merchant vessels, he might have surrounded and taken one of the richest fleets that had yet sailed from the shores of any country in Europe; but in his eagerness (a pardonable weakness in a hero!) to pursue the Dutch ships, he suffered this propitious opportunity of acquiring wealth and glory to escape.

In the midst of the commotion excited by these disorders, William arrived from Holland. The parliament met on the seventh of November. The disasters at sea, and the disappointments by land, had supplied the opposition party with ample materials of declamation,

and had excited throughout the country a general feeling of impatience and discontent. Advantage was taken by James of the state of the public mind, and he continued his correspondence with the disaffected clergy. He maintained a correspondence with Caermarthen, and by his advice, William, according to the wishes of James, reinstated Russel in the command of the fleet. Sunderland himself, if credit may be given to the Stuart papers, was not unwilling to proffer his services to James, but was repulsed by that monarch, who, having once experienced the extent of his treachery, could not be persuaded of his sincerity.

In his opening speech, the king expressed his regret, that his joy at the meeting of parliament was repressed by disappointment by land, and miscarriages at sea. The former he attributed to the number of his enemies, and the latter to the misconduct of those, to whom the naval force had been entrusted. He declared his resolution to punish the offenders, and trusted that his faithful parliament would enable him, by the liberality of their supplies, to prosecute the war both naval and military with vigour and success. The speech was received with opposite sentiments; and it was not till after six days of violent debates among the lords, that the question of supply was permitted to precede the investigation into the disasters of the fleet. In the money bill of this year, the first lottery, and the establishment of a bank of England, were remarkable expedients of finance. One million was raised by means of the first, and one million five hundred thousand pounds by the second: but even these resources were unequal to the requisite supply, and the borrowing of sums upon interest, to be paid out of funds arising from permanent taxes, laid the first foundation of the national debt.

A bill for the naturalization of all foreign protestants, created violent debates in the house of commons; and excited every class of society to so determined an expression of alarm and intolerant enthusiasm, that the court party was intimidated into silence, and the measure was relinquished.

The Irish gentlemen, who had made their appeal to the English parliament, renewed their complaints of Coningsby and Porter, whose injustice and tyranny had reduced Ireland to misery, and exasperated every persuasion and every rank of society. Though the charges were of the blackest die, and though they were fully proved, and had been committed since the establishment of a regular government, the commons declined to support the bill of impeachment, preferred against them by the earl of Bellamont, on the ground that, in times of domestic commotions, exertions of power might be necessary, which should not be punished, though they ought not to be sanctioned. Coningsby and Porter received a pardon under the great seal, while the earl of Bellamont, for his exertions in the cause of justice, was deprived of his place under government. Such is too frequently the reward of intrepidity and rectitude!

The adherents of the late king had represented to the court of France, that thirty thousand men would be necessary to ensure a revolution in England; but, discouraged and alarmed by the vague and unsatisfactory answers of Lewis to their proposals, they became more moderate in their demands, and more urgent in their entreaties. Marlborough continued, in his letters, to exhort the abdicated monarch to activity; and Russel received the emissary of James, a captain Lloyd, with every mark of respect and confidence. He refused to avoid the French admiral, but promised to use his utmost exertions to gain over the officers of his fleet, and to promote the revolution. A correspondence equally clandestine and criminal, was interchanged with James by Shrewsbury, who had succeeded Nottingham as first secretary of state, Godolphia, first lord commissioner of the treasury, and the earl of Sunderland, of whom the latter two were the confidential advisers of William. Unacquainted with their proceedings, or trusting to his own vigilance in counteracting their intrigues, William selected Russel as first commissioner of the admiralty; Shrewsbury possessed at least the reputation of an honest whig; and the prudence of the marquis of Caermarthen was regarded, as a security for his fidelity to the existing powers. Several individuals, who were known to be adverse to the late revolution, were either continued in employment, or raised to office; and the earl of Abingdon, at that time in actual correspondence with James, succeeded to a place of profit and responsibility.

In the beginning of May, the king landed in Holland, where he held a conference with

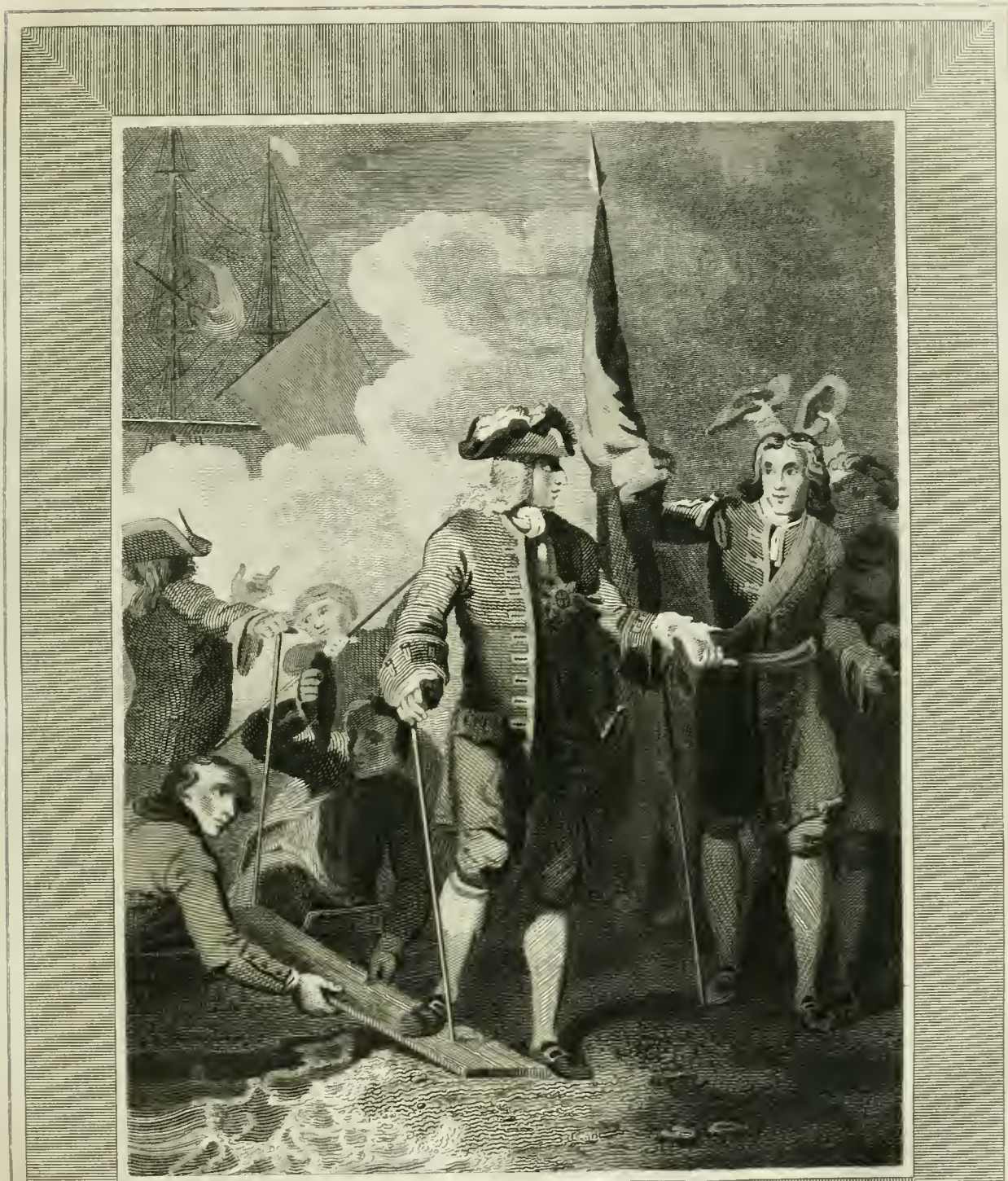
the states-general. On the third of June, he was met by the electors of Cologne and Bavaria at Bertherine Abbey. The exertions of the confederates were such as to promise an easy and triumphant campaign. The duke of Luxemburgh had taken post between Mons and Maubeuge; and the dauphin, having assumed the command, crossed the Sambre to a position at Fleurus. From this place he removed on the eighteenth, while the confederated army marched to Rosbeck, and formed his encampment between St. Tron and Wanheim. The intention of William, to cross the Scheldt, was prevented by the rapid and unexpected march of the enemy; a circumstance so acceptable to the French monarch, that he commanded his letter of thanks to be read at the head of each regiment and squadron of the army. The allied army having compelled the town of Huy to surrender, and Dixmude, Deus, and other towns being occupied and fortified as winter-quarters, the dauphin returned to Versailles, and William made preparations for his departure for England. On the eighth of November he landed at Margate, and opened the session of parliament on the twelfth. The king, in the hope of obtaining a liberal supply, agreed to the provisions of the bill for triennial parliaments, by which it was enacted, that a parliament should be held once in three years at least; that no parliament should continue longer than three years at the utmost, to be counted from the first day of the first session; and that the parliament then subsisting should cease and determine on the first day of November next following. Several noblemen, however, protested against the bill, as tending to the continuance of the present parliament, longer than was consistent with the constitution of England.

The attention of William was diverted, for a time, from the intrigues of his court, and the debates of contending parties, by the alarming indisposition of his consort, which terminated in her death on the twenty-eighth of December. Her affability, discretion, and propriety of demeanor, had rendered her the object of general attachment. Her person was tall and graceful; her manners elegant, easy, and imposing; her eye was piercing; and though her complexion was not fair, the features of her countenance were regular and pleasing. An implicit deference to the will and inclination of her husband, the predominating virtue of her life. Though she acted, during the absence of William, with judgment and discretion, she was better qualified by nature to fulfil the duties of domestic life, than to adorn the throne, or direct the government. Her good qualities were rather negative than positive; her good sense was always more apparent and predominant than her sensibility; and with every consideration for the difficulties of her peculiar situation, it is impossible not to accuse her of inexcusable unkindness, as a sister and a child. On her deathbed she refused to see the princess Anne, but was afterwards persuaded to send her a a message of forgiveness. The princess had begun, in the year 1692, a correspondence with her father, but the death of Mary having opened a nearer prospect to the crown, she thought it expedient to conciliate the favour and confidence of William. The king, on his part, was induced by the dread of her resentment for former injuries, and by reflecting that a great proportion of his subjects had been retained in their allegiance by a sentiment of respect to Mary, as the daughter of the late king, to present her with her sister's jewels, and load her with other indications of particular favour.

WILLIAM.

The death of the queen neither excited any unusual sensation in the people at large, nor interrupted the course of parliamentary business. A futile charge, the offspring of cunning, knavery, and ignorance, against certain pretended conspirators in Lancaster and Cheshire, was laid before the commons, but regarded with merited contempt. Lunt, the informer, being desired to point out the prisoners, in the court at Manchester, mistook their identity. At the Lancaster assizes, the witnesses were tried and found guilty of perjury.

After several vehement debates, respecting the affairs of the East India Company, the impeachment of the duke of Leeds, who had been successively distinguished by the titles of sir Thomas Osborne, lord Latimer, the earl of Danby, and marquis of Caermarthen, and was suspected of participation in the frauds of sir Thomas Cooke, the governor of the East India Company, became the most important subject of parliamentary discussion.



LANDING OF WILLIAM AT TORBAY.

London, Pub. May 2-1785 by Rich.d Evans White row Spitalfields.

It being discovered, however, in the course of the debates, that 10,000 pounds of the sums embezzled by Cooke, had found their way into the coffers of William, and several minor sums into the pockets of his favourites, the proceedings were languidly conducted; and one Robarts, a Swiss, being the only person who could prove the guilt of the duke, he was sent to his own country. A proclamation for shutting the ports of the kingdom against his flight, was not issued till nine days after the address of the lords, recommending that measure; and all proceedings were prevented, by the prorogation of the parliament on the third of May.

Having appointed on that day a regency, consisting of the chief officers of state, the king arrived on the fourteenth of May at the Hague. The mareschal de Luxemburgh had paid the debt of nature, and Lewis, despairing to find a successor to so great a captain, instructed his generals to act, during the course of the ensuing campaign, on the defensive. The mareschal de Villeroy received the command of the principal army in Flanders; the second army was submitted to the orders of De Boufflers. The line to be defended by the French, extended from Namur on the right to Dunkirk on the left. De Boufflers assembled his army near Mons to cover Namur, and Villeroy posted himself between the Scheldt and the Lys to protect Tournay, Ypres, and Dunkirk.

William assembled his army in three divisions: the first, under the elector of Bavaria, advanced to the Scheldt and the Lys; the third division, under the duke of Wirtemburgh, invested the fort of Knoque; and the king himself was posted with the second division at Becelaer on the Heule. In order to amuse the enemy, he made a variety of movements, and risked the attack of any one of his divisions by the whole French army. But Villeroy possessed not the resolution or sagacity of his immortal predecessor: and William, having completed his preparations, resolved to prosecute the siege of Namur. The enterprise was formed by the elector of Bavaria with his native troops, the forces of several German princes, and a body of cavalry. Villeroy, at length perceiving the designs of William, directed Boufflers to throw into the place seven regiments of dragoons, while he himself, instead of making any attempt to relieve Namur, resolved to fall upon the prince of Vaudemont, who lay, with an inferior force, within three leagues of his army. Notwithstanding the disadvantageous circumstances and situation of the prince's encampment, his adversary deliberated concerning the manner of attack, till the opportunity was lost. The same advantage was presented for the second time; but the prince retreated, in the presence of Villeroy, with admirable skill, and sought protection beneath the cannon of Ghent.

In the mean time, the trenches were opened before Namur. On the eighteenth of July, after forcing the French (who had attempted a sally) to retreat, William commanded the traverses and the advanced works to be stormed, and the ground taken from the enemy to be occupied with batteries. On the twenty-first of July, the king carried the first counterscarp, and the elector of Bavaria found means to throw a bridge across the Sambre, which facilitated the reduction of the place. Notwithstanding the obstinate bravery of the French, the out-works were at length carried by the besiegers, and a practicable breach was effected in the inner wall. The town capitulated on the fourth of August, and the garrison under De Boufflers retired on the sixth to the castle. Villeroy, in the mean time, having crossed the Lys and the Scheldt, made a demonstration of hastening to raise the siege, though Brussels was the real object of his designs. Under the pretext of revenging the attacks of the English fleet, on the maritime places of Flanders, he bombarded that city. After destroying fifteen hundred houses, and many public buildings, undisturbed by the prince de Vaudemont, (who, an eye-witness of Villeroy's proceedings, was unable to prevent or avenge the destruction of the town,) he directed his march towards Namur; but found the allies so strongly posted, that he retired in the silence of the night. The confederates pursued the siege of the castle with vigour; and, on the thirtieth of August, made so formidable a lodgement, that the French proposed to capitulate on the first of September. The want of success that marked the exertions of William in preceding occasions, and the loss of that important place in the last campaign, rendered its capture at the present moment peculiarly gratifying. Having enjoyed, for some time, at his favourite residence of Loo, the plaudits of his friends, and

the recollection of his past success, he repaired to the Hague on the seventh of October, and after settling the operations of the next campaign, returned to England, and arrived at Kensington on the twenty-first day of the month.

The naval operations of the year were few and unimportant. St. Maloes, Dunkirk, and Calais, were successively bombarded by lord Berkeley, without exciting alarm, or being productive of extensive injury; Wilmot and Lillingston, who commanded an expedition against the French in Hispaniola, neglected the interest of the public in their eagerness for spoil; and the marquis of Caermarthen, stationed with some ships at Scilly, mistook a fleet of merchantmen for the enemy's navy, and fled, with all his sails, from the vessels which he ought to have defended.

The elections for the ensuing parliament, were decidedly in favour of the cause of William, and of those principles that contributed to the origin and success of the revolution. The two houses met on the twenty-second of November, and before any supply was voted, a bill was brought in for regulating trials, in cases of treason and misprision of treason. The bill was opposed in its progress by the adherents of the court; but, the popularity of the measure at length prevailed. By this salutary law it was provided, that no person shall be tried for high treason, unless the indictment be found within three years after the offence is committed; that the prisoner shall have a copy of the indictment, and a list of the pannel of jurors two days before his trial, and that he shall have the same compulsive power with the crown, to force his witnesses to appear. On the second of December, the commons voted a supply: two millions five hundred thousand pounds were assigned to the navy, and two millions for the support of an army of eighty-seven thousand men. The commons were for some time agitated by vehement debates respecting the currency, which terminated in passing a bill for a new coinage, and voting twelve hundred thousand pounds to supply the deficiency arising from clipped money. The sum was raised by a duty for seven years, on houses and window-lights. On the fourteenth of December, the lords sent down to the commons an address to the king, against an act passed in the Scottish parliament, for erecting a company trading to Africa and the East Indies. The commons having concurred with the peers, the two houses attended the king with their address, and were answered by William, that he had been "ill-served" in Scotland, but hoped that some remedy might be found, for the evil of which they complained. This indefinite reply was unsatisfactory to the commons; and they resolved, that the directors of the Scottish company should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors; that a council of trade should be established by act of parliament, for the preservation of the commerce of England, and that the commissioners should be nominated by parliament, though none of them should be members of either house.

William regarded this attempt to establish a new board, by act of parliament, as a precedent for future invasions on his executive power, and he ordered his servants to oppose the bill, with all the influence of office; but the discontent of the people, occasioned by the numerous losses at sea, swayed even the dependants of the court, and the earl of Sunderland supported the bill, in opposition to the declared sentiments of his sovereign; whose disappointment and mortification were still further enhanced, by a formal complaint before parliament, from the gentlemen of Denbigh, respecting a warrant issued by the king, conferring upon Bentinck, created earl of Portland, several valuable lordships in the principality, and a part of the antient domains of the prince of Wales. The house immediately voted an address against the grant, and the king reluctantly recalled the warrant.

The discontents of the people, and the violence of the commons, re-animated the hopes of James, and awakened Lewis from his indifference. The French monarch agreed to furnish an army, and every thing necessary for a descent; troops intended for the invasion repaired to Calais and Dunkirk, and James himself arrived at the former of these places on the twentieth of February. During the progress of these preparations, one Crosby was sent over by the disaffected party, to extort from James his express approbation of a projected attempt on the person of the king; and obtained a commission for general insurrection, against William and all his adherents. This commission was placed in the hands of sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, a

man of courage, and an experienced soldier. He arrived in London in the month of January, and formed an intimate connection with one Harrison, a priest, with captain Charnock, who had formerly been a fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, and had become a convert to the Roman catholic religion; with Porter, a captain in the army, and sir William Perkins.

After revolving a variety of enterprises, these daring and inconsiderate partisans of the late king, determined to attack William, with an armed party of forty men, in the midst of his guards. The scene of the intended treason, was the lane between Brentford and Turnham Green, through which he usually passed on his return from Richmond. But their views were disappointed by the treachery of a captain Fisher, whom the conspirators had resolved to employ in the attack. He disclosed every circumstance, relating to the conspiracy, to the earl of Portland, two days before that appointed for the execution of the design; and his testimony was confirmed by Prendergrass, an Irishman, who had joined in the conspiracy. The king, having examined them in person, requested them to avoid suspicion, by resuming their intercourse with their friends; and remained at home on the fifteenth of February, the day appointed for the execution of the plot. The conspirators, therefore, postponed the further prosecution of their design till the twenty-second of February; but on that day the king again remained at home. A panic seized the whole party; a few were able to escape, but the rest were seized in their beds on the ensuing night.

On receiving intelligence of the failure of the assassination plot, and that Russel was dispatched to the coast of France, with a fleet, consisting of 150 sail of the line, James relinquished his design of invading England, and, disembarking with his troops, returned to St. Germains.

On the twenty-third of February, his majesty informed the parliament of the plot against his person and government; and was answered by an address from both houses, congratulating him upon his happy deliverance. They also subscribed articles of association, by which they solemnly bound themselves to maintain his government, to protect his sacred person against the late king, and his other enemies, foreign or domestic. All the corporations in England followed the loyal example of the parliament. The objections of the people to William were obliterated at once, by the abhorrence of the conspiracy against his life; and the imprudence of his enemies confirmed the stability of a throne, of which his possession had before been comparatively precarious.

In consequence of a proclamation for apprehending the conspirators, several of them fled beyond sea. Of those that were apprehended, Charnock, King, and Keys were executed on the eighteenth of March; sir John Friend, and sir William Perkins, on the thirteenth of April; and brigadier Rookwood, major Lewick, and Mr. Cranbour, on the nineteenth of the same month. Some time afterwards, sir John Fenwick was apprehended, and charged particularly with having been concerned in that part of the plot, relating to the intended invasion. Having seduced one of the witnesses against him to abscond, it was found that, in case of trial, he could not suffer conviction; and an act of attainder was therefore passed, by a small majority of both houses; many of the lords and commons, though convinced of his delinquency, being unwilling that he should be punished by proceedings so contrary to the principles of the constitution. Sir John was executed on the twenty-eighth of January.

So sanguine were the expectations of Lewis, that he actually regulated his military operations in Flanders, on the supposition that the plot against the life of William would succeed: and with a design of attempting some exploit of importance, early in the campaign, while the allied army should be weakened by the absence of the English troops, he established an extensive magazine at Givet. The earl of Athlone, and lieutenant Coehorn, left Namur, at the head of forty squadrons and thirty battalions, having fifteen pieces of cannon and six mortars. With part of this army Athlone invested Dinant, and, in the mean time, Coehorn advanced to Givet, and early in the morning began to bombard the town, which, together with the large magazine established there, was wholly destroyed by four o'clock in the afternoon. Having performed this important service, the generals led their troops to their former station.

Having committed the powers of government to persons, in whose integrity he could

confide, the king embarked at Margate on the seventh of May, and in the evening arrived at Orange Polder, from which place he immediately proceeded to the Hague. The French had taken the field early in the spring, but were obliged to act entirely on the defensive; and as the plans of the English monarch were rendered abortive by the scarcity of money, no enterprise of importance was attempted during the campaign. The land bank, an establishment founded on land-securities, was scarcely projected before it failed, after having greatly injured the credit of the bank of England; and all the other funds of the year proved defective.

The treasury of Lewis being exhausted, and the losses the nation had sustained having dispirited his subjects, he determined to direct his attention to conciliatory measures. He therefore dispatched an ambassador to Holland; but the states-general declined holding any conference on the subject of a peace, without the consent of William and the allies. In order to accelerate the negotiation, Lewis pursued offensive measures in Catalonia, where his general, the duke de Vendome, attacked the Spanish camp in the neighbourhood of Ostalric; but, after making several spirited assaults, and putting the enemy to considerable loss and inconvenience, he was obliged to retreat.

A peace between France and the duke of Savoy changed the aspect of affairs in Italy. This pacification, which greatly disconcerted the allies, had been long negotiated by the count de Tessé, as intermediate agent between the duke and the mareschal de Catinat. The duke, willing to secure the supplies of the year from England and Holland, concealed the treaty for some time after it was actually signed. When he professed to avow the conditions, they only seemed to comprehend the neutrality of Italy; he suppressed the terms which concerned his own interest; but, to convince the confederates that he was determined to abide by his agreement with France, he laid siege, on the thirteenth of September, to Valentia, in conjunction with the marquis de Catinat.

In the course of this summer, the French coast was harrassed and despoiled by the activity of lord Berkeley. Yet the ministry were so greatly apprehensive of an invasion, that they constantly maintained six thousand men in arms, for the protection of the maritime places. A small fleet, commanded by admiral Berbon, was dispatched to block up Dunbart in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk; but that intrepid commander, taking advantage of a thick fog, effected an escape, and directing his course towards the Baltic, fell in with a fleet of Dutch traders, under the convoy of six frigates, which he captured, together with half the merchantmen. A short time after, meeting with the outer bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ships of the line, all his prizes were retaken, except thirteen, with which he returned to Dunkirk, having turned two of the frigates adrift, and burnt the other four.

William left the army, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his palace at Loo, where he indulged himself for some time in his favourite amusement of stag-hunting. After visiting the court of Brandenburgh at Cleves, and conferring with the states of Holland at the Hague, he embarked for England, and landed at Margate on the sixth day of October. On the twentieth of the same month, he opened the parliament: he informed them that overtures had been made for a general peace, but that the only means to establish the public tranquillity, was to shew themselves prepared for a vigorous and effectual war, for which purpose an immediate and liberal supply would be demanded. The commons agreed to a resolution, pledging themselves to grant his majesty such support, as should enable him to prosecute the war with vigour: and voted six millions for the service of the ensuing year. It was resolved to raise supplies, by imposing a tax on all persons, proportioned to the real value of their personal estates, their stock upon land and in trade, or their emoluments by offices or professions; and a duty of one shilling a week was exacted from all persons who did not receive alms. A resolution was formed to yield all possible support to the credit of the bank of England, and in consequence of this it was agreed, to engraft upon the capital new subscriptions to the amount of eight hundred thousand pounds, at the rate of eight per cent. interest, to be paid by tallies and bank notes. A million was subscribed in a few days; and from this period, the credit of the bank so rapidly encreased, that its bills bearing interest were esteemed better than cash.

1697. The public business was finished on the sixteenth of April, by a speech, in which the king declared his intention to leave the administration of the government in the hands of persons, on whom he could depend. An event, which happened three days after the rising of parliament, rendered remarkable the concluding paragraph. To the astonishment of the nation, William raised the earl of Sunderland to the office of lord chamberlain, in the room of the earl of Dorset, who had suffered himself to be bought out of his place with the public money. That this nobleman uniformly betrayed the late king to the views of the present, when prince of Orange, is now known, and was even then suspected: there seemed, therefore, to have been a degree of imprudence in the appointment, though the place which he held before in William's favour entitled him to a share in the management of public affairs. On the twenty-second of April, the earl was sworn privy-counsellor, and as such took his place at the board; and though at the time in correspondence with James, was one of those persons, on whom William declared to his parliament, that he could thoroughly depend.

The government being thus established, and a regency nominated, on the twenty-sixth day of April his majesty embarked for Holland, in order to be present at the congress appointed to be held on the tenth of February, for the negotiation of a general peace. The conference was opened by Callieres, the French minister, who informed the other plenipotentiaries, that he was authorised by the king his master, to agree to the following preliminary articles: That the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the basis of the present treaty; that Strasburgh should be restored to the emperor, and Luxemburgh to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and all the places captured by the French in Catalonia, since the conclusion of the treaty of Nimegnen; that Dinant should be ceded to the bishop of Liege; that all the re-unions since the treaty of Nimeguen should be void; that Lorraine should be destroyed, pursuant to the treaty for that purpose; and that, immediately upon the negotiation being concluded, the king of France should formally acknowledge William to possess an indisputable claim to the sovereignty of England, and all its dependancies. The progress of this treaty was interrupted by the death of Charles XI. of Sweden, who was succeeded by Charles XII. then a minor; but the queen and five senators, to whom the late king had by his will delegated the power of government, being determined that the mediation should go forward, dispatched a commissioner to the Swedish plenipotentiary, intimating their pleasure. The demands of the imperial plenipotentiaries, and of the representatives of the several German princes, were now delivered to the mediator.

The French king, apprehensive that the house of Austria might insist on the treaty of the Pyrenees, determined to make a final effort in Flanders and Catalonia, to compel the Spaniards to accept his own terms. The campaign was opened with the siege of Aith, which surrendered in a few days. William joined the army in person on the 24th of May. The marshals De Villeroy and Boufflers were too advantageously posted to be attacked; but the king frustrated the designs of the French on Brussels and Trous. The chief efforts of Lewis continued on the side of Spain. The duke de Vendome laid siege to Barcelona by land, while the count d'Estrees blocked up the place by sea. The count de Velasco, dividing the force with which he proposed to raise the siege, was surprised in both his camps, and put to flight. The city capitulated on the last day of July, and that conquest determined the emperor and Spain to listen to proposals for a general peace.

The princess of Denmark had for six years maintained a correspondence with her father, full of assurances of duty, and expressions of repentance. The bad health of the king had awakened her ambition, and she wrote to her father, desiring to know his pleasure, whether he would permit her to ascend the throne, according to the act of settlement, should the prince of Orange (for so she called king William) happen to die. She insinuated that, should he refuse to accede to this expedient, considering the present disposition of the kingdom, he would be still further removed from the hope of regaining his authority: since the sceptre would fall into more tenacious hands, out of which it could not be so easily wrested. The reasoning of the princess was too refined for the temper of her father. He expressed his conviction, that of all

restitutions, none is harder to make than that of a crown. He excused himself to his daughter, but declared his adherence to the resolution of placing himself in the hands of his former subjects.

The popular historians of England, destitute of information which accident has supplied, through the medium of the historical advocates of James, have speculated with wonder, on the mode of negotiation, preparatory to the treaty of Ryswick. The earl of Portland, on the part of the king of England, and De Boufflers, in the name of Lewis, met between the armies, and held a conference in the open field, on the tenth of July. They met again, on the fifteenth and twentieth of the same month, in the same manner. But on the 26th of July, and the 2nd of August, they retired to a house in the suburbs of Hall, and reduced to writing the terms to which they had agreed in the field. So singular a mode of negotiation involved the European world in wonder and perplexity. The documents, which have descended unexamined to modern times, unveil the mystery. Lewis, unwilling to desert James, proposed that the prince of Wales should succeed to the crown of England, after the death of William; a proposal to which the king agreed with little hesitation. He engaged to procure the repeal of the act of settlement, and, by another act, to declare the prince of Wales his successor to the throne.

The fifty thousand pounds a-year, settled as a jointure on king James's queen, was agreed to be paid: though the money was afterwards detained on various pretences. On the third of August, the king left the army, and retired to Diereu. He sent from thence the earl of Portland, to acquaint the ministers assembled at the congress, that he had adjusted his own affairs, and those of his kingdom with France; and that he earnestly desired the allies, and particularly the emperor, to hasten the conclusion of an honourable, but expeditious peace.

In these concessions to France, he yielded all his professions to England; and, by an act of indiscretion or indifference, deserted the principles to which he owed the throne. The successors provided by the act of settlement, he hated or despised; he had no children; and his few relations he did not love. Though James had displeased the nation, he had not injured William; and the son might demand compassion, but could not deserve his hatred. That his birth was spurious, was only reported to amuse and deceive the vulgar; and would no longer impress the minds of men. But James, though he could bear with patience the asserted usurpation of his nephew, would not permit his son to occupy his throne. The same parliament that had conferred the royal authority on the prince of Orange, had settled the reversion of the crown on the princess of Denmark, and by reversing the act of settlement, he disjointed the whole chain which bound the people to his government. James remembered too, that the repeal of the act of settlement would, in all probability, include a condition, that the person and conscience of the prince of Wales should be in the custody of the English. The French king urged no further a point, on which the obstinacy of the exiled monarch was so evident; and William, having arranged the terms of a pacification with Lewis, left the army on the third of August, and retired to Dieren, dispatched from thence the earl of Portland, to impress the congress, and particularly the servants of the emperor, with the expedience of acceding to a peace, no longer impeded by the disposition of the French monarch, or by his own concerns. The treaties of Munster and Nimeguen served as a basis for that with Holland. The places taken in Catalonia, the dutchy of Luxemburg, the county of Chinei, Charleroy, Mons, Aith, Courtrai, and all places united to France by the chambers of Metz and Briscoe were restored to Spain. The king of England agreed to pay fifty thousand pounds a-year, by way of jointure, to king James's queen; and Lewis XIV. engaged not to disturb William in the possession of his dominions. The peace was concluded on the 10th of September, and proclaimed in London on the 20th of October.

CHAPTER III.

WILLIAM III.

[1697 to 1702.]

Proceedings in Parliament—Establishment of an East India Company—Missionaries to America—Intrigues of Lewis—Difficulty attached to the Spanish succession—Reduction of the Land Forces—Trial of Warwic and Mohun—Valuation of the forfeited Estates—Discontents of the Scotch East India Company—Dismissal of Somers—Second Partition Treaty—Mortifications to which William is subjected—Death of the Duke of Glocester—Discussions on the Treaty of Partition—Death of King James—Impeachment of Somers—Acts relating to the Succession—The King's Illness and Death—His Character.

THE emperor agreed to an armistice with France, two days after the signature of the preceding treaties, and in the course of the following month acceded to the negotiation; having obtained in his own behalf, or in that of the empire, the restitution of several towns and districts, which had been gained to the enemy by actual conquest, or seized under specious but unfounded pretexts.

THE advantages arising to England, from the peace of Ryswick, were by no means commensurate with the amount of blood and treasure expended in the war. Though weakened and discouraged, the empire of France was neither reduced so low in spirit or resources, as to preclude her future designs on the other states of the continent, or her co-operation in the re-establishment of James: and even the present generation has reason to lament, that the intimate union, at this period, of England and Holland, involved us in that superfluous and officious interference in the affairs of the continent, from which we have escaped without destruction, by singular, and perhaps undeserved good fortune.

IN his opening speech to the two houses of parliament, William congratulated the parliament on the conclusion of the war; expressed his sorrow that the debt on the fleet and army, and the deficiency of the various funds, would preclude his people from all the relief that might otherwise have been expected; and suggested the necessity, (the revenues of the crown having been anticipated to public uses,) of a more established and regular provision for his personal necessities. He urged the experience of confirming the security of England, by the maintenance of an adequate force by sea and land; and concluded, by assuring the parliament of his determination to correct the abuses, that might have crept into the administration during the war, and effectually to suppress profaneness and atheism. The suggestion of the king, that a land-force would be necessary to the security of the kingdom, was received with dissatisfaction by the commons, who resolved, without a division, that all the land-forces of the kingdom, which had been raised since the 29th of September 1680, should be paid and disbanded. The courtiers made several efforts to procure a relaxation of this vote, but their exertions were in vain; and the earl of Sunderland, having strenuously supported the wishes of the king, was alarmed, by the violence of his parliamentary opponents, into the resignation of his office. As some compensation for the mortification thus inflicted on their sovereign, the commons voted that, in acknowledgment of his great services to the nation, £700,000 should be granted to him out of the civil list. Of this sum it was intended that £100,000 should be appropriated to the payment of the jointure of James's queen, as if she were a widow; but the removal of James from St. Germains being the condition of the payment,

and that stipulation not being executed, the performance of the other parts of the contract could not be expected.

Among the other objects which attracted the attention of parliament, the establishment of a new East India Company, the punishment of smugglers with France, and of false endorsers of exchequer bills, and the investigation of the frauds committed by Knight and Duncombe, were the most remarkable. Several deficiencies having occurred, in the funds granted during the last session, a vote passed for providing for the payment of the exchequer bills. As these bills bore interest when they were re-issued, after they had been received in lieu of taxes, some of the officers of the exchequer, customs, and excise, backed them with false endorsements, in order to obtain the accumulating interest. For this fraud Duncombe and Knight were expelled the house of commons, and imprisoned in the Tower. A bill for punishing Duncombe, by the forfeiture of nearly one half of his ample fortune, was rejected by a majority of one voice in the house of lords, which commanded the release of the delinquent. He was remanded to prison by the other house, jealous of the interference of the peers, and remained in confinement during the remainder of the session.

1698. A petition being presented to the house of commons, by colonel Melchinburne, who commanded in conjunction with Walker, during the siege of Londonderry, requesting the payment of arrears to the troops employed in its defence, the commons bestowed warm encomiums on the bravery of the officers and soldiers, and recommended the petition to the king. A committee from the house of commons reported, that a pamphlet published by William Molineux, a gentleman of Dublin, was of a dangerous tendency, because it inculcated an erroneous opinion, that Ireland was not dependent upon, and unalienably annexed to the regal throne of England. The commons, therefore, addressed his majesty, imploring him to discountenance and punish all who had been or might be guilty of such nefarious attempts, a request with which the king promised to comply.

Religion next engrossed the attention of the sovereign and the nation. In reply to an address from the commons, on the general corruption and immorality of manners, William expressed his desire, that some more effectual means might be adopted, of suppressing infamous books against the Trinity. A plan was formed, under the auspices of Dr. Thomas Bray, for sending missionaries, with proper books of instruction, to the English colonies of America; and a bill having been brought into the house of commons, for the better discovery of estates given to superstitious uses, Dr. Bray presented a petition, that some part of these estates might be granted for the propagation of the reformed religion in Virginia, Maryland, and the Leeward Islands; and a society for the reformation of manners was formed under the patronage of the king, who prorogued the parliament on the third day of July, after thanking them for the many testimonies he had received of their affection. Two days afterwards the parliament was dissolved.

Though William assumed the language of satisfaction and of gratitude, the resolutions of the commons, with regard to the army, made a lasting impression on his mind. Believing himself to be left by the reduction of his forces in a state of utter insecurity, he endeavoured to avert the hostility of France, by acts of friendship and conciliation. The earl of Portland, in the capacity of ambassador extraordinary, made his public entry into Paris, with a pomp more congenial with the vanity of Lewis, than with the gravity of his own master. The pacific views of William were met with corresponding sentiments on the part of the French king, whose ambition had been for a moment repressed, by the scantiness of his remaining resources, and the general distress which pervaded his kingdom.

Yet notwithstanding the conviction of Lewis, that a long interval of uninterrupted peace would best extend his glory, and re-establish his power, he could not look with apathy or inattention at the contest for the inheritance of Spain. The only pretenders to the succession of that kingdom, prior to the treaty of Ryswick, were the emperor and the elector of Bavaria; the first, as the male representative of the family of Austria; the latter as the husband of an arch-duchess, the only surviving child of the emperor, by the second daughter of Philip IV. of Spain. The powers of Europe, from jealousy of the house of Bourbon, had contested the right of the dauphin of France, though the son of the

eldest daughter, Maria Theresa. Philip himself, to her exclusion, had declared the descendants of her younger sister, Margaret, born of a second marriage, the heirs of his crown. The son of the elector of Bavaria, in default of male issue by Charles II., would therefore have possessed the whole succession, if the testament of Philip IV., or the renunciation of his eldest daughter, at her marriage with the French king, had been deemed valid and decisive.

The elector of Bavaria, either diffident of his right, or of his own power to support his claims, had applied for the protection of Lewis XIV. and had desired to know from that prince, what part of the Spanish dominions he would choose to reserve for himself. Lewis returned an evasive answer, and in December 1697, sent the marquis d'Harcourt, in the character of ambassador, to learn the state of parties in Spain, to enquire into the views of the court, and the disposition of the grandees, and above all, to discover and counteract the secret measures of the imperial ministers. Though he found that the party which favoured the lineal succession, in the family of Bourbon, were the most numerous, they had the least credit. The queen and her creatures favoured the emperor, and held the reins of government. When they despaired of the life of the king, they injured, by their eagerness, the cause they wished to promote. The prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who governed in Catalonia, supplanted the Spanish officers with Germans, and took every measure that seemed calculated to secure that province to the house of Austria, while he ultimately disobliged the Spaniards, without accomplishing his own views.

Such was the situation of affairs soon after the arrival of Portland at the court of France. Lewis XIV., wishing to preserve the peace, was anxious to enter into treaty with the king of England. But his designs were obstructed by the officious zeal of Portland, who insisted, to a degree beyond the intentions of his master, on the removal of James from St. Germains. Lewis, perceiving also that Portland was not sufficiently instructed to conclude the treaty, sent the count de Tallard with full powers to England. William disapproved of the mode of partition proposed by France; but the defenceless state, in which he had been left by his parliament, induced him to listen to any terms, calculated to continue the repose of Europe. His health was declining, and a feeble constitution had subjected him to a premature old age. The negotiation begun in France, between Lewis and the earl of Portland, was continued in England, between William and Tallard. Portland, in the mean time, was recalled, and succeeded in his embassy by his brother-in-law, the earl of Jersey. But though the negotiation advanced, it was not concluded, till William, by the dissolution of parliament, found leisure to repair to Holland.

The king appointed a regency, to govern in his absence, and departed for Holland in the latter end of July. His excuse for absence was founded on the necessity of recruiting his bodily strength, reduced by indisposition and fatigue. He appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence, and, as one of the number, nominated the earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and been constituted governor to the duke of Glocester. Sealed orders were left with the ministers, directing that sixteen thousand men should be retained in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, by which the standing army was limited to ten thousand. Having assisted in the assembly of the states-general, and given audience to several ambassadors at the Hague, the king repaired to his house at Loo, attended by the earls of Essex, Portland, and Selkirk. There he was visited by count Tallard, the French minister, who had instructions to negotiate the treaty concerning the Spanish succession. Portland wrote a letter to lord chancellor Somers, desiring his advice with regard to the French propositions, and accompanied by full powers under the great seal, with blanks to be filled up occasionally. The purport of this letter was imparted to the duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Montague, who consulted with the chancellor and Vernon on the subject, and the chancellor wrote an answer to the king as the issue of their joint deliberations. Before, however, it reached his majesty, the first treaty of partition had been signed by the earl of Portland and sir Joseph Williamson. The contracting powers agreed, that in case the king of Spain should die without issue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending upon the Spanish monarchy, and situated on the coast of Tuscany and the

adjacent islands, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, all places on the French side of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva, and Biscay, on the other side of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships, vessels, and stores, should devolve upon the dauphin, in consideration of his right to the crown of Spain; which, with all its other dependancies, should descend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, under the guardianship of his father; that the emperor's second son, the archduke Charles, should possess the dutchy of Milan; that this treaty should be communicated to the emperor, and to the elector of Bavaria, by the king of England and the states-general; that if either should refuse to agree to this partition, his proportion should remain in sequestration till the dispute could be accommodated; that, in case the electoral prince of Bavaria should die before his father, then the elector and his other heirs should succeed him in those dominions; and should the archduke reject the dutchy of Milan, it should be sequestrated, and governed by the prince de Vaudemont.—These arrangements were in some measure intended to obviate the will of Philip, father to the reigning king of Spain, who had settled his crown on the emperor's children. It has been already observed, that the dauphin, whose right to the succession Lewis had renounced in the most solemn manner, was son to Maria Theresa, the daughter of Philip; and the electoral prince of Bavaria was grandson to a daughter of Spain.

The king of Spain, who, contrary to the wishes and expectations of the contracting parties, had become acquainted with all the particulars of the treaty, resenting a division of all his dominions by foreigners, executed a will, declaring the electoral prince of Bavaria his universal heir, according to the testament of Philip IV. in favour of the descendants of his second daughter, to the exclusion of the house of Bourbon. The king himself unexpectedly recovered; and the hopes and fears of Europe were for a while prolonged.

After an absence which excited the jealousy of his subjects, who did not perceive, without uneasiness, his evident partiality to residence in Holland, William arrived in England on the third of December. Three days after the parliament met, and having chosen sir Thomas Littleton for their speaker, they recommended a strict attention to naval and military affairs; exhorted them to proceed in the payment of the public debts; and suggested the expedience of adoping some plan for employing the poor and encouraging trade.

The house of commons voted, on the 16th of December, that all the land forces in England should be reduced to 7000 men, and those to consist of the native subjects of the king; and that the forces in Ireland should be reduced to 1200 men. The king struggled hard to retain his Dutch guards, but without success. The number of men to be kept at sea was fixed at 15,000, to consist of seamen only; the house of commons perceiving the possibility of the sovereign keeping up an army under the name of marines. For the maintenance of these forces they gave an aid of £1,484,015 by a land-tax and subsidy of 3*s.* in the pound; and a clause was added to empower four commissioners to take an account of the estates forfeited in Ireland during the rebellion, and since February, 1688, and the quality, nature, and value of all such estates, and particulars of their grants and disposition. Certain complaints having been made by the house, in an address to the king, of mismanagement in the navy, which the earl of Orford applied to himself, that nobleman surrendered his places. On the 4th of May, the king prorogued the house to the 1st of June. 1698.

Among the other public acts of this period, the earl of Warwick and lord Mohun were tried at Westminster, in the latter end of March, by the house of peers, for the murder of Richard Cooke, esq. Warwick was found guilty of man-slaughter, and Mohun acquitted.

The king landed in Holland on the third of June; and besides receiving the compliments and visits of all the foreign ministers, was greeted with letters of acknowledgment from the grand Seignior and Peter the Great, for his mediation in the treaty of peace, which was concluded, on the sixth of January, between the plenipotentiaries of Mustapha II., the emperor Leopold, and the Czar of Muscovy; and soon after by those of the republic of Venice. He returned to England on the 17th of October, and opened the parliament on the 17th of November, in a speech recommending, as usual, a provision for the safety of the kingdom by sea and land, the 1699.

discharge of several debts, and the payment of the arrears to the princess of Denmark. On the fourth of December, the house presented an address to the king, expressing their suspicion, that some one about his majesty had endeavoured to misrepresent and create dissatisfaction towards them; a suspicion which the king declared, with frankness and promptitude, to be totally unfounded.

The commissioners appointed to examine and take account of the forfeited estates, delivered their report, from which it appeared, that the number of persons who were outlawed was 3921, of whom 1283 had been permitted to reverse their outlawry; that the total of the lands forfeited to the crown amounted to 1,060,792 acres, the value of which, calculating lives at six years' purchase, and inheritance at thirteen years' purchase, amounted to £2,685,130. Of these there had been restored 233,106 acres, amounting in value to £784,923. After every deduction and expence, the actual gain to the crown amounted to £1,699,343. A grant had passed the great seal to Elizabeth Villiers, now countess of Orkney, (a woman peculiarly favoured by William,) of all the private estates of the late king James, containing ninety-five thousand acres, worth £25,995 a-year.

The commons having examined this report, resolved unanimously, on the fifteenth of December, that a bill should be brought in to apply all forfeitures in Ireland, from the 13th of February 1689, to the use of the public. A clause was ordered to be inserted in the bill for erecting a judicature for determining claims touching the said forfeitures, but, at the same time, the house came to a resolution not to receive petitions from any person whatsoever. This uncandid proceeding offended the dispassionate, and disgusted the king. Two of the commissioners, sir Richard Leving and sir Francis Brewster, did not sign the report, and for that reason were allowed but five hundred pounds each, while £1000 was assigned to each of the rest out of the forfeitures. Sir Richard Leving was committed to the Tower, for asserting, that a member of the house wrote to the commissioners, to make a separate article of lady Orkney's grant, as that might implicate a certain *person*. Montague repeated this information to the house, and applied it to the king, giving for his authority Methuen, lord chancellor of Ireland. Methuen disclaimed the imputation. The commons voted that Montague's report was false and scandalous, and that the four commissioners who had signed the report, had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity.

On the 18th of January, and the 13th of February, the commons passed severe votes against those who had procured, and the ministers who had passed grants of the forfeited estates; and they resolved that they should be applied to paying off the army. To secure the passing of their original bill, thus augmented and explained, they annexed it to the grant of the land-tax, under the denomination of a bill of supply. An attempt was made to impede its progress in the house of lords; but after many conferences with the commons, and many indications of violence on the part of the latter, William transmitted a private letter to his friends among the lords, desiring them to withdraw their opposition. The bill was immediately passed without amendments, and William came suddenly to the house, gave his assent to the act of assumption, and prorogued the parliament without any speech from the throne.

The vexations of William were augmented by a dispute on the subject of the Scotch East India Company. They transmitted a petition to the king, in behalf of a captain of one of their vessels, who went into Carthagena to refit, and was there, together with thirteen of his men, detained and treated with inhumanity. Lord Basil Hamilton, however, having never waited upon the king, or given any testimony of his allegiance, was refused admission to his presence, received it through the medium of his secretary, and replied that he would demand of the king of Spain the release of the captain and his crew. The company resented the denial to lord Hamilton, but their expostulations were fruitless. On the twelfth of February, the house of lords presented an address to the king, representing that the Scottish settlement at Darien might tend to the prejudice of England, and to the disturbance of the peace with Spain. The Scotch, exasperated and alarmed, immediately entered into subscriptions for the defence of their property, and drew up a national address to the king, which was presented on the 26th of March. The parliament of Scotland met on the 21st of May, and the duke of Queens-

bury, the high-commissioner, delivered the king's letter, which contained in general terms assurances of his favour and protection, desiring that the forces might be retained, and a supply granted for that purpose. The council-general of the Indian and African company, made a representation to parliament of their case. Addresses poured in from all parts of the country, and a vote was proposed in the house, that the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal settlement, and that the parliament would maintain and support it. The high-commissioner, desirous of impeding these proceedings, adjourned the parliament for three days, and afterwards for a longer time. A number of the members drew up an address to the king, who, being more than once pressed for an answer, wrote a letter to the privy council, in which he declared his readiness to give all possible relief, exhorted them to avoid dissensions that might affect their own security, and give advantage to their common enemies. He assured them that important business abroad was the occasion of their adjournment, and that the parliament should meet on the fourteenth of May for the dispatch of business. The discontents of the Scottish nation were not relieved or pacified by these professions, and a general revolt might have occurred, had the power of the kingdom borne any proportion to the resentment of the people.

With the view of conciliating the favour of the house of commons, which had shown itself personally adverse to lord Somers, the king deprived that nobleman on the 21st of May of the great seal, and conferred it upon sir Nathan Wright.

The king departed for Holland in the beginning of August. The greater portion of his leisure, in the former part of the year, had been devoted to the negotiation for the second partition of the dominions of Spain; but a desire of persuading the emperor to enter into the same engagements, long prevented the king and the states of Holland from signing the treaty, though the terms had been long arranged. In the month of October the emperor, after various evasions, formally rejected every treaty of partition; yet neither the king of England, nor the states shewed any eagerness to close with France, till, in the beginning of January, in this year 1700, the king of Spain so manifestly declined, that his death was daily expected. This circumstance hastened the conclusion of the treaty, which was signed at London, on the twenty-first of February, by the earls of Portland and Jersey, and the comte de Tallard, and at the Hague on the fourteenth of March, by Briord, the French ambassador, and the plenipotentiaries of the states.

By this second division of the dominions of Spain, scarcely a vestige remained of the original arrangement. The name of the archduke Charles was substituted for that of the electoral prince of Bavaria, as heir of the kingdoms of Spain and of the Indies. Naples, Sicily, the marquisate of Final, the islands on the Italian shore, and the province of Guipuseoa, were to be possessed by the dauphin, together with the dutchies of Lorraine and Bar, which their native prince was appointed to exchange for the dutchy of Milan. The country of Binche was allotted to prince Vaudemont. To prevent the union of the Spanish and Imperial crowns, in the person of one prince, provision was made, that, in case of the archduke's demise, the king of the Romans should not succeed to the throne; and in like manner it was particularly stipulated, that no king or dauphin of France should ever wear the crown of Spain. A secret article provided against the contingency of the emperor's refusing to accede to the treaty, and against any difficulties which might arise from the duke of Lorraine, with regard to the projected change of his native territories for the dutchy of Milan.

The kings of Poland and Denmark, with the Czar of Muscovy, had entered into a confederacy against the young king of Sweden, and the Danish troops invaded Holstein, whose duke was brother-in-law and ally to the king of Sweden. King William and the states-general, perceiving that every specific application from Sweden was ineffectual, resolved to rescue the oppressed. A squadron of thirty vessels was detached to the Sound, and arriving there on the thirtieth of July, compelled the Danish fleet to take refuge in their own harbours, and the Danish monarch to accede to such terms as were prescribed by the mediators. On the 18th of August, a peace was concluded between Sweden, Denmark, and Holstein.

Soon after the return of the king to England, in the middle of October, he addressed a

letter to the parliament of Scotland, which assembled on the 28th, expressing his concern for not being able to assert the company's right of establishing a colony at Darien, without disturbing the peace of Europe, and recommending the raising of taxes adequate to their defence. Intelligence that the colony at Darien had been compelled to abandon that settlement, occasioned a national address to the Scottish parliament, which contained a list of numerous grievances, and gave rise to long and vehement debates. Yet the opposition gradually subsided, and on the 21st of January 1701, the Scottish parliament voted to king William an address of congratulation, expressing their determination to support his person and government to the utmost of their power.

After learning the death of the nominal duke of Glocester, whose patent was never made out, in consequence of a superstitious prejudice against the title, the king returned on the nineteenth of October to England. The young and lamented prince was son to the princess of Denmark; and William, who had never entertained any affection for the mother, was not (it may be presumed) much displeased to see her influence weakened by the death of her son. A prevalent belief that she had transmitted to her father, James, a notification of the circumstance, contributed to lessen the concern of William for the loss she had sustained.

Dissatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, William prorogued that assembly to the twenty-first of November, and dissolved them after a further prorogation. While he was thus revenging his past, and averting future disappointments at home, his views of policy abroad were confounded and deranged, by the conduct of Charles II. of Spain, who, having long struggled with a complication of infirmities, resigned his breath on the first of November. Having resolved to prevent the partition of his kingdom, his inclination, in the appointment of an heir to all his dominions, inclined in favour of the house of Austria; but the pope, whose advice he had solicited by letter, and the clergy of Spain, influenced by the cardinal Porto Carrero, so far prevailed over his superstitious timidity, that he nominated the duke of Anjou, the second son of the dauphin, the successor to all his rights and dominions. In his will, which was dated the second of October, he recognised the claims of his sister, the infanta Maria Theresa, queen of France, and mother of the dauphin. He acknowledged the right of his aunt, Anne of Austria, the mother of the French king, and consequently the right of the dauphin, as only heir by the laws of the kingdom. To prevent an alarm in Europe, at the union of such an extensive dominion to France, the dauphin's second son was called to the throne of Spain. Until this prince should arrive at Madrid, and until he was of age, a council of regency, with the king at their head, was appointed for the administration of affairs. On the death of Charles, the regency ordered the will to be delivered to the king of France; and Lewis consulted his council, in which it was resolved to relinquish the second partition treaty, and adhere to the testament of the late king of Spain. It had always been foreseen, that a war would be inevitable on the death of that prince; and the court of France concluded, that it would be much easier to keep possession of the whole kingdom, by virtue of the will, than to retain and conquer the share allotted to the dauphin, by the treaty concluded with England and the states.

It was obvious also to Lewis, that, should he refuse the bequest made to his grandson, all the dominions of Spain must fall into the hands of the emperor. The courier that conveyed the will to France, was ordered, in case of the refusal of that court, to proceed to Vienna, and tender the throne to the archduke. The resolution of accepting the will by the French court, was succeeded by the precaution of forming alliances abroad. Lewis entered into a treaty with the king of Portugal, and with the dukes of Savoy and Mantua. On the side of Germany, France estimated among her allies the duke of Brunswick Wolfembuttle, the duke of Saxe Gotha, and the bishop of Munster. The elector of Bavaria, then governor of the Netherlands, and his brother the elector of Cologne, were uncles to the new king of Spain, and resolved to maintain his right to the crown.

The disappointment of Leopold, the emperor, terminated in his claiming the Milanese as a fief of the empire, and his issuing a mandate to the inhabitants of that dutchy, which they were to obey, on pain of being considered as rebels. Vain, and irresolute, without respect abroad or resources at home, his conduct

excited not the terror, but the ridicule of the house of Bourbon; but peace was still an object of anxiety to the French court, and its pacific intentions were counteracted by the servility of Spain, which empowered Lewis to take possession of the barrier in Flanders with French troops; a measure which excited the utmost jealousy of William, but in which the difficulties attached to domestic government compelled him for the present to acquiesce, so far as to acknowledge the duke of Anjou for the lawful sovereign of Spain.

Exasperated and harrassed by the refractory spirit of the parliament, during the last session, William determined to change his servants, and to decide the balance of influence in favour of the Tories. On the death of lord Lonsdale, the earl of Tankerville was removed into the office of privy-seal, and was succeeded at the head of the treasury by lord Godolphin. Sir Charles Hedges left the board of admiralty, and was made secretary of state. The earl of Rochester, a leader of the Tories, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Montague, who had suffered so much mortification in the commons, was removed into the house of peers, under the title of lord Halifax.

In Scotland, the national address for the meeting of parliament was defeated by actually calling it together; and a conciliating letter from William, promising protection to any measure that might remunerate the African and Indian companies, or promote their interests, soothed the anger of the Scottish nation, and restored it to a state of unexpected and unusual tranquillity.

1700. The English parliament met in February, and Mr. Harley was chosen speaker of the house of commons. The king remarked, in his speech, that their most serious attention would be requisite to the general politics of Europe, in consequence of the changes and embarrassments occasioned by the decease of the king of Spain; and after expressing his grief at the death of the duke of Glocester, recommended to his faithful parliament, a further provision for the regular succession of the crown in the protestant line. The whole of the succeeding session was distinguished, in the house of commons, by the violence of debates, rather than by the wisdom of its measures. Several members of the house had determined to present an address to his majesty, imploring him to recognise the title of the new king of Spain; but the success of the motion was prevented by the remark of one Monckton, who expressed his belief, that if it were carried in the affirmative, the next vote would be for owning the pretended prince of Wales. Whatever may have been the futility of this observation, it allayed the violence of the turbulent, and so effectually silenced the parents and supporters of the address, that it was silently withdrawn.

In reply to his majesty's speech, the house assured him, in the customary way, of their attachment to his person and government, and declared their readiness to maintain the protestant religion. Having expressed his gratitude for their loyalty, the king requested their advice respecting the memorial he had received from the states-general, by which he learned that they had acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain; that France had agreed to a negotiation, in which they might stipulate the necessary conditions for securing the peace of Europe; and that they were firmly resolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his majesty, and of the other allies. The commons desired that all treaties between England and Holland might be submitted to their inspection; and having examined them, presented to his majesty an address, requesting that he would engage in such negotiations as would most effectually conduce to the mutual advantage and security of Great Britain and the United Provinces, and to the preservation of the general peace of Europe. After assuring him, that they would do every thing in their power towards enabling him to fulfil his contract with the states-general, they voted that provision should be made, from time to time, for making good the principal and interest on all parliamentary funds, and passed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called exchequer bills, which received the royal assent on the 13th of March.

An intercepted letter, containing no material information, from the earl of Melfort to his brother the earl of Perth, was treated by the commons with contempt, but produced an address to his majesty from the house of peers. Having taken into consideration the part of the king's speech relating to the succession, the house of commons resolved, That for preserving the happiness and

peace of this kingdom, and the security of the protestant religion, it was absolutely necessary that a further provision be made for the limitation and succession in the protestant line. But the most important business of this session, related to the treaty of partition. The whole of the late treaties and other important papers, having been examined by a committee of the whole house, an address was presented, reflecting with warmth and justice on their tendency, and containing many insinuations, obnoxious to the court. Within the walls of the house of commons, the treaty was denominated a felonious treaty. An address was carried to remove the earl of Portland, lord Somers, and lord Halifax, from William's presence and councils, and it was ordered that they should be impeached at the bar of the house. The house of lords, hearing of this address, presented a counter-address to the king, beseeching his majesty, that as those lords had been impeached at the bar, he would not pass any censure upon them before they were tried and judged. The gentlemen of the grand jury of Kent presented a petition to parliament, signed by 12 justices, and about 250 gentlemen, imploring the house to have regard to the voice of the people, and to turn its loyal addresses into bills of supply, that the king might be enabled to assist his allies, before it was too late. The petition was voted insolent and seditious, and five gentlemen who presented it were ordered into custody, and afterwards committed to prison. In consequence of these events, a bold memorial was transmitted to the speaker, and subscribed *Legion*, which vehemently expostulated with the house on their late proceedings. The commons, however, persevered in their impeachments. The articles exhibited against the earl of Oxford accused him of obtaining grants, and converting the public money to his own use, of enjoying offices inconsistent with each other, of encouraging Kidd, a pirate, who exercised piracy on the Indians, in his capacity of commodore to the ships of several private adventurers to Madagascar; of sparing the French fleet when it might have been destroyed, and of advising the treaty of partition. The charges against lord Somers were nearly the same, with the addition, that in his office of chancellor he had asserted doctrines inimical to the constitution; as an instance of which criminality, in the case of the bankers, creditors to Charles II., he acknowledged their right, but denied their pretensions to a remedy.

In the house of peers, the articles against the impeached lords were regarded as frivolous, and were languidly maintained. The two houses fell into an irreconcileable difference upon the mode of proceeding. The commons insisted, that the lords whom they had impeached should abstain from voting in the upper house; and that a committee should be selected from each of the houses, to adjust the time, manner, and order of the intended trials. The lords refused the first demand, as it seemed to include a condemnation before conviction; to the second they replied, that the sole right of judicature was in themselves, and that they retained the exclusive privilege of appointing the time, manner, and order of trials and impeachments. After the most vehement disputes, between the two houses, the peers appointed the days of trial. The commons refused to appear, and the impeached lords were acquitted.

In the course of the session it was voted, that whoever should hereafter ascend the throne of England, should join in communion with the national church, as by law established; that if the crown of England should descend to any individual, not a native of England, the consent of parliament should be required, to enable him to engage in any war for the defence of territories or possessions which do not belong to the crown: that no future sovereign should leave the dominions of England, Scotland, and Ireland, without the consent of parliament; that no alien, though naturalized, unless born of English parents, should be a member of the privy-council or of parliament, or hold any place of trust or emolument; that the princess Sophia, dutchess dowager of Hanover, should be declared the next in succession to the crown of England, after the reigning king, the princess of Denmark, and the heirs of their respective bodies; and that the further limitation of the crown should be restricted to the heirs of Sophia, and the heirs of her body being protestants. A bill, of which these resolutions formed the basis, was passed, after much opposition, on the fourteenth of April.

In the resolution declaring the rights of Sophia, the commons were influenced by a just respect to hereditary descent. An act

of parliament had excluded all catholics from the succession; and the descendants of Charles I., except William and the princess of Denmark, were of the popish persuasion. The parliament, therefore, was obliged to return to the posterity of James I. in another line, and to Sophia, as grand-daughter to that prince by his daughter Elizabeth, who had been married to the unfortunate king of Bohemia.

Having prorogued the parliament on the twenty-fourth of June, William departed in the next month for Holland, and passed his summer at the Hague, in counteracting the intrigues of Lewis. The king of England and the states agreed with the emperor, to undertake the recovery of Flanders, as a barrier for Holland, as well as the dutchy of Milan, for the security of the emperor: and a treaty, which obtained the name of the grand alliance, was signed on the seventh of September; of which the professed objects were, an adequate satisfaction for the emperor in the Spanish succession, and security for the dominions and commerce of the allies. It was stipulated, that the king of England and the states might retain for themselves whatever lands and cities their arms should conquer in either of the Indies.

Neither the alarm nor the preparations of Lewis were commensurate with the threatened danger. His ambition was chilled by the frost of age, and his resources exhausted by a long continuance of war, and the necessary decline of commerce; his people were harrassed and dissatisfied by continual and capricious changes in the value of the currency, an evil aggravated by the quantities of bullion expended in the pay and equipments of his armies abroad, and by repeated and extravagant, but ineffectual bribes, to the ministers and confidential servants of the several courts of Europe.

The condition of Spain was equally deplorable; and the French king, conscious at length of his own unfriended and desperate situation, attempted to secure the permanent alliance of the duke of Savoy, by offering to that prince the most advantageous terms, and guaranteeing the marriage of his daughter to the king of Spain. He concluded also a treaty with the king of Portugal. This profusion, and his proffers of friendship, were rewarded with treachery and ingratitude; the duke of Savoy betrayed the interests and the views of France in the very first campaign; and the latter deserted her alliance, as soon as circumstances rendered it convenient.

Surrounded by so many difficulties, and conscious of the limited extent of his resources, it is not probable that Lewis would have been excited to any immediate display of hostility, had not an event occurred, which necessarily produced a considerable change in the policy of Europe. This was the death of the late king, who, in the month of September, as he was performing his religious offices, was seized with a lethargy, and after languishing for some days, expired on the sixth of September; having previously been assured, in the most solemn manner, on his death-bed, that Lewis would become the protector of his family, and acknowledge his son, "as he then certainly would be," king of Great Britain and Ireland. On the death of James, his son was saluted by Lewis by the name of *your Majesty*; but the usual ceremony of proclamation implying the claim of the English monarchs to the crown of France, his adherents, from motives of prudence and discretion, abstained from that solemnity.

Having matured and almost completed a perpetual alliance between the English and the Dutch, for the recovery and preservation of Flanders, William embarked on the 14th of November, and landed the next day at Margate. He found, on his arrival, that the animosities of contending parties, however mitigated in violence, had not yet subsided; and disgusted by the remembrance of the mortifications to which he had been subjected during the preceding year, he dissolved the parliament on the 13th of November, and issued writs for another, which he summoned to meet on the 30th of December, 1701.

Upon the meeting of parliament, 1702.
Mr. Harley, abetted by the Tories, was elected speaker, notwithstanding the exertions of the court in favour of sir Thomas Lyttleton. William, in his opening speech, exhorted the house to refrain from those dissensions and animosities, which had before so fatally divided and weakened the empire; and assured them, that on the progress and result of their present proceedings it depended, whether England was to hold the balance of Europe, and remain gloriously distinguished as the head of the protestant interest. He expatiated on the indignity offered to the nation, by the

acknowledgment of the prince of Wales by the French king; he explained the dangers to which England was exposed, by placing the grandson of Lewis on the throne of Spain; and after lamenting the necessity of subjecting his people to new burthens, expressed his willingness that the accounts should be annually submitted to the inspection of parliament. This speech was received with unexampled applause, and obtained so much influence with the multitude, that it was printed and engraved with decorations, in the English, Dutch, and French languages, and became the general ornament of taverns, and places of festivity. The houses of parliament, in reply, presented an address, repeating their former professions of attachment and fidelity, and of their determination to support his throne against the audacity of the pretended prince of Wales, and the treachery of the French king. This address was succeeded by several others; and a bill for the attainder of the prince of Wales, being sent from the commons to the other house, the peers attached to it a clause of attainder against the queen, who acted as regent for the pretender. A bill of abjuration was brought into the house of commons, by sir Charles Hodges, that should be obligatory on all persons who possessed employment in church or state; and warm debates having arisen upon the question, whether the oath should be imposed or voluntary, it was carried in favour of imposition by a majority of one. A clause was inserted, making it equally penal to compass or imagine the death of her royal highness the princess Anne of Denmark, as to compass or imagine the death of the king's eldest son and heir. The bill was violently opposed in the house of lords, and when it passed on the 24th of February, ten peers entered their protests against it.

The earl of Nottingham had moved an address to the king, requesting that he would dissolve the Scottish parliament now sitting, as the legality of it might be disputed, from its having been originally a convention, and that a new parliament should be summoned, in which they might treat about the union of the two kingdoms. But the ferment prevailing in Scotland, in consequence of the failure of the Darien enterprise, rendered it impolitic to press the measure at so critical a juncture, and it was determined that, for the present, the project should subside.

After much deliberation, William had suggested a plan for effectually reducing the power of France; and had engaged, previous to his return from Holland, in a treaty with the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who assured him, that if he would take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile, and several other grandees of Spain, would declare for the house of Austria. The allies had also determined on the siege of Keyserswaert, which had been delivered up to the French by the elector of Cologne; Landau was to be invested by the king of the Romans, and Lewis of Baden; the elector of Hanover had agreed to disarm the princes of Wolfembuttle; and the emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement to prince Eugene in Italy. William did not survive to mature, or attempt the important enterprises connected with these arrangements. His constitution was evidently impaired, notwithstanding his endeavours to conceal the progress of his malady; and his end was hastened by a fall from his horse, on the 21st day of February 1702, which fractured his collar-bone. On the fourth of March, he was so far recovered, as to walk without assistance in the gallery at Kensington; but while resting on a couch, he was overpowered by sleep, and on awaking was seized with a fever and diarrhœa. The prescriptions of his physicians gave no promise of relief, and perceiving that his dissolution was approaching, he granted a commission for declaring the royal assent to the malt tax, and the act of abjuration; and being unable to write his name, he affixed to the commission, in the presence of the lord-keeper and the clerks of parliament, a stamp provided for that purpose. He listened with coldness to the communications of Albemarle, who had just arrived from Holland, and replied with impatience in French, "I approach the end of my life." After thanking his physicians, he received the sacrament from archbishop Tennison, and Burnet, bishop of Salisbury. To some of the privy-council and the peers, who were admitted from the adjoining apartments, he spoke a few words: he expressed his grateful sense of lord Auverquerque's long and faithful services, and delivered to Albemarle the keys of his closet and escrutoire, observing that he knew what to do with them. The earl of Portland, for whom he had repeatedly enquired, did not arrive till he was speechless. William grasped his hand,

and pressed it to his heart, with every mark of the most affectionate regard. He expired on the eighth of March 1702, in the 13th year of his reign, and the fifty-second of his age. On the twelfth of April, his body, after lying in state at Kensington, was deposited in Henry VII.'s chapel, and in the beginning of May his will, which had been confided to Monsieur Schuylemburg, was opened at the Hague. He had appointed as his heir, his cousin prince Frison of Nassau, stadtholder of Friezland, and nominated the states-general his executors; bequeathing by a codicil the lordship of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thousand guilders to the earl of Albemarle.

The person of William was small, his skin fair, his features delicate; his nose aquiline, his eyes lively and expressive, his air grave and deliberate, but not commanding. He was an expert but ungraceful horseman: and his skill, as an equestrian, combined with his love of estrangement from the multitude, attached him to hunting, as his sole amusement. At the head of his armies he displayed more courage than genius; and nearly all his military projects terminated in disappointment. Born for war, and intently occupied with the magnitude and utility of his views, he neglected those external indications of suavity and condescension, which might have gained the favour and secured the attachment of his people. He was averse to flattery, and above the influence of polished address. His knowledge of character was intuitive, and his first impressions, if unfavourable, were seldom eradicated by subsequent experience. He had no attachment to religion, but as it was connected with the policy of the state. His predominating passion was the love of military glory and political power, objects to which he sacrified the ties of nature, and every impulse of sensibility. In his conduct towards James, it was observed by his enemies, that he had adopted the maxim of Julius Cæsar, that justice might be violated where that violation conferred a sceptre. Fortunately for Europe and for England, his duty as a statesman coincided with the bias of his personal inclinations; and his love of power, and ardour for military reputation, contributed to prepare the way for the independence of the continent, and for the establishment of the English constitution; a foundation, which has equally defied the assaults of anarchy, and the insidious approaches of corruption.

CHAPTER IV.

ANNE.

[1702 to 1705.]

Accession of Anne—State of Parties—The Campaign abroad—Expedition to Vigo—Unfortunate Expedition of Admiral Benbow—Discontents in Scotland—Accession of Charles to the Throne of Spain—Elections—Skilful and successful Operations of Marlborough—Battle of Hochstedt, or Blenheim—Capture of Gibraltar—Exploits of the Earl of Peterborough in Spain—Progress towards the conclusion of a Union—Debates on the Dangers of the Church.

ANNE, princess of Denmark, daughter of James II. and the next protestant heir to her sister Mary, succeeded peaceably to the crown on the death of William, notwithstanding the divisions at home, and the complicated nature of the English relations abroad. Those who adhered to the principles of the revolution were satisfied with her accession, because she was married to a protestant prince, had joined in the revolution, and to outward appearance had always adhered to the same principles. Nor was she opposed by the party which secretly favoured the pretender; they indulged a secret hope that a queen, who displayed so much partiality to her father would entertain no enmity to those who had espoused his interest: and being herself past all hopes of having more children to inherit the crown after her decease, they imagined that this circumstance would render her indifferent to the succession in the house of Hanover.

The late king, whose whole life had been spent in continued opposition to the king of France, had left England on the eve of a war with that monarch. The present sovereign was on this occasion urged by opposing councils; a part of her ministry being inclined for war, while the other no less ardently declared for pacific measures. At the head of those who endeavoured to prevent the renewal of hostilities, was the earl of Rochester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and first cousin to the queen. He proposed in council, that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and act, even under the most urgent circumstances, only as auxiliaries. In support of his opinion, he urged the impossibility of England's reaping any advantage by the most distinguished success upon the continent; and reprobated the folly of involving the nation in debt, to increase the riches of its commercial rivals.

The chief of those who declared for prosecuting the war, was the earl, (since, better known by the title of duke) of Marlborough. This nobleman, though he had deserted James at the revolution, had still a secret partiality for the Tories; and, during the whole of the preceding reign, had paid the utmost attention to the present queen. He married a lady who was honoured by Anne, as her private confidant, and who possessed over her unbounded influence. Through the medium of the countess, he was able to direct the resolution of the queen, as might best be consistent with his policy and convenience, and to oppose the measures of his rivals in the cabinet. A majority of the council yielded to the influence or the reasons of the earl of Marlborough, and war was declared in form on the fourth of May.

The first speech of the queen to her parliament was severely censured, as deliberately and unnecessarily casting a reproach on the memory of William. She assured the two houses, that *her own* heart was entirely English, and that they should always find *her* a strict observer of her word. She expressed her determination to co-operate steadfastly with

her allies, in reducing the exorbitant power of France, recommended a union with Scotland, and desired that the revenue for the support of the civil government should be renewed in a manner suitable to her own honour, and the dignity of the crown. The answers and votes of the parliament were echoes of her speech, and testified the gratitude or the temporizing policy of both parties, by a liberal acquiescence in her views, and a ready compliance with her wishes and demands.

The campaign abroad was opened by the siege of Keyserswaert, a small but strong town on the Rhine, in the electorate of Cologne. The town was invested on the sixteenth of April; and though the siege was obstructed by the badness of the weather, it capitulated on the 15th of June. Marshal Boufflers, having been joined by two bodies of troops, under the duke of Burgundy and count Tallard, made a hasty march to Nimeguen; but the inhabitants of that town, though despairing of success, by almost unexampled exertion, dragged the cannon from the arsenal, and, unaided by horses or carriages, planted 160 pieces on the walls. Their preparations, however, were rendered unavailing, by the presence of the Dutch army, under the earl of Athlone; who, arriving half an hour before the French forces, prevented the enemy from obtaining a free entrance into the Netherlands. The earl of Marlborough reduced Venlo, Ruremonde, and the citadel of Liege; and having thus opened the navigation of the Maese, and the communication with the town of Maestricht, concluded with reputation the campaign on the side of Flanders.

Prince Eugene, the general of the emperor, had surprised Cremona, but was expelled from the place, by the valour of the Irish troops in the French service. The marshal de Villeroy was taken prisoner by the Germans, and the command devolved on the duke de Vendome; though the young king of Spain, having left the government in the hands of the queen, had passed into Naples, and taken the nominal command of the army. The general Viscomti was defeated, and prince Eugene compelled to raise the blockade of Mantua. The advantages obtained by the French in Italy, were succeeded by a victory on the Upper Rhine, over the Imperialists under the prince of Baden, by the marquis de Villars, who had been detached from the army commanded by the marshal de Catinat. In the course of the campaign, the loss of many important towns, on the part of the French, was counterbalanced by the number of their victories in the field.

Marlborough, on his return to London, was received with every mark of public approbation. He was thanked for his services by the house of commons, and created a duke by the queen. The glory which he had acquired on the continent, consoled the nation for some unsuccessful expeditions at sea. Sir J. Munden had permitted a French squadron of fourteen ships to escape him, by taking shelter in the harbour of Corunna, for which he was dismissed the service. An attempt was made on Cadiz by sea and land; sir George Rooke commanding the navy, and the duke of York the land forces: but this enterprise also miscarried.

Admiral Benbow had been detached to the West Indies, in the preceding year, with a squadron of ten sail, to distress the enemy's trade. He discovered the French squadron near St. Martha, and immediately formed his line of battle. The rest of his fleet, having taken some disgust at his conduct, permitted him almost alone to sustain the whole fire of the enemy. The engagement however, continued till night, and he determined to resume it the next morning, when he had the mortification to perceive, that all his ships had fallen back except one, which joined him in urging the pursuit of the enemy. For four days successively did this intrepid seaman, assisted only by one ship, engage the enemy, while his officers, at a distance behind, remained inactive spectators of his activity. His last day's battle was more furious than all the former. While alone and unsustained, he engaged the whole French squadron, his leg was shattered by a cannon-ball. He then ordered that they should place him in a cradle upon the quarter-deck, where he obstinately maintained the fight as before, until, at length, his ship being quite disabled, was unfit to continue the chase any longer. When one of the lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of his admiral's leg; "I am sorry for it too," said Benbow, "but I had rather have lost both my legs, than have seen the dishonour of this day. But do you hear, if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out."

He soon after died of his wounds. His cowardly associates, Kirby and Wade, were tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot. Hudson died before his trial. Vincent, Fog, and Constable escaped with slighter punishment. Kirby and Wade were sent home in the Bristol man of war; and, on their arrival at Portsmouth, shot on board the ship, by virtue of a warrant for their immediate execution.

The house of commons having chosen Mr. Harley for their speaker, the parliament was prorogued till the twentieth of October. On that day, the queen having returned from her progress to Bath, Oxford, and Bristol, descanted, among other topics in her speech to the two houses, on the disappointment at Cadiz, and assured them of her regard for the political and religious liberties of her people. The lords returned an address of thanks, congratulating her majesty on the success of the arms of the duke of Marlborough; and the commons, of whom the majority were influenced by a rooted hatred to the memory of William, determined, after vehement debates, to assure her majesty, that the wonderful progress of the arms of the duke of Marlborough, had "retrieved" the antient honour and glory of the British nation.

The confederate fleets, consisting of fifty ships of the line, thirty English and twenty Dutch, commanded in chief by sir George Rooke, having failed in the attack upon Cadiz, the admiral and the duke of Ormond, who commanded the troops, determined to make an attempt on Vigo, where the Spanish galleons, under the convoy of thirty French ships of war, had just arrived. They came unexpectedly before the place, and discovered the enemy's vessels moored behind a streight, defended on the one side by a castle, on the other by platforms mounted with cannon, together with a strong boom formed of masts, cables, and chains thrown across the entrance. The duke of Ormond took the castle on the 12th of October, and vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, broke through the boom. The French admiral, perceiving that resistance would be fruitless, ordered all the ships to be set on fire. The English and Dutch attempted to extinguish the flames, and partly succeeded. Six men of war were taken, seven sunk, and nine burnt. Of thirteen galleons, four were destroyed and nine fell into the hands of the conquerors. The booty, notwithstanding the quantity of treasure removed by the enemy, was immense; the successful issue of the enterprise equally defeated the hopes of Spain, and excited the exultation of the English; and on the duke of Ormond's return to London, he was received with the strongest testimonials of favour from the queen, and with the loud acclamations of the populace.

The discontents in Scotland had been exasperated by the continuance of the old parliament, and the appointment of the obnoxious duke of Queensbury as commissioner. A condescending letter from the queen was received with indifference; and when the parliament met on the ninth of June at Edinburgh, the duke of Hamilton rose in his place, and protested (before the commission was read) against the present sitting. He offered his reasons in a short speech to the house, and communicated a paper to the same purpose, containing his own protest, and that of such members as might adhere to his opinion. He immediately left the house, attended by eighty of the members. Those who remained behind passed a resolution, declaring the present meeting a legal parliament, and discharging all persons from disowning its authority, under the penalty of high treason. In the course of their sitting, the earl of Marchmont, attempted to introduce a bill to prevent the succession of the crown to the nominal prince of Wales; but the overture was discouraged by the court, and the parliament was adjourned to the 18th of August.

A THANKSGIVING was appointed, for the success at Vigo; and, on the 12th of November, the queen went in person to St. Paul's, attended by the lords and commons.

Sir John Packington having made a complaint to the commons against the bishop of Worcester, for an undue interference in elections, she removed that prelate, at the request of the house, from the office of almoner, notwithstanding the counter-address of the lords; to whom she declared, that though she had not received any proof of the complaints against the bishop of Worcester, she considered it as her undoubted right to continue or displace any of her servants at pleasure. In return for the queen's compliance, the commons resolved, that the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled

upon the prince of Denmark. A message, however, from her majesty, suggesting the propriety of some return for the great services of the earl of Marlborough, and proposing to settle upon him, and on his heirs for ever, £500 per annum, which she had already granted him out of the post-office during her own life; was met by a reply, that the house could not comply with a precedent to alienate the revenue of the crown. Marlborough was obnoxious to the Tories, for having deserted James II.; and hated by the Whigs, for having betrayed the confidence of the late king. Though insinuating and plausible in his manners, above the majority of his rivals and contemporaries; yet his habits of pecuniary meanness, and his evident ambition, counteracted, to a certain extent, the influence of his great and valuable qualities.

THE house of commons, after choosing Mr. Harley for their speaker, granted the supplies requisite for the support of the war, and voted forty thousand seamen and an equal number of land-forces to act in conjunction with the allies. Admiral Rooke was honoured by the thanks of the house, and sworn of the privy-council. On the recommendation of her majesty, it was unanimously resolved that her husband, prince George of Denmark, should receive one hundred thousand pounds per annum in case he should survive the queen.

1703. EARLY in the year the house resolved, that ten thousand men should be raised as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies; but a discovery having been made that the French king remitted money to the elector of Bavaria in Germany, and to his forces in Italy, by means of the merchants of England, Holland, and Geneva, the commons granted this assistance on the express condition, that a termination should be put to all commerce or correspondence with France and Spain on the part of the states general. In the house of commons there were warm debates on a bill, introduced by the Tories, for preventing occasional conformity. After meeting the approbation of the lower house, it was passed, with several amendments, by a small majority of the lords. At the close of debates, the houses agreed to a conference, but the peers persisting in their alterations, and the commons declining to acquiesce, the bill miscarried.

A BILL was introduced into the house of commons, granting a longer term of one year to those who had neglected to take the oath of abjuration. Three clauses were added to this bill, declaring that those persons who should take the oath within a limited time, might return to their benefices and employments, provided they were not already filled; that any person endeavouring to disturb the succession of the crown, as limited by law, should be deemed guilty of high treason; and that the oath of abjuration should be imposed on the subjects of Ireland. The bill was powerfully opposed by the Tories, but passed in the house of lords, by a majority of one voice; a circumstance which excited the warmest exultation, in the adherents of the principles on which the constitution was founded, and in the zealous friends of the protestant establishment.

IN the course of the campaign abroad, the Dutch forces, under Opdam, were surrounded near Breda by the French, and totally discomfited; a misfortune, more than counterbalanced, by the successes of the allies on the Lower Rhine, and of the duke of Marlborough in the Netherlands. On the 25th of August, the town of Huy was taken by the allied army, and Leinburgh surrendered, after a siege of eighteen days. Guelders being taken in December, the French were driven from the banks of the Maese, and the allies became masters of Spanish Guelderland. In the same month the campaign was concluded, by the surrender of Augsburgh to the elector of Bavaria.

THE duke of Marlborough was dispatched to congratulate the archduke Charles, in the name of the queen, on his elevation to the throne of Spain. He was graciously received by the king, who accompanied the duke to England; where he arrived on the 26th of December, and whence he departed on the 10th of February. 1704.

THE house of lords presented an address, reporting their conviction that a dangerous conspiracy had been formed, for exciting and conducting a rebellion in Scotland, with the intention of invading that kingdom by a French power, of furthering the views of the pretended prince of Wales, and of subverting her majesty's government. The discontents, however, of the Scotch, and the alarms of the legislature, gradually subsided; and it was finally

resolved, by the house of commons, that no reason could be assigned, for the support of a regular army in Scotland, during a period of tranquillity.

The election of members had long been a subject of contention in parliament, and of clamour and complaint throughout the nation. Persons had been admitted to a seat in the house of commons, who had no right to that dignity; and others had been excluded, however regularly and lawfully elected. A check was at last given to this growing evil, by the resolution of one man. Matthew Ashby had always enjoyed the right of voting for the town of Aylsbury; but, in the last election, he had been deprived of that right by the constables who made the return. Provoked at this injustice, he brought an action at the assizes, where sentence was given in his favour, and the constables were cast in damages.

The cause was removed into the superior courts, and in them determined against Ashby. The votes of the commons were vehement, and decidedly hostile to his claim; but the lords appointed a committee to draw up a state of the case, and upon their report resolved, that by the known laws of this kingdom, every freeholder or other person, having a right to vote at the election of members to serve in parliament, and being wilfully hindered by the returning officer from giving his vote, might maintain an action in the queen's courts against such officer, in order to assert his right, and recover damages for the injury; and that the deterring electors, when deprived of their right of voting, from prosecuting actions in the courts of law, was a flagrant attempt to prevent and impede the course of justice.

The tenths, or first-fruits, a burthen imposed on the clergy during the holy wars, and allotted as a fund for the support of the Crusades, had long been a part of the royal income. The queen relinquished, in this year, her right to this source of revenue, and the fund was devoted to the augmentation of small benefices; a change which was acknowledged with joyful gratitude, and has proved of essential benefit to the church.

The affairs of the emperor were, at this time, in a most deplorable condition. The elector of Bavaria was master of the Danube, as far as Passau; the malcontents in Hungary had rendered themselves formidable by their success; Vienna was threatened by a siege on both sides, and was only saved by the want of concert between the Hungarians and Bavarians. In this depressed and hazardous condition, the emperor implored the assistance of her Britannic majesty, and his entreaties were enforced by the influence of the duke of Marlborough, who had previously concerted, with the deputies of the states-general, the plan of the campaign. The ostensible object of the confederates, was to carry the war to the banks of the Moselle, for general Auverquerque to act on the defensive in the Netherlands, and for the duke of Marlborough to conduct the principal operations, with the main army, on the Rhine.

On the duke's arrival at the Hague towards the latter end of April, he held a conference with a deputation of the states, concerning the proposal of sending a large army to the Moselle. The deputies of Zealand remonstrated against the danger of sending their troops to a distance so considerable; but the duke, to prevent all further objections, explicitly informed them, that he had orders to march thither with the British forces.

After assembling his army at Maestricht, he began his march into Germany on the 18th of May. The French, unaware of his design, sent a detachment of seven thousand men to the Moselle, and circulated a report that they intended to attack Huy. Disregarding these indications, the duke proceeded by Bedburgh, Kerpenord, Kaliecken, and visited the fortifications of Bonne; at which place he received information, that the recruits and reinforcements of the French army in Bavaria had joined the elector at Villingen. This intelligence only induced him to advance with redoubled diligence. On the 3rd of June, he passed the Neckar, and halted at Ladenburgh; from whence he wrote a letter to the states-general, informing them of his design to march to the relief of the empire, and expressing his hope, that they would allow their troops to join in the honour of the expedition, a request with which they readily complied. At Mildenheim the duke was met by prince Eugene, and Lewis prince of Baden; and it was determined, that the duke and Lewis should command alternately from day to day, while prince Eugene should lead a separate army on the Rhine. The latter proceeded to Phillipsburg; while the duke, being joined by the Imperial army,

under Lewis, and marching by Elchingen, Gingen, and Landthaussen, came in sight, (on the first of July) of the enemy's entrenchments at Dillingen. He encamped with his right at Amerdeghem, and his left at Onderingen. Understanding that the elector of Bavaria had sent the best part of his infantry, to reinforce the count d'Arco, who was posted behind strong lines at Schellenburg, a rising ground on the Danube, near Donawert, he resolved to attack their intrenchments. Having passed the Wermitz, on the next day, after a tedious march over almost impassable roads, he began the attack with the Dutch and English infantry, supported by the horse and dragoons. Their efforts to dislodge the enemy were unsuccessful, and they were about to give way, when prince Lewis, arriving with the Imperialists at another part of the line, accomplished so powerful a diversion in their favour, that they forced the intrenchments. The infantry were closely followed by the cavalry, and attacked the enemy with so much impetuosity, that they fled with the utmost precipitation to Donawert, leaving behind them six thousand men upon the field of battle. The loss of the allies was proportioned to the obstinacy of the contest.

The elector of Bavaria abandoning Donawert, crossed the Danube in his march to the river Leche; and the allies detached four thousand men to pass the latter of these rivers, and occupy a position in the country of the elector, who had taken refuge under the walls of Augsberg. Neuburg was entered by the confederates, and Rain invested.

The marshals Villeroy and Tallard, having passed the Rhine at Fort Khel, to succour the elector of Bavaria, the confederates detached prince Maximilian of Hanover, with thirty squadrons of horse, as a reinforcement to prince Eugene. Rain, Aicha, and Friedburg, having surrendered, the elector of Bavaria was reduced to the last extremity. Having been offered very advantageous terms of peace, provided he would abandon the French interest, and join the Imperialists in Italy, he pretended to listen to the duke of Marlborough's proposals, and agreed to a negotiation. On the approach of the French, he declared his determination to adhere to his prior engagements. His duplicity exasperated the allied generals, and they ravaged the country as far as Munich.

The elector, being joined by Tallard, resolved to pass the Danube at Lewingen, to attack prince Eugene before Hochstedt; and though their first movements were disappointed by the vigilance of the prince, they accomplished their purpose. The duke of Marlborough, therefore, joined the forces of Eugene at the camp of Munster, on the eleventh day of August; prince Lewis being engaged in the siege of Ingolstadt. The enemy were strongly encamped; having Hochstedt in their rear, their right wing extended towards the Danube, near the village of Blenheim, which is three miles lower down the Danube, and their left to Lutzingen, which is six miles N. W. by W. from Blenheim, near the side of a wood, which reaches down to the river Kessel, behind which the confederates were encamped. The camp of the allies extended to Munster, upon the Danube, where it receives the Kessel; and their right wing reached beyond the village of Appershoven. By this situation it appears, that they had the river Kessel extending in their front, three-fourths of which was also covered by a wood, lying to the right, and shooting to the left of the enemy's camp, between the east end of which and the Danube, there lay a narrow aperture to the left, by which it was intended to march and attack the enemy.

When the elector and the French marshals perceived that the confederates were resolved to give them battle, they threw twenty-eight battalions and eight squadrons of dragoons into the village of Blenheim. Eight battalions, at the same time, were placed in another village, towards the centre, with a design, in conjunction with those at Blenheim, to fall upon the rear of the allies, as they should approach, and place them between two fires. Such was the situation of the French on the morning of the thirteenth of August. Their wretched disposition insured the loss of the battle. Their line consisting chiefly of cavalry, formed at the head of their camp, was weakened by large detachments, while the enemy were permitted to pass the morass, formed by a rivulet which ran from the wood into the Danube, without obstruction.

The duke of Marlborough, who commanded the left of the allies, having formed his line, after passing the rivulet, ordered the two villages to be attacked immediately by the infantry, while he himself led his cavalry against

those of Tallard. After various charges, the courage of the French horse began to abate, and they retired behind the fire of ten battalions, which advanced while the cavalry were engaged. These sustained the charge for a considerable time against the English foot; but the duke, having charged home the French cavalry, already wavering, drove them in their flight into the Danube, and most of those who escaped the sword were drowned in that river. The ten battalions of the enemy's foot were, at the same time, charged on all sides, and cut to pieces. Prince Eugene, who commanded on the right, had attacked the elector of Bavaria, and the marshal de Marsin. The prince, however, could make no impression on their line; but when they perceived that Tallard was defeated, they threw themselves into three columns, and quitted the field with dexterity and expedition. The troops stationed in the village of Oberclaw escaped in the confusion; but the twelve squadrons of horse, and twenty battalions of foot, in Blenheim, surrendered at discretion.

THE confederates remained masters of the enemy's camp, cannon, and baggage. Count Tallard himself was among the numerous prisoners of rank; 10,000 men, exclusive of 1200 officers, and 3000 deserters, was the lowest amount of the captives, and the total loss, including the killed and wounded, was not less than 40,000 men. There were found in the enemy's camp 100 pieces of brass cannon, with other warlike stores, and baggage in proportion. The loss of the allies amounted to 4485 killed, 7525 wounded, and 273 prisoners.

ON the next day, when the duke of Marlborough visited his prisoner, marshal Tallard, the latter assured him that he had beaten the best troops in the world. "I hope sir," replied the duke, "you will except those troops by whom they were conquered."

IN consequence of this victory, the allies became masters of a country a hundred leagues in extent. After finishing the campaign, the duke repaired to Berlin, where he procured a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians, to serve under prince Eugene in Italy. He thence proceeded to negotiate for succours at the court of Hanover, and soon after returned to England, where he was received with the most affecting testimonials of national gratitude. The parliament and the nation in general were willing to second him in all his designs. The manor of Woodstock was conferred on him by both houses; and when he entered the house of lords, an eulogium was pronounced on his eminent services, by the lord keeper. The queen, not contented with these marks of respect, directed the comptroller of her works to build him, in Woodstock park, a magnificent palace, which remains a monument of the general's merits, and of her own munificence. The queen and the nation were little aware, that at the very moment when he was thus loaded with benefits and acclamations, he was engaged in correspondence with the excluded family; and had given them, at the commencement of the campaign, the strongest assurances of attachment and fidelity.

DURING the important operations of the campaign abroad, the transactions in Scotland engaged the attention of the nation at home. The country party, enflamed at the interference in the preceding year of the English house of lords, with a plot, supposed to have existed in Scotland, and in which Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, was a principal agent, joined themselves more closely with that party, whose almost avowed intentions were to serve the interest of the excluded family. The discontents extended from the senate to the people; and, during the remainder of the year, Scotland was one continued scene of intrigue and turbulence.

THE arms of England were not less fortunate by sea than they had been by land. The ministry understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong fleet at Brest, sent out sir Cloudesley Shovel and sir George Rooke to watch their motions. Sir George had further orders to convey a body of troops, under the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, in transport-ships to Barcelona, on which a fruitless attack had been made by the prince. But sir George having no confidence in the success of this expedition, the troops were re-embarked in two days afterwards, and being joined by sir Cloudesley, he called a council of war on board the fleet, while it lay off the coast of Africa, in which the admirals resolved to make an attempt upon Gibralter. The garrison was weak, and unprepared for attack. The prince of Hesse landed his troops, to the number of 1800, on the isthmus, and summoned the tower to

surrender, but without effect. Next day the admiral gave orders for a vigorous cannonade; and perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications, at a place called the Louth Mole-head, ordered all the boats to be armed, and to assault that quarter. Those officers who happened to be the nearest the Mole, manned their boats, and entered the fortification sword in hand; but the Spaniards springing a mine, two lieutenants and about one hundred men were killed and wounded. Two captains, however, took possession of a platform, and kept their ground, until they were joined by the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the Mole and the town. The governor immediately capitulated; and, astonished at his own success, the prince of Hesse took possession of the fortress.

When the intelligence of this conquest arrived in England, it was for some time debated whether the admiral deserved, by his exploit, the thanks of the parliament. It was finally decided, that the circumstances under which it was performed did not deserve the public gratitude, a resolution which was probably influenced by the indecisive issue of a battle fought with the compte de Thoulouse, about twelve leagues from Malaga. The English and Dutch fleets under sir George Rooke and admiral Calemburg, consisted of fifty-two vessels, the same number with that of the enemy. In the first onset, both fleets were materially crippled; for two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, but the French fleet declined the conflict, and soon disappeared. Sir George Rooke was treated with neglect, and afterwards deprived of his command.

The present parliament, according to the triennial act, approaching its termination, the queen, in order to establish the antient prerogatives of the crown, dissolved it by proclamation on the fifth of April. The elections in general, especially in boroughs, were decidedly in favour of the Whigs. During these domestic transactions, the war abroad was prosecuted with vigour. The duke of Marlborough, having concerted operations with the states-general, took the field at the beginning of May. His great object was to improve the victories of the last campaign, by carrying the war, by the Moselle, into the heart of France; a design which was prevented by the jealousy or inactivity of the prince of Baden, and by the sluggishness of the other German princes, notwithstanding the death of the emperor Leopold had placed at their head his son Joseph, an active and enterprising monarch. Disappointed in his expectation of being joined by the German troops, the duke de camped in the night, passed without molestation the dangerous defile of Tavareu, directed his march towards Liege, and, joining the Dutch under Auverquerque, induced the enemy to retire behind their lines. Except the occurrence of a few subordinate operations, the rest of the campaign was comparatively inactive.

The recovery of Gibralter having become one of the first objects of the Spanish monarchy, the marquis of Villadurias was sent with a large army to retake it. The Spanish commander, however, was obliged to raise the siege, on the twenty-third of April, after having had occasion to witness, a few days before, the defeat of De Pointis; whose ships, consisting of five men-of-war, were surprised in the bay, and taken or destroyed by an English squadron, under sir John Leak.

To conduct the armament intended to support the cause of the archduke Charles in Spain, and which accompanied that prince from England, the earl of Peterborough offered his assistance. This nobleman was one of the most extraordinary characters of the æra in which he lived. When but fifteen years of age, he fought against the Moors in Africa; at twenty he assisted in effecting the revolution; and he now, from friendship to Charles, carried on the war with Spain almost at his own expence. He was deformed in his person, but of a mind generous, honourable, and active. His first attempt, on landing in Spain, was to besiege Barcelona, a strong city, with a garrison of 5000 men, while his own army amounted to little more than 9000. The operations were begun by a sudden attack on Fort Monjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm, with the loss of the gallant prince of Hesse. The besiegers then directed their fire against the body of the fort; when a shell, chancing to fall into the powder magazine, blew it up, and destroyed the governor, with several subordinate officers. This accident struck the garrison with such consternation, that they surrendered without further

resistance. The town still remained unconquered; but batteries were now erected against it, and in a few days the governor capitulated. After the surrender of this important fortress, Valentia and all Catalonia submitted to the new king. His partisans occupied Madrid, and the land forces of the allies took up their quarters in the heart of the kingdom.

On the 25th of October, the parliament met, and after a violent contest between the Whigs and Tories, the former supporting Mr. Smith, and the latter Mr. Bromley, Smith was elected by a majority of 43 votes. On the fifteenth of November, lord Haversham, after having in a set speech addressed the house of peers, and inveighed against the conduct of the allies and of the duke of Marlborough, concluded with a motion, that her majesty should be solicited to invite the princess Sophia, presumptive heir to the crown, (according to the act of settlement) into England. A proposal of the same kind, when urged by the Whigs, had been rejected by the Tories themselves when possessed of power: but the motion was obnoxious to the court; the advocates of the measure were now compelled to become the most strenuous of its opponents; and it was superseded by a bill, for the eventual formation of a regency, which effectually secured the kingdom, by providing a continuation of legal government, till the successor should arrive and assert his own authority.

During these disputes between the parties, with regard to the internal affairs of England, the two houses proceeded almost without debate, in the business of the union with Scotland. The act declaring the Scots aliens, by a certain day, was reversed; and an offensive act, relating to the manufacture and trade of Scotland was repealed.

Sir Rowland Gwynne, a busy, selfish, and intriguing man, had repaired to the court of Hanover, to gain the favour of the electoral family, by alarming their fears concerning the succession to the British throne. Upon the subject of the invitation to the princess Sophia, Gwynne wrote a letter to the earl of Stamford, which found its way to the press. The commons, on the 8th of March, voted this letter to be a scandalous, false, and malicious libel. The lords concurred with them in an address to the queen, who returned for answer, that she would comply with their request, and give orders to prosecute the printer and author.

On the 6th of December, a debate was held in the house of lords concerning the danger of the church. The act of security in Scotland, the loss of a bill of occasional conformity in England, the absence, beyond sea, of Sophia of Hanover the next successor to the crown, the increase of presbyterian academies, and the licentiousness of the press, were adduced by the Tories as proofs of the dangers of the church. On the other side, it was contended that the Scotch act of security regarded only temporal concerns; that the absence of the successor was supplied by the act of regency; that the bill of occasional conformity, having been considered and rejected by the house, the question was now determined; and that the licentiousness of the press had been carried to the greatest extremities, by the pretended friends of the church of England. A vote was passed, with which the commons concurred, That the church was in a safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever should suggest that it was in danger, was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom.

CHAPTER V.

ANNE.

[1706 to 1708.]

Progress of the Union—Its Conditions—Victories of Marlborough—The Battle of Ramillies—Rising influence of the Tories—Siege of Barcelona—Campaign in Spain—Capture of Majorca and Ivica—A Quixotic Expedition against France—State of Foreign Politics—Bombardment of Toulon—Intrigues of Godolphin—Suspicious Conduct of Harley—Expedition in favour of the Pretender—Weakness of the Kingdom—Battle of Oudenarde—Arrest of Count Martuof—Return of Marlborough—Ludicrous Address to the Queen—The Distresses and Misfortunes of France—Intrigues of Marlborough to prevent a Pacification—Conclusion of the Conferences—Surrender of Tournay—Battle of Malplaquat.

1706. DURING these transactions, with respect to the affairs of England alone, a measure of the greatest importance to the nation engrossed the attention of the queen, the senate, and the people. The union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland had formerly been projected by Henry VIII., who offered his daughter Mary to James V. of Scotland; and promised to invest him, on the conclusion of the marriage, with the title of duke of York, and to declare him lord-lieutenant, or deputy-governor of England. The influence of the French party, and the Roman catholic clergy, prevented him from acceding to the offer: his refusal excited the anger of Henry, who declared war against him; and at the battle of Solway Moss, James, being deserted by his nobility, was totally defeated, and soon after died of sorrow and vexation. Edward VI. proposed a marriage between himself and Mary of Scotland, but similar results attended this second overture: a new war commenced between the nations, and the Scots were again defeated at Pinky near Musselburgh. James I., soon after his accession to the English throne, recommended the parliament to promote (as far as possible) a union between the two kingdoms. Certain articles were agreed on, by forty-four English and thirty Scotch commissioners; but none of these articles were enacted, except one, which repealed the hostile laws existing between the two nations. The disturbances of the reign of Charles did not leave the power or the opportunity of attending to extensive schemes of legislative policy. The long parliament resumed the consideration of the subject, but were dispersed in the midst of their deliberations, by the violence of Oliver Cromwell. The attempts of Charles II. were ineffectual. The time of James II. was exclusively directed to the restoration of popery, or the attainment of arbitrary power. In the reign of William, the lords passed a bill, authorising his majesty to name commissioners for treating on the subject, but the commons refused to grant their concurrence, and the plan miscarried.

In the beginning of this year, an act of parliament was passed, empowering commissioners, named on the part of both nations, to treat on the preliminary articles of a union, which should afterwards undergo a more deliberate discussion by the legislative bodies of both kingdoms. The commissioners having met in the council-chamber of the Cock-pit, near Whitehall, their commissions being opened, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the lord-keeper of England, and the lord chancellor of Scotland, the conference began. The Scottish commissioners were inclined to a federal union, like that of the United Provinces; but the English strenuously contended for an incorporation, which

should destroy the independent existence of the Scottish parliament. The proposals of the Scotch commissioners, however, were rather intended to satisfy the clamours of the populace, than advanced with any expectation of their success. The conference was twice visited by the queen, who exhorted the commissioners to promote the happiness of the two kingdoms, by the immediate conclusion of the treaty. It was accordingly finished, signed, and sealed on the 22nd day of July, and next day presented to her majesty at St. James's, by the lord-keeper in the name of the English commissioners, and by the lord chancellor of Scotland in the name of the commissioners for that kingdom. It was stipulated in this treaty, That the succession to the united kingdom should be vested in the house of Hanover. That the united kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament; that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages; that the laws concerning public right, civil government, and policy should be the same throughout the united kingdoms; but that no alterations should be made concerning private right, except for the evident benefit of the subjects of Scotland: that the courts of Session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain as constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; that Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain, by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be decided by the present parliament of Scotland; that all peers of Scotland should be considered as peers of Great Britain, and rank immediately after the English peers of the like degrees at the time of the union, and before such as should be created after it; that they should enjoy all the privileges of English peers, except that of sitting and voting in parliament, or sitting upon the trial of peers; that all the insignia of royalty and government should remain as they were; and that all laws and statutes, in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent with the terms of these articles, should be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms.

These were the principle articles of the union, and it only remained to obtain the sanction of the legislature of both countries, to give them the authority of law. In the Scottish parliament, a letter was read from her majesty to the parliament, in which she expatiated on the advantages of the proposed union to both parts of the empire, and exhorted them to ratify the treaty with as little delay as might be consistent with sound deliberation. The duke of Queensbury delivered two speeches, enforcing the contents of the latter, and then prorogued the parliament. At their next meeting it appeared, that a strong party was formed against the union, composed of the secret friends of James, convinced that the union between the two kingdoms would preclude every future hope of his restoration; and the presbyterians, who concluded that their church would be in danger, from the little influence which the Scots were expected to possess in the English parliament. To induce the Scottish parliament to adopt the measure, it was alleged by the ministers, that a union of the two kingdoms would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace; it would secure their religion, liberty, and property; remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. It would increase their strength, riches, and commerce, and entirely free both nations from all apprehensions of different interests. It was urged that the taxes, which, in consequence of this union, they were to pay, were by no means so great proportionably as their share in the legislature. That their taxes did not amount to a seventieth part of those supplied by the English, and yet their share in the legislature was not a tenth part less. Such were the arguments in favour of the union, addressed to the Scottish parliament. In the English parliament it was observed, that a powerful and dangerous nation would thus for ever be prevented from giving them any disturbance; that in case of any future rupture, England had every thing to lose, and nothing to gain, in her contests with a nation signalized for courage, and which had not attained such a degree of riches as to invite depredation. It was contended, on the other hand, that the union of a rich with a poor nation, was only beneficial to the latter, that the Scots yielded with reluctance to this coalition, that it might be likened to a woman married without her consent

and that the land-tax paid by the Scots was disproportioned to their share in the legislature.

While these contentions raged in the houses of parliament, the resentments of the people were exasperated to the most outrageous transports of fury and revenge. Edinburgh and Glasgow were filled with tumults. A multitude of rigid presbyterians, under the title of Cameronians, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses, arms, and ammunition, and marching to Dumfries, burnt the articles of union at the market-cross, justifying their conduct in a public declaration. The firmness, however, of the ministry, and the justice of their cause, were finally victorious. The Scottish parliament approved and ratified all the articles of the union, among which a stipulation was now inserted, from regard to the wishes of the honest but alarmed presbyterians, declaring the presbyterian doctrine to be the only government of the church of Scotland, unalterable in all succeeding times, and a fundamental article of the union.

While the English and Scottish legislatures were thus contributing to augment the power and happiness of the nation at home, the exploits of her generals abroad were not less conducive to her own glory, and to the benefit of Europe. The French king had determined to reinforce his army in Flanders, so as to be in a condition to act offensively against the duke of Marlborough. That nobleman assembled his army between Gross-Waren and Borschleon; in addition to which force, consisting of 8000 men, he expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia. Lewis ordered the elector of Bavaria, and the marshal de Villeroy, to attack the grand army before the junction could be effected. The duke, however, was joined by the Danes; and on Whit-sunday, early in the morning, advanced with his army, in eight columns, towards the village of Ramillies, where he learnt that the enemy were on their march to give him battle. Villeroy had posted his army in a strong camp, his right was flanked by the river Mehaigne, his left was defended by a marsh, and the village of Ramillies lay in the centre. Marlborough, with his usual prudence, accommodated his plan to this disposition. Knowing that the left wing of the enemy could not pass the marsh to attack him, but at a great disadvantage, he weakened his troops in that quarter, and greatly increased his numbers in the centre, with which he made a furious attack. The enemy's centre was obliged to yield, and soon gave way on all sides. Their cavalry was so closely pursued, that nearly the whole of it was cut to pieces. The elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Villeroy saved themselves with the utmost difficulty. Several waggons of the French vanguard, breaking down in a narrow pass, obstructed the way in such a manner, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed, nor could their troops defile in order. The victorious horse, being informed of this accident, pressed upon them so vigorously, that great numbers threw down their arms, and submitted. The pursuit was followed through Judoigne, till two o'clock in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvaine. The enemy lost their baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours and standards, six hundred officers, six thousand prisoners, and eight thousand killed or wounded. Prince Maximilian and prince Montbason were killed; De la Beaume, the son of the marshal Tallard, the marquises de Bar and de Nonant, monsieur de Montmorency, nephew to the duke of Luxemburgh, and many other persons of distinction were taken prisoners. The loss of the allies amounted to three thousand men, among whom Lewis of Hesse and Mr. Bentinck were killed. The French general retired with precipitation to Brussels, while the allies took possession of all Brabant. The city of Paris was thrown into the utmost consternation. Lewis, who had long been accustomed to triumph in the rapidity and extent of his conquests, humbled and dispirited, entreated for peace, but in vain. Even his capital began to dread the approach of the conquerors. France was beginning to totter on the brink of ruin, when an unexpected change in the politics of England proved her deliverance. The councils of the queen had hitherto been governed by a Whig ministry, who pursued the policy of the late king, and impressed with a republican spirit of liberty, strove to humble despotism in every part of Europe. But a series of prosperous events; the personal virtues of the queen; and the influence of the clergy, who returned her attachment to that body, by zealous and sometimes indecorous

loyalty; all coincided to depress the spirit of independence, to render every measure and every opinion unpopular, that did not coincide with the views, or flatter the prepossessions of the court. The spirit and tenets of the high church party, and of the advocates of passive obedience, began extensively to prevail; and the court was surrounded by the avowed opponents of those liberal principles, by which the nation was influenced in the establishment of William on the throne.

The Tories converted the ascendancy they were gradually gaining in the public opinion, to the purpose of undermining the influence over the court and the people, of the duke of Marlborough. They represented him, not entirely without justice, as a self-interested man, who sacrificed the real interests of the nation, by protracting a ruinous war for his own glory and emolument. They attributed the weight of taxes to his boundless ambition and avarice; and prophesied the most distressing calamities from the continuance of the war.

The campaign in Catalonia was favourable, at the outset, to the cause of France; but Charles, having thrown himself into Barcelona, was there besieged by Philip, and with difficulty effected his escape. The earl of Peterborough, who had hastened to his relief with 2000 men, finding it impossible to enter the city, kept post upon the hills, and alarmed the besiegers with repeated skirmishes. At length, sir John Leake sailed from Lisbon, with thirty sail of the line; and on the eighth of May arrived in sight of Barcelona. The French admiral had scarcely heard of his arrival, before he quitted the harbour in affright, and returned to Toulon. In three days after his departure, Philip abandoned the siege, and retired in disorder, leaving behind his tents with the sick and wounded.

In Portugal, the numerical superiority of the allies enabled the earl of Galway, with 20,000 men, to lay siege to Alcantara; and in three days the garrison, consisting of three thousand men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. He afterwards marched to Placentia, and advanced to the bridge of Almaras; but the Portuguese would penetrate no further, until they should know the fate of Barcelona. Informed at last that the siege was raised, they consented to march to Madrid Philip, suspecting their intention, hastened to that capital; but, conscious that he could not retain its possession, and despairing that it would ever be possible for him to return, he sent, with his queen, all his valuable effects to Burgos, whither he followed her in person, after destroying all that he could not carry away. The capital being thus abandoned, it was entered by the earl of Galway, in the latter end of June; but an army of Portuguese, with a heretic at their head, was a very disagreeable sight to the Spaniards, who retained all the pride, though they wanted the courage of their ancestors. The presence of Charles at Madrid would have decided the contest for the succession of Spain; but he continued to loiter away his time at Barcelona, till the end of July. Philip, encouraged by the indolence of his rival, recovered his spirits; and having received from France a powerful augmentation of his army, returned to Madrid. Charles, having at length proceeded to Saragossa, where he was acknowledged as sovereign of Arragon and Valencia, arrived in the beginning of August in the Portuguese camp, with a small body of troops, and was followed, at the head of 500 dragoons, by the earl of Peterborough. Disappointed in his expectation of the chief command; influenced by jealousy of the prince of Lichenstein, the favourite of Charles; and precluded from the object of his ambition, by the seniority of the earl of Galway and the count de Noyelles, Peterborough embarked on board of an English ship of war, and set sail for Genoa. The English fleet took the town of Alicant by assault, and its castle by capitulation, protected Carthagena, and was afterwards detached, in different portions, to England, Lisbon, and the West Indies. Carthagena at length surrendered; a loss which was more than counterbalanced by the capture of the islands of Majorca and Ivica, which the English fleet subjected to the dominion of the archduke. The fortunes of France, on the side of Germany, were less unfortunate than during the three last campaigns, owing to the declining health of the prince of Baden, and the inactivity of the court of Vienna. The French, under Villars, compelled the Imperialists to raise the blockade of Fort Lewis. Drusenheim was abandoned by the prince of Baden, and occupied by the enemy; and had the disasters in Flanders and Italy permitted the court of France

to display its usual vigour, marshal Villars might have penetrated to the heart of Germany.

At the persuasion of a Frenchman, who assumed the title of the marquis de Guiscard, and who, by his bold and plausible address, had obtained the confidence of the English ministry, land forces to the number of 10,000 men were placed in transports, under the protection of the fleet commanded by sir Cloudesley Shovel. The avowed and quixotic scheme of the supposed marquis, was to restore the liberty of France; but a contrary wind confined the ships and transports to the Channel till the time for action was past, and, in the mean time, De Guiscard conducted himself with so much insolence and folly, that, in pursuance of the earnest request of the admiral, he was recalled from the fleet.

The king of France, humiliated by a long and unexpected series of misfortunes, having privately endeavoured to open a negotiation for peace with the states-general, commanded the elector of Bavaria to propose to the duke of Marlborough, and the field-deputies of the states, the opening of a general congress; promising at the same time, as a proof of his sincerity, the guarantee of the Spanish dominions in Italy to the archduke Charles, a barrier in the Netherlands to the states, and a compensation to the duke of Savoy, for the devastation of his territories. He demanded, in return, that the territories of Bavaria should be restored to their native prince, and that his grandson Philip V. should ascend the throne of Spain and the Indies. The temper of the court, the feelings of the people, and the interests of Marlborough, all conspired to render these overtures ineffectual. The Whigs extended their injustice so far, as to assert, that the terms offered by France were too good to be the foundation of lasting tranquillity, and therefore ought not to be admitted. These proposals of the French king, however, contributed, by the demonstration of his weakness, to augment the strength of ministers, and the popularity of the war. The two houses congratulated the queen on the late successes, and thanked the duke of Marlborough for his important services. They passed a bill to perpetuate his title to posterity, in the female line as well as the male; and they continued to his family for ever, the £5000 a-year which the queen had granted, during her own life.

The English parliament was prorogued on the twenty-eighth of April, 1707. and a few days after, the queen announced by proclamation, that the first parliament of Great Britain should meet on the twenty-third of October. On the first of May, her majesty went in state to St. Paul's, to offer up a public thanksgiving.

Majorca was retaken by the count de Villars on the fifth of January, but the French and Spanish troops were soon afterwards obliged to evacuate Lombardy; and in the course of the campaign, all the principal fortresses in the dominion of the duke of Savoy, or the Milanese, were wrested from the hands of the French. On the side of Germany, the margrave of Bareith, deficient in numbers and badly supplied with stores and provisions, was unable to prevent De Villars from laying the dutchy of Wirtemburgh under contribution, and penetrating to the Danube. Towards the end of the campaign, the elector of Hanover took the command of the army of the empire, and De Villars, compelled to hasten to the defence of France itself, (which was now attacked within its limits,) passed the Rhine, and abandoned his plans for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities.

The reduction of the Spanish dominions in Italy, and the capitulation signed at Milan in March, by which the French army abandoned that country, left the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene at liberty to carry the war into the enemy's country. A project was formed, in concert with England and Holland, to destroy or take Toulon or Marseilles. The two commanders, having amused the French with marches and counter-marches, suddenly directed their course towards the shore of the Mediterranean, forced the passage of the river Var, advanced along the coast of Provence, and after a long march through a hot, rugged, and inhospitable country, arrived before Toulon, which was blockaded by sir Cloudesley Shovel, who supplied the army with stores and provisions. Prince Eugene had just approached the town, when it was entered by an addition to the garrison of 8000 men, and troops were advantageously posted on the adjacent hills. On the fourteenth of August, the allies were driven from the heights of St. Catherine. Harrassed by the want of iron for shoes, an inconvenience which in that rocky country was severely felt; and under-

standing that the duke of Burgandy, with a considerable force, was on his march to cut off their retreat from Nice, they retired, after bombarding the place, in the night between the twenty-first and twenty-second of August. Sir Cloudesley Shovel proceeded from Toulon to Gibralter, with a fleet of fifteen ships of the line and some frigates. Having arrived in the mouth of the Channel on the night of the 22nd of October, by a mistake in his course, he steered directly westward of the islands of Scilly. The Association, the ship in which the admiral sailed, struck and foundered at once, not one of the crew being saved. The same melancholy fate attended the Eagle and Romney; and of the sailors on board the Firebrand, another ship driven on the rocks, only twenty-four and the captain were saved. The fate of Shovel was lamented by all. His intrepidity and coolness, as a naval commander, were only equalled by the vigilance, intrepidity, and circumspection of his public conduct, and the modesty and honesty of his private demeanour.

The precarious nature of Lewis's means of defence, prevented him from taking that vigorous and decided advantage of the discontents in Scotland, which might have tended to harrass or debilitate the English government. The court of France, therefore, contented itself with sending colonel Hooke into that kingdom, with instructions to make a secret progress through the northern counties. He was received with eagerness by the dukes of Gordon and Athol, and by nearly all the nobility to the north of the Forth. They solemnly assured the most Christian king, that the whole kingdom was inimical to the union; and expressed an enthusiasm, which, under more propitious circumstances, Lewis might have improved to great advantage. But the representations of Hooke, and the solicitations of the Scots, were equally ineffectual; the ministers of England were saved from the consequences of their own unobserving security and supineness, by the weakness and incapacity of their enemies.

The Whigs themselves were preparing to attack the measures of Godolphin, and strong suspicions were entertained of that intimate communication between him and Marlborough, and the court of St. Germains, which has since been disclosed to the world, and which possibly secured rather than alienated the favour of the queen. But the influence of an aspiring courtier was gradually rising to preeminent ascendancy, through the intrigues of Mrs. Masham, whose interest he found it prudent to secure. The enormous power of the duke of Marlborough, and the insolence of his wife, had alarmed the jealousy and awakened the resentment of the queen, who listened to the suggestions of Harley, with a condescension that emboldened him to proceed with vigour and openness in his career of ambition.

The parliament met on the 23rd of October; and after some disputes respecting the legality of electing a speaker, as the parliament had not been dissolved, but had expired and been renewed by proclamation, Mr. Smith was placed in the chair. The speech of the queen, which was devoted to the usual topics, was answered on the part of the house of commons by an address of thanks, and in the house of lords by the same indication of respect, accompanied by a motion for considering the state of the nation. A petition was presented in the name of more than two hundred merchants of London, complaining of losses at sea, for want of cruizers and convoys. Several abuses being discovered in the department of the admiralty, by a committee appointed for the purpose, their report was transmitted to the prince of Denmark, who returned an answer, reflecting with singular severity on the management of naval affairs during the reign of William. A complaint from Charles, the claimant of the crown of Spain, against the earl of Peterborough, who had been recalled, and was now attacked by the Whigs, was laid before the two houses; but the vouchers and witnesses adduced by Peterborough were so numerous and decisive, as to render the parliament ashamed of the proceedings, and they dismissed the subject. Having granted with eagerness the required supplies, the commons proceeded to enact several beneficial statutes, for the relief of grievances in England, and the regulation of justice in Scotland. In reply to an address from the two houses, the queen returned for answer, that she, like the parliament, was convinced that no peace could be either safe or honourable, till the monarchy of Spain should be restored to the house of Austria, an intimation which was far from unacceptable to the duke of Marlborough and the earl of

Godolphin. Though the intrigues of Harley had already counteracted their influence in the cabinet, an accident occurred, which rendered him, for a time, the object of senatorial calumny and popular suspicion. A correspondence had been opened between marshal de Tallard, still a prisoner in England, and Chamillart, one of the ministers of France. Greg, a clerk in the secretary's office, through whose hands the correspondence passed, inclosed, in a letter from the marshal, an offer of his own services, promising, for an adequate compensation, to transmit to Paris the most important information, and enclosing specimens of his ability to perform his engagements. The letter was intercepted in Flanders, and the criminal tried and condemned. The circumstance was employed by the enemies of Harley, who was evidently ignorant of his servant's treachery, to render him obnoxious to the legislature, and suspected by the multitude; an intention, but too successful during the first alarm. But the triumph of delusion, respecting his personal character, was short, and the principles of Harley's party were daily obtaining increased ascendancy in the houses of parliament. On the third of February, the commons addressed the queen, demanding to be informed, why a greater number of English forces had not been in Spain and Portugal, at the time of the battle of Almanza, and the lords presented a long address against the mismanagement in that department.

1708.

In compliance with the importunities of the chevalier de St. George, better known by the title of the Pretender; a fleet of men of war, consisting of five ships ready for action, with several transports containing 8000 troops, were prepared at Dunkirk. From the smallness of the force thus intended for the invasion of an extensive kingdom, the Dutch were in alarm for the fate of Zealand. The Squadron on board of which was the Pretender, was commanded by M. Fourbin, who is supposed to have received instructions from the French king, on no account to land in Scotland. After much hesitation, and many mistakes, they found themselves to the north of the Firth of Edinburgh. Sir George Byng, whose squadron in the moment of alarm had been increased to eighty ships, came in sight of the enemy with his van, on the morning of the 13th of March. M. de Fourbin immediately put to sea; but the Auguste, a French man of war, was overtaken, and a running fight was immediately commenced. During this engagement, the chevalier de St. George entreated Fourbin to put him ashore, being resolved, even attended only by his domestics, to remain in Scotland. Fourbin, after much equivocation, gave a peremptory refusal to his request. In the mean time, the French were dispersed; the Salisbury, formerly taken from the English, was re-captured, and the rest returned to Dunkirk, after many distresses, and the loss of many of their men by sickness.

So defenceless was the kingdom at this period, and so favourable to the Pretender were the views of the queen, that Marlborough in his correspondence with the court of St Germains, expressed his dissatisfaction that he had not been acquainted with the project of descent, that he might have facilitated its success. The alarm of the people was general, and the bank of England compelled to satisfy the immediate demands of the public, by calling in twenty per cent. from each proprietor. After assuring the queen, in several addresses, that they would exert themselves in defeating the bold attempt of the enemy; and passing a bill, which empowered her majesty to imprison such persons as she had cause to suspect were conspiring against her government, the two houses were prorogued on the first of April, and on the sixteenth of that month the parliament was dissolved by proclamation. Lord Griffin, having been committed to the Tower, was brought on the fifteenth of May to the bar of the queen's bench, and, upon the former outlawry against him, received sentence of death, which was postponed from time to time, till he died in the Tower.

About the end of May, the duke of Marlborough placed himself at the head of the confederates near Ghent, where he expected reinforcements from the Rhine, under prince Eugene. The elector of Bavaria, by his love of pleasure and his prodigality, vices which, contrasted with the avarice of Marlborough, were admired as virtues, had ingratiated himself into favour with the inhabitants of Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp; and persuaded them to betray those cities to the French. On the 5th of July, a body of French troops were received into the city of Ghent, under pretence

of a surprise. After capturing Bruges, and refusing to fight with Marlborough, who offered them battle, the French generals passed the Dender in the night, and returning from that river, directed their march to the Scheldt, which, contrary to their hopes and belief, Marlborough had already passed, taking a position between the French and their lines. At three in the afternoon of the eleventh of July, commenced the battle of Oudenarde. The left of the enemy was covered by the Scheldt, their front was protected by a morass, and their cavalry, intermixed with bodies of foot, occupied an eminence on their right. At seven in the evening the battle became furious on all sides. The British cavalry, in crossing the morass, defeated the cavalry and infantry of the French at the first onset; and the infantry, remaining behind the morass, after an obstinate resistance sheltered themselves in the inclosures behind the banks of the Scheldt, to avoid being flanked by the British horse. Though the successes of the confederates in the course of the day had been partial and inconsiderable, and their baggage and ammunition were untouched; the French retreated with precipitation during the night, leaving, in consequence of their panic, 10,000 men, killed and prisoners, while the loss on the side of the confederates amounted to 824 killed, and 2146 wounded. The reinforcement of Germans from the Moselle having joined the army of prince Eugene, that general formed the siege of Lisle, while the French retired from Ghent under Tournay and Ypres. The marshal de Boufflers, governor of the province of which that celebrated fortress is the capital, was compelled to evacuate the town, after a siege of three months, and to surrender the citadel on the eighth of December. Such, however, was the obstinacy of the contest, that the army of the allies sustained a loss of 20,000 men; and it was only by one of those bold and decisive enterprises, of which the rashness is justified by the success, that the duke of Marlborough passed the Scheldt without resistance, in sight of the French army, now superior, in consequence of the late events to that of the confederates. The cities which had admitted the French within their walls, were again surrendered to the allies. The siege of Brussels, conducted by the elector of Bavaria, was immediately raised, and the minor events of the campaign were equally unpropitious to the cause of France. Vendome, who had been the real commander of the French army during the campaign, though the nominal commander was the duke of Burgundy, retired in disgrace and obscurity to his estates, being the fifth French marshal whom Marlborough's success had driven from the service.

After the recapture of the cities of Ghent and Bruges, Marlborough reinstated the traitors, who had betrayed those cities to the French, in their honours and emoluments; and received, in return for his magnanimity, two hundred thousand guelders. In Germany, no event of importance occurred during the campaign; and in Spain the three armies of the house of Bourbon distinguished themselves by no more memorable exploits than the capture of Tortosa, Denia, and Alicant. The operations of the English fleet were unexpectedly successful; and Sardinia and Mindrea were taken without loss, and almost without resistance. In the West Indies, a privateer ship, commanded by captain Coleby, with 100 men, falling in with a fleet of the enemy's brigantines richly laden, captured the guard-ship and six of the vessels, for which 180,000 dollars were offered as ransom. Commodore Wager, hearing that the galleons were preparing to sail from Portobello to Carthagena, set sail in search of them, and on the 28th of May observed seventeen sail of them to leeward. The Spanish Admiral, who mounted 64 brass guns, the Vice-admiral of 50, the Rear-admiral of 44, and a French ship of 36 guns, all engaged him. He fought them for four hours, when the Admiral blew up, the Vice-admiral terribly shattered, bore away, and the Rear-admiral was taken. The commodore's share of this latter prize alone was estimated at £100,000. The Vice-admiral escaped through the negligence or disaffection of captain Bridges of the Kingston, and captain Windsor of the Portland, who were both tried by a court-martial at Jamaica, and deprived of their commands.

A circumstance, which was productive of much uneasiness and mortification to the court, occurred in the arrest of count Martuof, the Russian ambassador, at the suit of a laceman. He was mal-treated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to a spunging-house, where he continued until he was bailed by the earl of Feversham and a merchant. He com-

plained to the secretary of state, and was liberated; but, resenting the indignity, the queen commanded a prosecution, and Mr. Secretary Boyle assured him, that he should receive ample satisfaction. Notwithstanding this assurance, he demanded a passport for himself and his family, refused the presents that are usually made to ambassadors at their departure, and retired in disgust to Holland, from whence he transmitted a letter of the Czar to the queen, insisting, with singular ignorance of the English law, that all the individuals, concerned in thus insulting the person of his ambassador, should be punished with death!

On the 28th of October, prince George of Denmark, the husband of Anne, died in the 56th year of his age. He had long been afflicted with a violent asthma, with a dropsy, by which he had been affected from his infancy, and a coma, or propensity to sleep. He was a man of the most amiable temper, but incapable of business, indolent, and feeble. His personal character corresponded, in many important features, with that of the queen herself; and she watched his declining health, and lamented his decease, with a tenderness at once earnest and unsuspicious.

The new parliament, of which the majority were elected by the partisans of the Whigs, assembled on the sixteenth of November. After sir Richard Onslow had been elected speaker, seven millions were voted for the service of the campaign, and in concert with the states, ten thousand men were added to the establishment of the preceding year. The earl of Pembroke, lord president of the council, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, was created lord high admiral, vacant by the death of the prince of Denmark; a place of which he had fulfilled the duties towards the close of the reign of William. Lord Somers was raised to the head of the council, and the profligate Wharton appointed to the lieutenancy of Ireland. For this elevation he was indebted to the possession of an intercepted letter, from the earl of Godolphin to the court of St. Germains, which he had purchased of the marquis of Annandale. Godolphin, aware that further use would be made of the discovery of his clandestine correspondence, hastened by artifice the departure of Wharton for Dublin, and immediately forwarded through both houses an act of grace, pardoning all correspondence with the court of St. Germains, and thus securing himself, the duke of Marlborough, and the rest of the persons implicated from the violence of the opposite party.

The return of the duke of Marlborough from the continent exposed him, notwithstanding the splendor of his late campaigns, to all the secret artifice, and open hostility of the opposite party. The secretary of Marlborough, aware of the partiality entertained by the duke towards general Cadogan, attributed to him the whole honour of the battle of Winnendal; while general Webb, to whom the reputation of the victory was chiefly due, was passed by in silence. Marlborough was accused by the Tory party of partiality and injustice, and a vote of thanks to the latter was introduced and passed, from motives of aversion to Marlborough, rather than of regard or respect for the injured officer. 1709.

The public was amused to an unusual degree, by the next proceedings of the two houses. An order had been made by the privy-council, that in the form of prayer used on the accession of the queen, the following words should be omitted, "and that these blessings may be continued to after ages, make the queen, we pray thee, a happy mother of children, who, being educated in thy faith and fear, may happily succeed in the government of these kingdoms." Mr. Watson, son to lord Rockingham, moved in the house of commons on the twenty-fifth of January, that an address should be presented to her majesty, imploring her to moderate her griefs, and to entertain thoughts of a second marriage. Though the motion, considering her time of life, seemed to convey a degree of ridicule, it was strongly supported by all the young members, and presented to her majesty. The queen replied, that the provision she had made for the protestant succession, would always be a proof of her hearty concern for the happiness of the nation; but that the subject of their address was of such a nature, that she was sure they did not expect a particular answer.

The commons granted a land-tax of 4*s.* in the pound, a malt tax, and £2,500,000 in exchequer bills, intended to amount collectively to £6,457,830, an estimate, however, to which they were much inadequate. The parliament was prorogued on the 21st of April.

A long and severe frost, which was par-

tially felt in England, contributed to prolong, by its destructive intensity, the distresses to which France had been reduced, by a continuance of unsuccessful war. The revenues of Lewis were exhausted; the bankers who transmitted his foreign payments dishonoured their bills; and the creditors, whose money was confided to Barnard, one of the principal of the money brokers, were losers to the amount of a million sterling. Influenced by these calamities, and by the impossibility of farther contention with safety or honour, Lewis solicited permission, through the medium of Petkum, envoy from the duke of Holstein, to send the president De Rouillé to lay his proposals before the deputies Buys and Vander-Dussen. The states transmitted immediate intelligence to the emperor and to the queen of England, of the nature and extent of De Rouillé's overture. The superintendence of the treaty, and the terms on which a pacification could be acceded to, were committed by their respective sovereigns to the prince of Savoy and the duke of Marlborough. The pensionary of Holland, who directed the councils of the states, prince Eugene, and Marlborough, were equally influenced by the love of glory, and by a natural desire for the continuance of a system, which had enabled them to gratify their passions for wealth, honour, and authority; to obstruct as far as possible every step towards the conclusion of peace. The demands of the allies were exhorbitant in proportion to the humiliating conditions offered by France; and Marlborough had the address to render the sincerity of Lewis suspected, by diffusing a belief, that the only object of Rouillé's mission was to deceive and amuse the confederates. The reports of the conferences afterwards removed to the Hague, were received by the French court with despair, and the marquis de Torcy, secretary for foreign affairs, offered to the king his services, as a last resort. France agreed to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, without any equivalent; to acknowledge the title of queen Anne; to cede her conquests on the empire upon the Upper Rhine; to give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Condé, and Maubege, for a barrier to Holland; to remove the Pretender from the dominions of France, to restore the possessions of the duke of Savoy; and to meet the wishes of the allies on minor subjects of contention. Terms so honourable to the confederates, and so destructive to the influence of France, might well have satisfied the demands of reasonable ambition, and would have amply repaid the expenditure of life and treasure, on the part of the hostile powers. But interests, glory, and avarice, prevailed over every consideration of justice and general policy; it was demanded, that Lewis should surrender the strongest towns in his territories, as pledges for the entire evacuation, by his grandson, of the dominions of Spain; a condition, which it was not within the power of Lewis to guarantee. De Torcy returned to Paris, and the whole negotiation being made public, the national pride of France, awakened to a sense of the indignities to which it had been subjected, reanimated the court and the people to renewed exertions.

In a private conference between Marlborough and De Torcy, the former advised the renewal of the Pretender from France, as necessary to the success of his attempts to ascend the British throne, and intimated, that should he obtain an asylum in any other country than France, it would be the duty of Townsend and himself to support him in a state of dignified affluence. To this proposal the Pretender refused his assent, alleging that it was made with no other intention than to persuade the world, that he had renounced his pretensions for a pension.

The termination of the conferences was immediately succeeded by vigorous preparations for the continuance of the war. The prince Eugene remained in Flanders, to second the duke of Marlborough in his military operations. The army of the allies amounted to one hundred and ten thousand combatants. The enemy's army, augmented by thousands whom the late famine had driven to the ranks, was commanded by the marshal de Villars. He occupied a strong post between Couriere and Bethune, which covered both his wings. The villages of La Bassée and Pont Avendin defended his front. By this position of his army he covered the cities of Doway and Arras, of which the capture had opened a passage into the heart of France. The generals of the allies perceived that this position was too strong to be easily forced; and understanding that Villars, fearing an attack, had weakened the garrison of Tournay to 5000

men, decamped in the night, and laid siege to that fortress. Notwithstanding the favourable position of the town, and the strength of the citadel, constructed by Vauban, the former surrendered at the end of three weeks, and the latter a few days afterwards. Eugene and Marlborough resolved to pursue the important advantage they had gained, and passed the Scheldt on the third day of September, with the intention of laying siege to Mons. The prince of Hesse was detached, to attack the French lines, from the Haisne to the Sambre, which were abandoned at his approach; but the prince being threatened by a body of the enemy, the duke of Marlborough hastened to support him. On the ninth, the allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies approached so near, that they instantly began to cannonade each other. Villars had passed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheldt. He entrenched himself at the village of Malplaquat, about a league distance from Mons. His right extended to the village itself, which lay behind the extensive and impenetrable wood of Sart. Another wood of equal depth covered his left. Along a very narrow plain, opposed to his centre, he drew trenches behind trenches, and covered the whole with a row of trees, with all their branches, which he had cut down and carried from the adjacent woods. Notwithstanding these obstructions, the allies resolved to give battle to the enemy. The British troops were opposed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the centre of the French. The marshal de Villars placed himself at the head of his left wing, committing the charge of the right to the marshal de Boufflers, who consented to act a second part. About eight o'clock the attack began. Eighty-six battalions on the right, commanded by general Schuylenburg, the duke of Argyle, and other generals, and supported by twenty-two battalions, under count Lottum, attacked the left of the enemy with such vigour, that in less than an hour they were driven from their intrenchments into the woods of Sart and Taniere. Villars, as had been foreseen, weakened his centre, to support his left wing against the fierce assault of the British infantry. The enemy were driven into the plain behind, where they sustained the conflict with unabating firmness. In the mean time, the Dutch, under count Tilly, were engaged with the enemy's right. Advancing to the intrenchments in three lines, they made and sustained a terrible fire for the space of an hour. The resistance of the French was so obstinate and successful, that the confederates consulted on desisting from the attack. At this moment, general Cadogan perceived the void left in the centre of the enemy, by the troops removed to the assistance of the left. Prince Eugene immediately attacked the intrenchments at that place, entered the enemy's line, flanked a regiment of French guards, and forced them to fly. Villars, hastening to support his centre, was wounded and carried from the field. The marshal de Boufflers, however, sustained the fight with obstinacy, notwithstanding the cavalry of the allies had already entered his lines. He ordered the Pretender, who served in this campaign, to advance at the head of twelve hundred of the horse-guards; and in one desperate shock the German cavalry were broken and dissipated; but the generals of the allies rallied their cavalry, forced the enemy back on their lines, and advancing slowly, but firmly, under the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, gained the field.

Boufflers retired deliberately and unmolested, with all his cannon, except fourteen dismounted pieces. The loss of the contending parties was nearly equal, and amounted to more than thirty thousand men. Though the field of battle remained with the allies, the French redeemed their national glory by the skill and calmness of their retreat. The necessity of attacking them when so advantageously posted, and when Mons might have been taken without a battle, has long been the subject of severe scrutiny and animadversion. The campaign was ended on the twentieth of October by the surrender of that fortress.

On the fifteenth of November the parliament met at Westminster; and in her opening speech, the queen complained, that France had employed every stratagem to amuse the allies, with false and deceitful insinuations of her desire for peace. The commons coincided in the views of her majesty, and voted grants to the amount of six millions. While the senate, however, testified its loyalty and unanimity, the people were excited to the expression of open discontent. They began loudly to complain of the continuance of the war, and the pressure of taxes. The clergy,

whose principles accorded with those of the Jacobites, became themselves the instruments of faction and sedition. The court and the ministers of justice had hitherto endeavoured to discourage the violence of these obnoxious persons, by leaving them unnoticed, in the hope of reducing them to silence by the return of plenty and contentment, on the conclusion of the expected peace. A deviation from this prudent conduct, excited the nation to a flame, destroyed the unanimity of the parliament, and effected an important revolution in the policy of England and the state of Europe.

CHAPTER VI.

ANNE.

[1709 to 1714.]

Commotions excited by Sacheveral's Sermon—His Trial and Popularity—Alienation of the Queen from her Ministers—Misfortunes of Stanhope in Spain—Progress of Mrs. Masham in the favour of the Queen—Attempt to assassinate Harley—Marlborough's successful Campaign—On his return he is accused of Peculation—Negotiations for Peace—Debates in Parliament—Fatal Duel between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun—Private Sentiments of the Queen with respect to the Succession—Conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht—State of Parties—Disputes respecting the Articles of Peace—Turbulence of the Duke of Argyle—Decline of the Earl of Oxford's Influence—Intrigues and Ascendancy of Bolingbroke—Conduct of the Elector of Hanover—Dismissal of Harley—Death of the Queen—Her Character.

SACHEVERAL was the son of a clergyman, and was educated at Oxford, under the patronage of several benefactors, among whom the bishop of Sarum, Burnet, was the most active and liberal. At the university, he was regarded as a person of turbulent and litigious spirit, unworthy of respect or confidence. His talents were above mediocrity, but the vanity and presumption which marked his conduct in the general intercourse of life, precluded the deference and esteem that were due to his mental powers and his scholastic acquisitions. In the latter end of the summer of 1709, when the discontent of the people had been excited by the termination of the conferences at the Hague, he was invited by his namesake, Sacheveral, high sheriff of Derbyshire, to preach at the assizes. The sermon was afterwards printed with a dedication to the sheriff, which contained many arguments and observations inconsistent with the established order of society, and obnoxious to the government. He was rewarded for his boldness by his popular election to a church in Southwark; and on the 5th of November, having obtained the pulpit at St. Paul's, he delivered a sermon before the lord mayor and the court of aldermen, replete with those expressions of complaint and jealousy, which were common to him with his whole party. His text was taken from St. Paul, 2 Corinthians, chapter xi. verse 26. *In perils among false brethren.* Instead of commemorating the fortunate events which preserved his country from slavery and ruin, by the discovery of the gunpowder plot, and the landing of the prince of Orange, he delivered a vehement oration, in defence of passive 1709.

obedience and non-resistance, and stigmatized the advocates of the revolution as enemies to their country.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the court of aldermen, who, attached to the principles of the low church, refused to thank Sacheverel, according to custom; the lord mayor, sir Samuel Gerrard, encouraged the doctor to publish his discourse, and to present it in a dedication, corresponding with the sermon in outrageous assertion, and paradoxical argument. The Tories extolled the production, as a master-piece of composition, and the opposition of the Whigs was proportionably vehement.

Mr. Dolben, son to the archbishop of York, presented to the house of commons a complaint against these rhapsodies, and by this conduct gave them an importance, which otherwise they would not have obtained. The most violent paragraphs were read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel was ordered to attend on the fourteenth of December. He was taken into custody and instantly impeached. On the ninth of January, the commons exhibited four articles against him, affirming that the doctor suggested and maintained, That the necessary means for effecting the late revolution were odious and unjustifiable; that the toleration to dissenters was unwarrantable and unreasonable; that the church of England was in danger under the queen's administration; that there were persons in office who endeavoured to overturn the constitution; and that, throughout the whole management of affairs, there was a general mal-administration and corruption. It was resolved to impeach him at the bar of the house of lords, of high crimes and misdemeanors, and Mr. Dolben was appointed to conduct the prosecution, in the name of the commons of all England. The Tories, to whom Sacheverel's principles were highly acceptable, exerted themselves to the utmost in his defence. They affirmed that the Whigs had formed a conspiracy for the destruction of the church, and that the prosecution was intended as a trial of their strength, before they should proceed openly to the prosecution of their object. The clergy made use of all their influence to alarm and enflame their hearers, while emissaries were employed to work on the minds of the populace, who were already prone to discontent from a scarcity of provisions, which was at that time felt in almost every country of Europe. It was urged, that the church was exposed to the most imminent perils from dissenters, Whigs, and luke-warm prelates; a set of men, whom they represented as the authors of the ruinous war, and ultimately of the terrible famine, which threatened to desolate the nation. So powerful a party having espoused the cause of Sacheverel, after the articles were preferred against him, the lords thought it expedient to admit him to bail.

1710.

At length, on the twenty-seventh of February, the trial began in the hall of Westminster, which had been prepared at a great expence for the occasion. The queen was every day present as a private spectator, and when the culprit proceeded to Westminster hall, he was attended from his lodgings in the temple by the multitude, who rent the air with shouts of applause, and were animated to such a pitch of fury and enthusiasm, that they effected the destruction of several dissenting meeting-houses, and insulted, or mal-treated the peers and members of the house of commons, whom they suspected to be inimical to the cause of their favourite. Even the clergy testified their approbation of his conduct and doctrines, by surrounding him at the moment of trial, and extolling him as the champion of the church; and the queen herself could not refrain from some indications of partiality towards a man, whose doctrines were so favourable to the royal prerogative.

As the doctor avowed himself the author of the sermon, no witnesses were produced. The managers, who were chiefly men in office, appealed to the principles on which the revolution was accomplished, and to the general tenor of the opinions and measures adopted by the parliament. The council of Sacheverel endeavoured to prove, that his language did not justify the interpretation of his accusers; and he himself concluded by reading a speech, in which, while he vehemently and ably justified his doctrines, he expressed his approbation of the revolution, and his respect for the queen and the established government.

The lords, when they retired to consult upon his sentence, were divided, and continued undetermined for some time. After violent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices, but a protest was entered against this decision by thirty-four

peers. He was prohibited from preaching for three years, and his two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, in the presence of the lord mayor and sheriffs.

The lenity of this sentence, which was chiefly owing to the dread of popular resentment, was regarded by the Tories as a victory over the opposite faction. They celebrated their triumph by bonfires and illuminations; and Sacheveral was soon after presented to a benefice in North Wales, whither he was conducted with great pomp and magnificence. On his way he was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford; and many noblemen, who secretly regarded him with contempt, worshipped him as the idol of their faction. In several towns he was formally received by the magistrates; and, during part of the journey, was attended by a body of one thousand horse: at Bridgenorth he was met by a person named Cresswell at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands, and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and flowers. "The church and Dr. Sacheveral" were resounded in every quarter; and a spirit of religious enthusiasm pervaded the whole nation.

1710. When the queen addressed the house in the April following, she expressed her resentment against those who had taken a false impression, that the church was endangered by certain licentious libels, productions which had been the objects of complaint in all ages, and which could not be suppressed by the utmost care and vigilance. She declared her readiness at all times to punish and discourage vice and irreligion; to sanction by her assent every salutary law that might check the progress of licentiousness.

Hitherto the queen had coincided in sentiment with her ministers, though she no longer regarded them with her wonted favour. So early as two years before, immediately subsequent to the death of her husband the prince of Denmark, she betrayed the change of her attachments and opinions. The prince was infirm and inactive; an advocate for strict attachment to the allies; and, himself of a different persuasion from the established church, a friend to the toleration of the belief of others. The queen was, it is true, religiously disposed, but chiefly towards the high church party, who prejudiced her strongly against the dissenters, as a turbulent and factious race, who had chiefly contributed to the calamities of her grandfather Charles I. The queen was to a great degree susceptible of flattery; and the high church party, more expert in its blandishments than their opponents, consulted her feelings and gratified her pride by their earnest protestations of personal duty, and of regard for the prerogative.

During these intrigues the court of France, exhausted and dismayed by the success of the allies, solicited the states-general to admit the arrival of plenipotentiaries at any place in Holland or Flanders they might deem it proper to appoint. Lewis engaged to acknowledge Charles III. as king of Spain, to withdraw all succours from his grandson, to forbear sending him any future assistance, and to consent that no part of the Spanish monarchy should ever be united with France. His offers on every other point of discussion were equally extensive, but did not fulfil the expectations of the allies. Lewis, unwilling to abandon the hope of peace, proposed still further concessions. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, averse to the conclusion of a war so productive of wealth and glory, contrived to induce the queen of Great Britain and the emperor to throw the whole of the negotiation into the hands of the Dutch republic. The deputies from the states-general rose in their demands in proportion as France increased her concessions, and insisted that Lewis XIV. instead of paying a subsidy towards the war against his grandson, should assist the allies with all his forces to expel him from the throne.

In the mean time the duke of Marlborough and the prince of Savoy sat down before Donay, after assembling the army at Tournay, and entering the French lines without resistance. The confederate generals determined on the siege of Donay, as that place covered Lisle and the rest of their conquests in Flanders. The enemy having assembled near Peronne advanced towards Cambray with a force sufficient to relieve Donay; but it was the determination of Villars not to risk the issue of the campaign in a single battle, but to interrupt the siege of Donay, which was resolutely defended by a garrison of eight thousand men under Monsieur Albergoth, who made a number of desperate sallies, in which the besieged lost many soldiers. The garrison, however,

surrendered on the 26th of June, and the confederates took successively Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire. The loss of the allies was great, notwithstanding their successes; and a convoy of military stores, conveyed in boats along the Lys under the command of the earl of Athlone, was blown up with an explosion that separated the river into two channels, and interrupted its navigation.

The campaign on the Rhine was entirely inactive. The campaign in Spain was distinguished by the alternate defeat of both the claimants of the throne. Philip V. with an army of Spaniards, took the field in the beginning of May; and, after many marches and counter-marches, proceeded to Almenara, at the moment of the arrival of general Stanhope, who attacked the cavalry of Philip, and slew with his own hand the commander of his guards. The cavalry were dispersed at the first shock; the infantry were driven from the field. Philip retired with his broken army, leaving behind him his artillery and the greatest part of his baggage. The main body of his troops fled with precipitation to Lerida. To cut off the communication between the enemy and Castile, he passed the Sinca, and marched towards Saragossa, whither general Stahremberg pursued him, and obtained over him a victory, in which he lost 12,000 men in killed and prisoners. Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip retreated to Madrid, and afterward to Valladolid, in order to collect his scattered troops into another army.

The severities of Stanhope, who pursued his route to Madrid, and the enthusiasm of all ranks of society, who regarded Charles as a king imposed upon them by heretics, restored the affairs of Philip. The duke of Vendome, whom the caprice of the duke of Burgundy had rendered useless to France, assumed, at the request of Philip, the chief command in Spain. The nobility flocked around his standard; and, before the end of October his army amounted to 30,000 men. An army of French, assembled in Roussillion, was preparing to enter Catalonia. The allies had divided their armies for the convenience of subsistence; and Stanhope arrived with five thousand men, on the eighth of December, at the small unfortified town of Brihuega. He was surprised by the duke de Vendome, who had swam across the Tagus with his cavalry, and compelled, after a desperate resistance, to surrender at discretion. A result so fatal to the interest of Charles might have been prevented, had the proposal of Stanhope, that a body of troops should occupy the pass of Pampluna, through which alone the French king could have sent forces to Spain, been properly regarded.

The count de Stahremberg immediately hastened to the relief of his friends, but arrived too late to prevent the disaster I have recorded, while he exposed himself to the most imminent danger. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Villa Viciosa with Vendome. The contest was long and bloody; and Stahremberg retired, under the protection of night, leaving behind him his cannon, baggage, and ammunition, but inflicting upon the enemy a destruction nearly equal to that which his own army had sustained.

Though the continuance of the war prolonged the power of Marlborough on the continent, his influence at home was gradually declining. The parliament having been dissolved, was succeeded by another, of which the majority were Tories. From every quarter of the kingdom addresses, confirming the doctrine of non-resistance, were presented to the queen, and graciously accepted. The conferences at Guertrugdenburg having been broken off, the designs of the Dutch and English commanders were too obvious not to be perceived. The writers of the Tory faction, who were men of the first eminence in literature, displayed all the vehemence of declaration on the avarice of Marlborough, and the selfish conduct of the Dutch. They insisted that, while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests, for the benefit of other nations, she was losing her liberty at home; and that the members of administration, not content with sharing the plunder of an impoverished state, were resolved to control by their influence, even the constitutional exertion of the royal authority.

The great instrument of popular declension in favour of the Whigs, during their late ascendancy, was the cry, that the church was in danger. By the circumstances attending the trial of Sacheverel, that mode of deception was now transferred into the hands of their opponents, and was productive of immediate and irresistable effect: the power of the Tories and the violence of the people were combined, with private reasons, to render the influence of Marlborough no longer decisive and secure.

The duchess, by that arrogance which frequently accompanies unexpected success, and is frequently the reward of unlimited condescension, had lately wounded the pride and provoked the anger of the queen, to whose favour Mrs. Masham had gradually succeeded. The brother of this lady, colonel Hill, had distinguished himself in the battle of Almanza: the influence of his sister recommended him to the notice of the queen, and she intimated to the duke of Marlborough, that she wished him to be appointed to the regiment vacant by the death of the earl of Essex. The duke expostulated on this extraordinary proof of partiality for a woman who had treated him with marked ingratitude. Hitherto he had uninterruptedly possessed the disposal of all military rank; and he represented to the queen the prejudice that would result to the service from the promotion of so young an officer. He retired to the country, and threatened to resign the command of the army. The queen disguised her joy at this menace; and, in order to prevent the earl of Sunderland from introducing a vote into the house of commons to remove Mrs. Masham from her presence and service, dissembled her resentment; and informed him by letter, that she insisted on his retaining the command of the army, and that he might dispose of the regiment as he pleased.

But the resolutions of Anne were not much longer indecisive or equivocal. The post of lord chamberlain was transferred from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury; and the earl of Dartmouth succeeded the earl of Sunderland, son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, as secretary of state. The Whigs, though at first they yielded to despair, determined to support themselves by the people in opposition to the queen; and they influenced the directors of the bank to assure her majesty, that public credit would be annihilated by the change in her councils; and the Dutch alternately appealed to her wisdom, her justice, and her fears, in petitions, menaces, and memorials. Advised, however, and assured by Harley, she was not to be shaken from her purpose: she appointed the latter chancellor of the exchequer and under-treasurer. Lord Godolphin was divested of his office: lord Somers was succeeded as president of the council by lord Rochester: the duke of Devonshire was deprived of the staff of lord steward, which was given to the duke of Buckingham: and Mr. Henry St. John, superseded Mr. Boyle in the office of the secretary of state. The great seal was committed to Sir Simon Harcourt on the resignation of the lord chancellor, an example which was followed by the earl of Wharton, whose commission as lord-lieutenant of Ireland was transferred to the duke of Ormond: and thus was accomplished the expulsion of all the Whig party from office, except the duke of Marlborough, by the appointment of Mr. George Granville as secretary at war in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole.

The passion of the duke of Marlborough overcame his usual coolness of behaviour and deliberate address. When he received intelligence of the intended disgrace of Sunderland, he wrote to the duke of Berwick, and offered his services to the court of St. Germains; which led to a correspondence between the exiled queen and the general, more honourable to the finesse of both parties, than to their wisdom or integrity. At the moment when Marlborough himself was in communication with the family of James, he corresponded also with the elector of Hanover, and accused the new ministry, to that prince, as men fully determined to restore the Pretender. Nor was the charge entirely destitute of foundation, for the duke of Shrewsbury, the lord chamberlain, was even now in correspondence with the court of St. Germains, though he had written, at the same time, a letter professing the most ardent attachment to the elector.

During these intrigues of the two parties, the parliament assembled at Westminster, and elected for their speaker one Bromley, an individual attached to the high church party. The queen declared, in her opening speech, her firm determination to prosecute the war, especially in Spain, with the utmost vigour, and demanded suitable supplies. Whatever might have been known or suspected of the motives which influenced the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene in urging the prolongation of the war, the allied powers were justly convinced, that all the offers of Lewis to abandon his grandson were illusory. They considered the apparent disunion between France and Spain as a mere collusion; they could not be ignorant of the secret promises given by Lewis to support his grandson; they

regarded the nomination of the duke of Burgundy to the ducal title of Anjou, the acknowledgment of the prince of Asturias, and the conduct of Philip in general, as decisive proofs of a resolution never to relinquish the Spanish throne. The French monarch had in reality exhorted the dauphin and Philip never to give credit to any appearance of an approaching peace, or of a design to abandon Spain; but, on the contrary, to be assured of his resolution to continue the war.

The triumph of Philip was completed by the licentiousness of the Dutch and English soldiers, who insulted and treated with inhumanity the inhabitants of Madrid; by the avarice of Stanhope, and the propensity to rapine of the earl of Galway. The unfortunate Charles III. was loaded with all the sins of his army, and fled before his victorious enemy. The lords severely censured the conduct of the generals, and passed a vote of censure for injurious advice, and for neglect, on the late ministry. Notwithstanding these and other indications of hostility on the part of the court and the government, the duke of Marlborough, influenced by the wishes of the allies, and by his own propensity to the accumulation of wealth, determined to continue in his command, and on the 18th of February embarked for Holland, to concert with the states the operations of an early campaign.

In reply to a message of the queen, addressed to both houses on the 3rd of January, the lords expressed their unlimited approbation of the conduct of the earl of Peterborough; censured the late ministers for their mismanagement of the Spanish war; and avowed their displeasure at the councils and measures of the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope. In the commons it was voted, that inviting and bringing over poor Palatines, of all religions, at the national expence, was a dangerous and scandalous misapplication of the public money. A law was enacted during this session, that no one should be capable of representing a county in parliament, unless he possessed an estate of £600 a year; and that every burgess should have an annual income of half that sum. The moderation of Harley, during all the contentions of the senate, rendered the sincerity of his attachment to the Tories suspected; and his influence was regarded by the majority of his party with jealousy and distrust. At this moment his credit was restored, by the violence of a desperate and enthusiastic assassin. One Guiscard, a French officer, who had communicated some useful intelligence relative to the affairs of France, had received from the crown a precarious pension of £400 a year, which he considered as a reward extremely disproportioned to his services. He had often endeavoured to procure admittance to the queen, but was always prevented either by Harley or St. John. Provoked at these disappointments, he resolved to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services to Morean, a banker at Paris. His packet, which he transmitted by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant issued to apprehend him for high-treason. Conscious of his guilt, he sought not to avoid his fate, but resolved to satiate his revenge. Being carried before the council convened at a place called the Cockpit, he perceived a penknife lying upon the table, and took it up without being observed by any of the attendants. When pressed by the members of the council, he endeavoured to evade examination, and desired permission to speak in private to Mr. St. John. His request, however, being refused, he said, "That's hard; not one word!" On which, as St. John was out of his reach, he stept towards Mr. Harley, and crying out, "Have at thee, then!" stabbed him in the breast with the penknife he had concealed. By good fortune, the blade of the knife broke upon the rib without entering the cavity of the breast; but he repeated the blow with such violence, that Harley fell to the ground. St. John exclaimed, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley;" and drawing his sword, while others followed his example, Guiscard was wounded in many places. He still however continued to strike and defend himself, until, being overpowered by the messengers and servants who on hearing the noise had rushed in, he was conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene, occasioned by the contusions he had sustained. The attempt upon the life of Harley, by a person who was proved to be an enemy to the state, extinguished the suspicions of those who began to doubt of that minister's integrity. The two houses of parliament expressed their conviction, in an

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address to the queen, that Mr. Harley's loyalty and zeal in the service of her majesty had subjected him to the hatred of the abettors of faction and popery. When Harley appeared in the house of commons after his recovery, he was congratulated by the speaker, in a formal speech, replete with the most fulsome panegyric. On the death of the earl of Rochester, who died soon after these events, Harley became sole minister, was created baron of Wigmore, and exalted to the rank of earl, by the titles of Oxford and Mortimer.

The commons proceeded to enquire into the debts of the navy, which were combined with many other debts in one stock, amounting to £9,470,321. A fund was established for paying an interest or annuity of 6 per cent. until the principal should be discharged. With this fund was granted the monopoly of a projected trade to the South Sea, vested in the proprietors of navy bills, debentures, and other public securities, who were incorporated for this purpose. Such was the origin of the South Sea Company; an establishment so productive, before many years had elapsed, of individual ruin and national distress.

The duke of Marlborough had arrived in England on the 28th day of December. Having entered London as a private person, he obtained an interview with the queen, in which the alienation of her mind was so evident, as to leave him no hope of further influence. Though he attended the privy-council, therefore, as an indication of respect, he surrendered into her majesty's hands the places and dignities of his wife, which were those of groom of the stole, mistress of the robes, and keeper of the privy purse. The two first were bestowed on the duchess of Somerset, the last on Mrs. Masham. Being continued for the present in the command of the army, the duke set out for Holland on the eighteenth day of February; he repaired to Flanders about the middle of April, and assembled the army at Orchies, between Lisle and Donay. He passed the Scarpe, and encamped between Donay and Bouchain; but was afterwards induced to repass the river, and form his camp in the plain of Lens, from whence he advanced towards Aire, as if it were his intention to besiege St. Omer, or attack the enemies' lines in that quarter: these lines extended from Bouchain to Canche, being continued along the Sanset and the Scarpe to Arras, and thence along the upper Scarpe and Ugy. They were regarded by marshal Villars as impenetrable, and denominated, in confidence of their strength, the *Ne plus ultra* of Marlborough. Deluded by the manœuvres of the duke, the French commander drew all his forces to the side of Villars-Brulin in the full expectation of an engagement; leaving unprotected the passages on the Sanset and the Scheldt, which were immediately occupied by general Hompseck, who, with general Cadogan, had passed the former of these rivers at Arleux. Marlborough himself, with his vanguard of fifty squadrons, having passed the Scarpe, hastened his march towards Arleux, and before eight o'clock arrived at Baca-Bacheul, where in two hours he was joined by the heads of the columns into which he had divided his army. The rapidity of Villars to counteract these movements, was only equalled by his surprize and dismay. He decamped with his whole army, and at the head of the king's household troops marched with such expedition, that at about eleven in the forenoon, he arrived in sight of the duke of Marlborough, who had just passed through the defile of Marquion, and joined count Hompseck. The French general fell back on the main body of his army, which had reached the high road between Arras and Cambray, while the confederates, having marched ten leagues without halting, encamped upon the Scheldt, between Oisy and Estrum. The confidence expressed by Villars, in the impenetrable construction of his line of defence, was now the source of invidious and mortifying comparison between him and his competitor in arms. He took every precaution, however, that skill and experience could suggest for the defence of Bouchain, which contained a garrison of 6000 men, commanded by able officers. But notwithstanding the strength of the town, the courage of its defenders, a numerous army on one side, and the garrisons of Condé and Vallenciennes on the other, in twenty days the garrison, after offering to capitulate, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The capture of Bouchain formed the last enterprise of this celebrated general. Upon his return from the campaign he was accused of having taken a bribe of £6000 a year from a Jew who contracted to supply the army with bread; and the queen thought proper to dismiss him from all his employments. The

desire of accumulating money is acknowledged to have been a passion which actuated this general throughout the whole of his conduct, and which tarnished the lustre of his military talents and his personal accomplishments. At the time when he received this gratuity from Medina the Jew, he was allowed ten thousand pounds a year by the queen; and, in addition to his ordinary pay as general of the British forces, he reserved to his private emolument two and a half per cent. from the pay of foreign troops maintained by England.

Previous to these transactions, the emperor Joseph died of the small-pox without male issue, so that the immediate aim of his brother was to succeed him on the Imperial throne. The event was on the 28th of April communicated by a message from the queen to both houses. She informed them, that the states-general had concurred with her in a resolution to support the house of Austria; and that they had already taken such measures as would secure the election of Charles to the head of the empire.

The duke of Argyle, who had been recommended to the command in Spain by his enmity to the duke of Marlborough, landed at Barcelona on the 9th of May, and found the British troops in the utmost distress for want of subsistence Having waited in vain for the promised remittances, he was obliged to borrow money on his own credit before the French troops could take the field. At length Stahremburg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the pass of Prato del Rey, where they were repulsed with considerable loss. After this action, the duke of Argyle was seized with a violent fever, and was conveyed back to Barcelona, from whence he transmitted pressing but unsuccessful complaints of remaining unsupported, to the ministry. The castle of Cardona being invested by Vendome, a detachment for the relief of that fortress defeated the besiegers, killed two thousand on the spot, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. From the deficiency of supplies, however, Stahremburg was disabled from following up the blow; and the duke of Argyle, mortified at the culpable neglect with which he was treated, returned to England in disgust.

The disputes between Charles and the duke of Savoy having been terminated by an interview between these two princes at Milan, and prince Eugene, at the head of the German forces, protecting the electors at Frankfort from the designs of the enemy, Charles was unanimously called to the empire.

For some time before the dismission of Marlborough, a negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministry. The latter hoped to obtain for the subjects of Great Britain, such advantages as might silence the clamours of the Whig party. In order, therefore, to terminate the war as soon as possible, the earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford, transmitted to the court of France a private message, imparting the queen's anxious desire for peace, and a wish for the renewal of the conference. Peace, on almost any terms, being the ardent wish of the minister, Mr. Prior was privately sent to France, and Monsieur Mesnager came to England, and signed some preliminary articles; after which, Prior was succeeded by Bolinbroke, who was commissioned to prosecute what his predecessor had begun.

The opening speech of her majesty to the parliament, on the seventh day of December, announced the appointment of a time and place for the approaching congress. In the house of lords, the earl of Nottingham proposed a clause to be inserted in the address of thanks, representing to her majesty, that, in the opinion of the house, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies should be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon. After a violent debate, in which the duke of Marlborough was provoked to defend himself against the attacks of his enemies, by appealing to her majesty whether he had not *always* informed her of every proposal of peace, and submitted himself to the instructions of her council, the motion of Nottingham was carried by a small majority.

The duke of Hamilton having claimed a seat in the house of lords, under his newly-acquired title of duke of Brandon, it became a subject of dispute, whether Scottish peers, created English peers since the union, had a right to sit in the upper house. After vehement debates, it was determined in the negative, by a majority of five. The bill against occasional conformity was revived by the earl of Nottingham, in more moderate terms than those which had been formerly rejected. The

duke of Devonshire obtained leave to bring in a bill for giving precedence of all peers to the elector of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge; and an address was presented to the queen, desiring that she would instruct her plenipotentiaries to consult with the ministers of the allies in Holland, before the opening of the congress, that they might concert the necessary measures for proceeding with unanimity. In order to secure a majority in the house of lords, twelve new peers were created; and the queen, having sent a message desiring the lords to adjourn, it was only by the weight of these newly-created peers, that the legality of causing one house to adjourn before the other was established.

The arrival of prince Eugene, the ardent friend and admirer of Marlborough, was unpleasing to the queen, and alarming to the ministry. He was received with a complacency calculated to lull his suspicion of the real sentiments of the court, while party riots were excited to insult his person, and his family was traduced in the public journals, through the secret influence of the ministry; the court and nobility received him with every external indication of respect; he was adored by the Whigs, and applauded by the people. On her birth day, the queen presented him with a sword worth £5000.; though she regarded him as one of the principal supporters of the war faction, now so hateful to her mind, and was well aware of his intercourse with the heads of the excluded party, and his connection with the baron de Bothmar, the Hanoverian envoy, who had been active in fomenting the discontents of the people.

The earl of Stafford, who had lately been recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was sent back to Holland with orders to communicate to the pensionary, Heinsius, the preliminary proposals, and to fix upon a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The Dutch, upon examining the preliminaries, were averse to beginning the conference. They sent over an envoy, to endeavour to dissuade the queen from her resolution; but not succeeding in this attempt, they fixed upon Utrecht as the place of general conference, and accordingly granted passports to the French ministers. Neither the Dutch nor the Germans, however, refrained from any possible expedient to avert the probability of peace. The emperor addressed circular letters to the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their former engagements; and the Whigs continued to disseminate disputes and dissatisfaction, by every mode of appeal to the passions and the interests of the community.

It must be confessed, indeed, that many of the motives which had first incited the confederates to take up arms, no longer existed. Charles of Austria, in whose cause England had expended so much blood and treasure, was now the possessor of the Imperial throne; and every reason conspired to withhold him from supporting his pretensions to the crown of Spain, the acquisition of which was become an object incompatible with the liberties of Europe. The elector of Bavaria, who had been intimately connected with the French, was now detached from them; and the Dutch, who had trembled for their own barrier, were now encroaching on that of the enemy. Though it was the interest of England, therefore, that her allies should be reinstated in their rights, it was inconsistent with good policy that they should be rendered too powerful.

Exasperated by the intrigues and opposition of the Dutch, the house of commons expressed its sentiments of the conduct of the states-general, in terms of severe reprehension. They asserted, that the queen had paid above three millions of crowns in subsidies, above what she was bound to advance by her engagements, and that the states had always been deficient in their proportion of troops, both in Spain and the Netherlands. The house of commons voted, that in the barrier treaty, which had been concluded with the states-general by lord Townsend, after the conferences at Guertrugdenburg, there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of Great Britain, and therefore highly dishonourable to her majesty. It was represented in a long address, that England, during the war, had been overcharged nineteen millions. The states-general, astonished and alarmed by these resolutions, drew up a respectful letter to the queen, in which they represented the necessity of a barrier for the mutual security of England and of the United Provinces. They published at the same time, in one of the English journals, a memorial in vindication of their proceedings during the war, which was voted a false, scandalous, and

malicious libel, reflecting on the resolutions of the house; and the printer and publisher were taken into custody, as guilty of a breach of privilege.

Among the other acts of the commons during the present session, were the repeal of the act of naturalization; the passing of a bill, granting toleration to the episcopal clergy of Scotland, notwithstanding the security of the presbyterian government was a fundamental condition of the treaty of union; a clause was inserted, prohibiting civil magistrates from executing the sentences of the kirk-judicatories. An act was passed for discontinuing the courts of justice during the holidays, notwithstanding they are never kept by persons of that persuasion; and the right of patronage, which had been abolished when the discipline of the kirk was last established, was restored.

1712. In the month of January, the conferences were opened at Utrecht, under the conduct of Robinson, bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Stafford, on the side of the English; of Vuys and Vanderdussen on the part of the Dutch; and of the marshal D'Uxelles, cardinal Polignaes, and M. Mesnager, in behalf of France. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy assisted, and the other allies sent their plenipotentiaries, though with the utmost reluctance. England and France being the only powers that were sincerely inclined to peace, the deputies of the other confederates retarded the progress of the negotiation. The emperor persisted in his claim to the Spanish monarchy, while the Dutch adhered to preliminaries which had been formerly rejected.

The ministers, impressed with the conviction, that, in case of the queen's death before the conclusion of the treaty, an event not unlikely, from the declining and uncertain state of her health, they would be subjected to all the revengeful virulence of the opposite party for obeying her commands, commenced a private negotiation with France. They stipulated certain advantages for the subjects of Great Britain, which were privately agreed upon by the two courts; but the peculiarity of the circumstances in which the stipulations were drawn up, and the haste with which the agreement was concluded, prevented that vigilant watchfulness over the interests of England, which would have been justified by the success of her arms, and the commanding attitude in which she had hitherto presided over the affairs of Europe.

The French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht delivered their proposals in writing, under the title of specific offers, which were met on the part of the confederates by the most extravagant demands. The queen, whose sole happiness appeared to depend on the conclusion of peace, finding that the confederates were not inclined to moderate their demands, declared that, as they refused to co-operate with her openly and sincerely, she regarded herself as entirely released from all her engagements, and secretly directed the duke of Ormond not to act on the offensive. Prince Eugene, having been joined by the duke, projected an attack on the French army, and was therefore made acquainted with the instructions received by his coadjutor, who desired permission to return home. Eugene, however, invested the town of Quesnoy, and the duke, at the risk of his own responsibility, assisted him with seven battalions and nine squadrons of foreign troops, in the pay of Great Britain. For the sake of appearances, Ormond afterwards received an order to co-operate with the generals of the allies, and the siege was undertaken under the cover of his forces. But on the 24th of the month, the duke informed Eugene, that he had received the commands of the queen to publish, within three days, a suspension of arms between his army and that of the French for two months. The foreign troops, however, in the pay of England, refused obedience to his orders, alleging that the commands of their officers to act against the French were positive and unconditional. After the capture of Quesnoy, the garrison surrendering prisoners of war, prince Eugene dispatched major-general Grovenstein, with fifteen hundred horse, to penetrate into the heart of France. He advanced so far as to spread terror into the capital, and render it expedient for Lewis to increase the number of his guards at Versailles. After ravaging and burning the country in his progress, he retreated too fast to be pursued by the forces dispatched for that purpose.

In a speech made by lord Halifax, he expatiated on the ill-consequences of the duke of Ormond's refusal to co-operate with prince Eugene, and moved an address to her majesty, imploring her to withdraw the restrictions on the conduct of the English general. The

earl of Paulet replied, that though no one could doubt of the duke of Ormond's courage, he did not resemble a certain general, who led his troops to the slaughter, in hopes that a great number of officers might be "knocked on the head," that by disposing of their commissions he might increase his own treasures. The duke of Marlborough, exasperated by a sarcasm uttered in his presence, challenged the earl; but was prevented from proceeding further in the quarrel, by the express commands of the queen.

The other allies having resolved to prosecute the war, without the co-operation of the English troops, were attacked by Villars at Denain, their entrenchments forced, and seventeen battalions destroyed or made prisoners. Among the latter were the earl of Albemarle, the commander, and the surviving officers.

In Holland, the prosecution of the war was the favourite object of every rank and description of society. The elector of Hanover refused to coincide in the views of the queen of England, and the king of Prussia was equally inimical to the conclusion of peace. Portugal rested the solicitations of England, till the siege of Campo-Major by the marquis de Bay, with 20,000 men, taught the court the necessity of acquiescence; and even when the Portuguese minister signed the suspension of arms, he excused his conduct to the allies, as the effect of insurmountable necessity. The English troops in Spain, separated from the army of count Stahremburg, marched to the neighbourhood of Barcelona, where they were embarked on board an English squadron, and transported to Minorca.

The articles of the intended treaty were warmly canvassed in every rank of the metropolis; and the duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, the Whigs strongly suspected that nobleman of attachment to the Pretender. The duke and lord Mohun, having been for some time at variance on the subject of a lawsuit, the latter, a tame and subservient dependant upon the Whigs, under pretext of their former quarrel, sent a challenge to the duke, by general Macartney. Attended by Macartney and colonel Hamilton, they met by appointment in Hyde Park, and fought with so much fury, that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the duke expired as they were conveying him to his house. Macartney escaped in disguise to the continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath, before the privy-council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example; that Macartney was immediately disarmed; that seeing the duke fall upon his antagonist, he (Hamilton) threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up; and that while he was employed in that office, Macartney, having taken up one of the swords, stabbed the duke over colonel Hamilton's shoulder, and immediately fled. Macartney was treated by the Tories as a cowardly assassin, in the service of his party; the Whigs affirmed, that the duel was entirely the result of a private quarrel. Macartney afterwards submitted to a trial, in which the prevarication of Hamilton, and the testimony of several persons who witnessed the combat at a distance, were the grounds of his acquittal. The duke of Marlborough, hearing himself accused as the author of these party-mischiefs, retired to the continent, whither he was followed by his duchess.

The plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France, together with those of the states, met in form on the 18th of January; but their progress to an adjustment of the affairs of Europe, was retarded by the unexpected death of the only son of Lewis XIV. at the age of fifty. He was succeeded, in the title of heir of France, by his son the duke of Burgundy, a prince not less remarkable for animation and the love of business, than his father for the opposite qualities. But he also died on the 18th of February, having survived only six days his wife the dauphiness, Marie-Adelaide of Savoy. These events, so fatal to the royal family of France, were followed in a few days more by the death of the duke of Britany, the duke of Burgundy's eldest son. They were all buried in the same grave. Out of three sons, born to the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Anjou, a sickly infant, alone remained. The misfortunes of France raised the courage of such of the confederates as were eager for continuing the war, and England concurred with the other powers, in demanding new securities for the stability of the peace, and for preventing the crowns of France and Spain from devolving to the same possessor. After many

expedients and *contre-projets*, Philip resolved to renounce his precarious prospect of the crown of France, for the certain possession of the throne of Spain. The treaty afterwards proceeded without obstruction or delay. In the beginning of August, the secretary St. John, accompanied by the abbé Gualtier and Mr. Prior, visited *incognito* the court of Versailles, and adjusted the interests of the duke of Savoy and the elector of Bavaria. A suspension of arms, by sea and land, of which a principal condition was the surrender of Dunkirk to the British troops, and which extended to four months, was concluded between England and France. On the 6th of June, the queen came to the house of lords, and made a speech from the throne. She observed, that though the making of peace or war was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, she was resolved, in consequence of her promise, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the treaty, before it should be concluded. In the house of commons, an address of thanks was voted, without one dissentient voice; but the address of the lords was not passed till after violent debates.

The wishes of Anne, respecting the succession, were decidedly hostile to the claims of the elector of Hanover. The bias of family connection, the morbid conviction of the queen, that she was enjoying that dignity which ought to have been the possession of a near relative, and her affection for her brother, conspired to render her averse to the popular and expected mode of succession. The principles she had now imbibed from the Tories, were not inconsistent with the restoration of the family of James; and she had learned by experience, that both in England and Scotland, the majority of those who were distinguished by the title of Jacobites, or of the low church party, were in secret communication with the court of St. Germains: and the most powerful motive by which she was influenced, in her conclusion of peace with France, was the hope that it might ultimately lead to such arrangements, as would enable her to exclude the Hanoverian family from the throne. The elector himself had already become indifferent to his claim on the crown of England. He was harrassed by the intrigues and overtures of contending parties, and, unacquainted with the bigotry of the Pretender's character, concluded that his restoration would be the immediate result of the death of the queen. The excluded party in vain endeavoured to obtain, from his gratitude or generosity, the pecuniary means of prosecuting their schemes against the existing government; and having suggested the idea of invading England with a body of troops, conveyed in Danish vessels, the elector discouraged the project, as equally improper and unattainable.

The death of the duke of Hamilton made way for the duke of Shrewsbury, as ambassador to the court of Versailles. Lord Lexington having been appointed ambassador extraordinary to Philip V. had arrived at Madrid in the middle of October. He was present at the king of Spain's solemn renunciation of the crown of France, for himself and his posterity; a ceremony, which was performed in the presence of the council of Castile and Arragon. The English parliament continued to be prorogued, as the tedious negotiations at Utrecht had not yet been brought to a close. The duke of Shrewsbury and the marquis de Torcy settled the plan of a general peace at Paris, which a courier carried to Utrecht in the middle of March. On the 27th of March, the lord privy-seal and the earl of Strafford acquainted the ministers of the allies, that they had appointed the 31st of that month for signing a treaty of peace, and another of commerce between Great Britain and France; and they requested, therefore, the plenipotentiaries of the confederates to be prepared, at the same time, to sign their respective treaties. The conditions of peace to be allowed to the emperor, or the empire, had been prepared by the queen of Great Britain and the French king. These were delivered in form to count Zinzendorf, his Imperial majesty's minister. The emperor, exasperated to resentment, resolved to continue the war. The British and French plenipotentiaries were the first who signed for their respective sovereigns. Their example was followed, in the space of a few hours, by the minister of the duke of Savoy, and by those of Portugal and Prussia. The states were the last who signed the treaty; the French plenipotentiaries having insisted, that the ministers of such princes, as their master had acknowledged as kings, should take place of the ambassadors of a republic.

Thus was concluded a treaty, which, after

the lapse of many years, and the profuse expenditure of blood and treasure, neither stipulated any adequate indemnification for the past, nor promised any substantial security for the future. The chief advantages gained in the treaty were such as the queen and her ministers would willingly have evaded, and which Lewis acceded to king William, whose title he acknowledged in the treaty of Ryswick, but soon after permitted the Pretender to be proclaimed king of Great Britain at St. Germains. The French king acknowledged the succession in the protestant line of Hanover. It was agreed, that the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk should be razed, the harbour filled up, and the sluices, which served to cleanse the harbours, be levelled at the expence of the French king, within the space of five months, with the express condition, that they should never be repaired; but the stipulated demolition was not to be begun, till Lewis was placed in possession of the equivalents granted by England. By the treaty of Ryswick, restitution had been made of all the places in Hudson's Bay and the island Newfoundland, which had been taken on either side during the war. But by this treaty, Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Straits, with all the lands, forts, seas, coasts, rivers, &c. were to be ceded for ever to Great Britain, with the cannon, and a quantity of ammunition proportionable to the cannon-ball that should be found in the forts. Commissaries were to be appointed on both sides, to regulate the limits between Hudson's Bay and the places belonging to France, and Lewis was to satisfy the Hudson's Bay Company, for the damages they had sustained since the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed. On the other hand, the queen was to cause satisfaction to be given for the damages the French had sustained at Montserrat, and some other grievances relating to the island of Nevis, and the castle of Gambia. Great Britain was to have possession of Nova Scotia and its antient boundaries; and Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands: but the French were to have the liberty of erecting huts, and stages, and other conveniences for drying fish on that part which stretched along from the northern point of the island, and extended by the west side as far as Point Riche. The island of Cape Breton, and all others in the bay and river of St. Laurence, were hereafter to belong to the French, with full liberty to erect fortifications in any of the ceded forts, places, and islands.

Though the advantages which England obtained by the treaty of Utrecht, were neither adequate to the importance of her victories, nor to the profusion of her expence, they extended the glory and the commerce of the kingdom. She secured the dominion of the Mediterranean, by obtaining Gibralter and Minorca; she strengthened and extended her dominions in America, and in addition to the triumph obtained by the relinquishment of Newfoundland, the cession of Hudson's Bay and St. Christopher's, and the other articles of the treaty, she intimidated Lewis into the greatest concessions to the duke of Savoy, whom of all the confederates he hated most. The majority of the confederates had reason to be highly satisfied. The duke of Savoy had obtained the cession of his duchy, the district of Nice, and all he had received in Italy from the emperor Leopold. He was raised to the throne of Sicily, and was declared the successor to the crown of Spain, in default of the issue-male of Philip V. The demands of the king of Portugal were few, and easily satisfied. The states received, as a barrier, Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy, and the other cities already in their possession. Their commerce with France was placed on the foundation established by the Tariff of 1664. The Rhine was to form the limits of the empire on the side of France, and the fortifications raised or possessed by the French, beyond that river, to be restored to the emperor, or destroyed. The dominions of Italy were to revert to their former sovereigns, and Naples and the duchy of Milan were ceded to his Imperial majesty.

The situation of Harley, earl of Oxford, at this period, was in the highest degree responsible and precarious. He had offended the Whigs, by his open attachment to the friends of the Pretender, without exciting the unreserved confidence of the opposite party. His mysterious and reserved conduct provoked the personal animosity, and repressed the attachment of his political opponents and his private friends. His only security for the continuance of power was the support of the queen, whom he had alarmed, by rumours and insinuations, into a state of the most absolute dependence. To secure himself against the

suspicions of the populace, who accused him of influencing the mind of the queen in favour of the Pretender, he secretly advised her majesty to assure parliament, in her speech from the throne, that the utmost harmony subsisted between her and the heirs of the crown. She accordingly declared, in her speech to parliament on the ninth of April, that the most perfect friendship subsisted between her and the house of Hanover. She alluded to the conclusion of peace, and the licentiousness of the press; complained of the prevalence of duelling; recommended unanimity in the great councils of the nation; and reprobated the violence and continuance of party rage.

The first measures of the house of commons were in conformity with the wishes of the queen. Some instances of mismanagement, in the accounts of the army, were examined and punished. But their attention was now diverted to an object of greater importance. The treaty which related to the territorial possessions of England and France was accompanied by a treaty of commerce. On the fourteenth of May, a motion was made to bring in a bill to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce. By the eighth article it was provided, that the subjects of both nations should trade on an equal footing, and by the ninth article, that the Tariff of 1664 should not take place, till two months after a law should be passed in Great Britain, to reduce the duty on all French commodities to an equality, for what was usually paid for goods of the like nature, imported from any other country of Europe. It was the opinion of eminent merchants, that such an arrangement would have destroyed the trade to Spain and Portugal, because neither of these two countries could receive the commodities of Britain, but in exchange for their wines, and the duties payable in France on the British commodities, especially for fish, sugar, and woollen manufactures of all sorts, which generally found a market in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, were to continue so high, that there was no probability of vending them in France but at considerable loss: while no prohibition had been laid on English wool, dying drugs, or other articles that might enable France to rival our manufactures.

The fish which the British merchants bring annually in great quantities from Newfoundland, and other parts of North America, could not have found a market in Spain and Portugal for the same reason. Britain could not, according to the Tariff, take any of their wines in exchange; nor could they have been sold in France, not only because of the high duties laid upon fish imported into France, but because the French had now the liberty of catching as many fish as they pleased, and of curing them in the most commodious parts of the British plantations. This branch, therefore, of a productive and extensive trade must have been quite lost to Britain, since the exchange of these commodities, and of the native manufactures of the kingdom for wines, was the greatest encouragement, not only to the Spaniards and Portuguese, to deal with Britain in those articles, but to the Italians, and other nations which supplied us with wines, fruits, oils, and raw silks. Notwithstanding these considerations, the bill was ordered to be introduced by a great majority. But the triumph of the ministers was of short duration. A society of forty members, denominated the October Club, dissatisfied with the conduct of Oxford, and willing to terrify him into decisive measures in favour of the Pretender, leagued themselves on this question with the Whigs, and by their accession to the party, gave it a majority of nine votes against the commitment of the bill.

The malt-tax having been extended to Scotland, the Scottish members in both houses of parliament met at a tavern, and having appointed two lords and two commoners to wait in their name upon the queen, they requested permission to bring in a bill for the dissolution of the union. The individual who chiefly animated the opposition was the duke of Argyle, a man of careless, frank, and enthusiastic disposition, who neither concealed his resentments nor disguised his designs. With a commanding manner, which stamped his forwardness with an appearance of authority; he was feared by many, loved by none; In his public exhibitions in parliament, he was rather spirited than eloquent; and all his better qualities were obscured by the love of money. The earl of Oxford, aware of his influence over the multitude, endeavoured to gain him over to his views; but the opportunity of opposing the minister, presented by the imposition of the malt-tax, was too

propitious to be neglected, and he therefore flattered the prejudices, and fomented the resentment of the Scottish members. When the question for bringing in the bill was put, it was carried by a majority of four voices; a disappointment occasioned by the indiscretion of the duke himself, who offended, among other lords, two bishops, who possessed between them three proxies, by mentioning the Pretender with contempt. The Scots, exasperated by their want of success, and by the speech of Argyle, returned to the support of the court; and the exclusion of the Whigs from power was thus prolonged, by the indiscreet enthusiasm of one of their own number. Oxford took immediate advantage of the change. A palliative address was presented to the queen, approving of the treaties of peace and commerce. In opposition to the Whigs, a bill was passed, empowering the queen to raise five hundred and ten thousand pounds, for the payment of the debts of the civil list: and the Whigs, having introduced a motion that "the duke of Lorraine should be solicited to remove the Pretender from his dominions," with the purpose of throwing upon the Tories the odium of opposing it, the latter, aware of the stratagem, suffered it to pass through both houses without resisting its progress, the only dissentient voice being that of lord North. On the third of June, the commons addressed the queen, desiring to know what was the equivalent to be granted to the French king, for the demolition of Dunkirk; and received for answer that the equivalent was already in the hands of the king of France. Soon afterwards a person deputed by the magistrates of Dunkirk, arrived to solicit the queen to spare the harbour and port of that town, a request which was necessarily refused; and on the 26th of September, the demolition of that fortress was begun, under the inspection of colonel Armstrong and colonel Clayton. On the 16th of July the queen prorogued the parliament, in a speech expressive of her gratitude for the affection, zeal, and duty of the commons; her satisfaction at obtaining an advantageous and honourable peace; her hope that the affair of commerce, in the next session, would be so well understood, that the advantageous conditions obtained from France might be rendered available by law; and her assurance, that her faithful parliament would exert themselves in preventing the divisions and animosities which too generally prevailed. This speech, which, from its silence with respect to the Hanoverian succession, and its implied censure of the proceedings of the house respecting the commercial treaty, became the object of much animadversion, was in all probability the composition of Bolingbroke, who at this time began to supersede lord Oxford in the favour of the queen. During the intrigues of this nobleman in the cabinet, the Whigs continued their correspondence with the elector of Hanover, and demanded, at various times, considerable sums for the support of party writers and indigent noblemen, attached to his cause. He refused to comply with their requests, on the ground of poverty. The Pretender lived, in the mean time, in great security at Bar-le-duc, devoting his time to the duties of religion, and indifferent, if not regardless, to the intrigues of his enemies and the efforts of his friends.

The new parliament had scarcely assembled, before the commons resolved, that a book entitled, "Memoirs of the chevalier de St. George," was a scandalous and seditious libel. The motion was brought forward with the design of assailing lord chancellor Phipps, who was unwilling to exercise the rigor of the law against writers who favoured his own principles. It was likewise resolved, that an address should be presented, to remove sir Constantine Phipps from his place of lord high chancellor, he having prejudiced a cause depending in a court of law, by declaring his opinion in a speech to the lord-mayor and aldermen of Dublin. The votes of the lords, on the contrary, imported that sir Constantine Phipps had, in the several stations wherein he had served her majesty, acquitted himself with honour and integrity; and the commons replied to the resolutions of the lords, by attacking the conduct of Phipps with still more active and decided asperity.

The earl of Oxford, finding his power usurped and his influence counteracted by the intrigues of Bolingbroke, long hesitated between the love of place and the obvious dictates of prudence. Her majesty's dread of the Whigs had gradually subsided, and conscious that her state of health was such as to render her existence precarious, she became anxious, from motives of religion, for the succession of her brother to the throne.

Bolingbroke, by sympathizing in feelings so natural, and so unequivocally expressed, gradually supplanted the earl of Oxford; and willing to secure, beyond the probability of change, the advantages he had gained, determined to obtain, if possible, the recal to England of the duke of Marlborough. That nobleman himself performed every act of conciliation and respect that could be expected, to reinstate him in the good graces of the queen. He wrote to all the branches of the family, and to the court of France, assuring them of his sincerity and zeal. Finding that the queen was obdurate, and that the Pretender himself treated his proposals with distrust, he resumed his correspondence with the elector of Hanover, who was still importuned by the Whigs for supplies of money, and who continued to listen to their demands with coldness and reluctance. A proposal, made by the baron de Bernstorf, president of the elector's council, was received by Marlborough and Cadogan with eagerness and joy. He insinuated that his electoral highness might be induced to borrow, to the extent of £20,000, from his friends in Britain. This sum was to be laid out on the poor lords, and on the common-council of the city of London. The first would be thus enabled to vote according to their principles; the latter might harass the government by remonstrances in favour of civil liberty and the protestant succession. Marlborough and Cadogan undertook to furnish the money, on the obligation of his electoral highness, provided the interest of 5*l.* per cent. should be regularly paid. But the elector refused to give any obligation for principal or interest, and merely intimated to his friends that they should advance the money, as they would be certain of reimbursement when he, or the electress his mother, should come to the throne.

At the end of December, the queen, who had been long declining, fell into a dangerous illness; nor could the tumults excited by the report be removed, till the queen herself wrote a letter, on the first of February, to the lord mayor, announcing her recovery. The parliament met on the fifteenth of February, and on the twenty-seventh of that month the queen returned to London, amidst the acclamations of the populace. On the 2nd of March, to which day the parliament had adjourned, she went to the house of lords, and addressed them in terms suitable to the state of the times. She reprobated the conduct of those who insinuated, that the succession to the house of Hanover was in danger, and recommended them to unite the difference of parties, and follow her example by improving the benefits of peace. A motion was soon afterwards made, in the house of commons, against a pamphlet, written in reality by a Mr. Moore, but generally attributed to Mr. Richard Steele. The latter acknowledged himself to be the author of the obnoxious publication, and after various and long debates he was expelled the house. The Whigs, endeavouring to retaliate for the severity against Steele, extended their animadversions to a pamphlet, written in reply to his, which was generally ascribed to the pen of Dr. Swift. They were outvoted by the Tories, and the whole affair was finally removed into a court of common law.

The domestic history of the reign of Anne contains little more than a continued series of such political hostilities; many of them deservedly forgotten, with the trivial occasions that called them forth, and more consistent with the minuteness of biography, than with the selection and compression of historical narrative. Nor was the violence of the opposing parties, or their intrigues with the court of Hanover, more frequent or remarkable than the indecision of the queen; who, insulted by a proposal in the house of commons, to solicit that she would put a price on her brother the Pretender's head, and still wavering between her dread of Harley, and her attachment to Bolingbroke, was gradually sinking to the grave. Her affliction was augmented by the conduct of the elector of Hanover, who, at the earnest request of the Whigs, permitted Schutz, his envoy, to demand in the name of the electress a writ for the electoral prince, as duke of Cambridge. On the delivery of this proposal at the cabinet council, the queen exhibited every symptom of violence and passion. She declared, in the most peremptory manner, that she would rather suffer the last extremities, than permit any prince of the electoral family to come to Britain during her life. She ordered the master of the ceremonies to forbid Schutz admission to her court, and immediately solicited his recal. In the mean time, the cousin of lord Oxford arrived at the court of

Hanover, with the earl's assurances of regard. He was received with coldness, and returned with no more satisfactory answer, than a repetition of the elector's request. In order to divert him from his purpose, the queen took advantage of a discovery made by the earl of Wharton, that several Irish officers were employed in enlisting men for the Pretender, to issue a proclamation, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the Pretender, whenever he should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain. The two houses voted an address of thanks, and extended the reward to one hundred thousand pounds. While she was thus endeavouring to disguise her real sentiments, the electress Sophia died suddenly at Hanover, in the 84th year of her age.

The war had for some time been resumed, on the continent, between France and the emperor; but the loss of the two fortresses of Landau and Fribourg inclined the latter once more to listen to proposals of peace. A conference was therefore held at Rastadt, between prince Eugene and marshal Villars, and the terms of a peace were agreed upon, which were to be explained and concluded in a solemn treaty, to be signed at Baden in Switzerland. About the middle of April, the French began to fill up the harbour of Dunkirk; but at the same time they began to form a canal at Mardike, which would have answered all the purposes of the harbour. The work was nearly finished, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the English court, before the death of Lewis XIV., and was not discontinued, till after many protests and much negotiation in the ensuing reign.

The supplies being granted, the queen came in person to the house of lords, and informed the parliament, that anxious as she was to preserve the religion and the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the present and future tranquillity of the kingdom, her parliament ought to pay the same regard to the just prerogatives of her crown, and the honour of her government. She made no mention, however, of the house of Hanover, or of the protestant succession. The parliament was now prorogued by the lord chancellor to the 10th of August, a measure which was attributed, by the Whigs, to the anxiety of the ministers, that parliament might not be sitting on the death of the queen, an event of which the probability was more and more observable. Her decline was accelerated, by the quarrels of the two individuals nearest her person, Oxford and Bolingbroke. The former perceiving how little interest he retained in her good opinion, excited her open resentment and that of Bolingbroke, by encouraging an address, requesting her majesty to apply to the use of the public her share of the profits of the *Assiento* contract. This was a contract for negroes, of which the queen had reserved to herself a fifth share, which share was to be divided into sixteen others. Five were designed for the lord treasurer, five for Bolingbroke, four for lady Masham, and two for Arthur Moore, the agent. The resentment of the queen was still further exasperated, by the insinuations of Bolingbroke, that Oxford had influenced the elector of Hanover to demand the writ, which had so powerfully excited her displeasure; and she therefore resolved to dismiss from her presence and her confidence a servant, whose mysterious temper and repulsive manners had long excited her suspicion and disgust, and of whose fidelity she could not be assured. Bolingbroke, unwearied in the prosecution of his ambitious views, alarmed her fears, and flattered her prepossessions. Through his influence, when the treasurer came to court on the 27th day of July, he was deprived of his staff, but suffered to retain his other offices.

The earl of Oxford has been characterized by a writer, whose peculiar facilities of information respecting this period of English history entitle his opinions to peculiar respect, as a man whose talents were neither extensive nor obvious. Though he was regarded as a patron of learning, and of literary men, his progress in literature was confined to that slight knowledge of the dead languages, which men intended for public life generally bring from school. In the disposition of his mind, he was reserved, distrustful, and cold; a lover of secrecy to such a degree, that he assumed its appearance in mere trifles; fond of importance, without any dignity of manner; so full of professions, that he was always deemed insincere. With a facility of temper that could deny no request, but with a defect of mind that could bestow nothing with grace, he offended the disappointed, and even lost those whom he served. Though his intellectual powers were not of the highest order, in,

his dexterous management of two parties, by which he was equally hated; in his tempering the fury of the advocates of the Pretender; in his amusing the vehemence of the Whigs; and in his advancing the interests of the house of Hanover, when most distrusted by its members and adherents; he displayed a considerable degree of address and political knowledge. The importance of his services, and the extent of his influence, were the most strikingly testified by the sensation excited by his dismissal. During three days of confusion in the cabinet, the minds of men were agitated by the vicissitudes of hope and fear. The queen having assisted at a select council, in the night of the twenty-eighth of July, she was distressed and perplexed by their indecision and difference of opinion. Her agitation occasioned the cessation of the usual discharge from her leg, and she fell into a state of insensibility, which terminated in her death at Kensington, on the morning of Sunday, the 1st of August, in the 50th year of her age.

The person of Anne was of the middle size, her complexion sanguine, her hair dark, her features more regular than pleasing. Her virtues were of the negative kind; she was neither violent in temper, profuse in expence, nor bigotted in religion. Her good-nature, degenerated into timidity, and her gentleness and inactivity of mind, were better adapted to the virtues of domestic privacy, than to the important and arduous functions of a powerful sovereign. The splendor of those military triumphs, which rescued Europe and England from the encroachments of French ambition, have cast around her portrait an incidental and extrinsic lustre, and contributed, during her reign, to confirm and extend her popularity with the great body of the nation. She was an amiable woman, rather than a great princess; in all her actions she was guided by the dictates of her honest conscience, and her errors were the errors of understanding, and not of principle.

CHAPTER VII.

GEORGE I.

[1714 to 1720.]

Accession of George I.—Appointment of the Ministry—Impeachment of the Earl of Oxford—Banishment of the Duke of Ormond—Discontents of the People—Exile of Bolingbroke—Rebellion in Scotland—Change of Ministry—The Septennial Act—Affairs of the Continent—Naval Exploits—Financial Measures—Discharge of the Earl of Oxford—The Bishop of Bangor's Pamphlet—Misunderstanding between the King and the Prince of Wales—Modification of the Test Act—The South Sea Bubble—Administration of Walpole.

GEORGE-LOUIS, elector of Hanover, ascended the throne of Great Britain, with the unanimous approbation of the great body of the people, and with the silent acquiescence of the most powerful and active friends of the house of Stuart. The advancement of Shrewsbury to the head of the treasury; the consequent failure of Bolingbroke's intrigues; and the apparent indifference of the queen to the question of succession; all

contributed to repress the confidence, and cloud the expectations of the Tories. Previous to the departure of the king from Hanover, he had transmitted orders to the regency, consisting of the seven great officers of state, and certain other persons appointed by virtue of an act, passed in the late reign, to remove lord Bolingbroke from his post of secretary of state, and to seal up the doors of his office; a measure, not less justified by the conduct and character of that extraordinary individual, than conducive to the patient and prudent submission of his partizans. At the period of his accession, George had attained the 55th year of his age. He derived his descent from the blood-royal of England, by his mother Sophia, daughter of Frederic, elector-palatine and king of Bohemia, who married Elizabeth, only daughter of James I. of England. The right of the male line of the house of Stuart, having been extinguished in the person of James II. it rested in the house of Savoy, which was descended from Henrietta, duchess of Orleans, daughter of Charles I. The princess Sophia being the youngest daughter of the palatine, whose family was numerous, more than fifty descendants of that prince were passed over in the act of William, which declared the succession to the crown to be vested in the house of Hanover. The title, therefore, of George I. was not claimed as an hereditary right, but received as the gift of the king and the people; and the family on the throne is an *elected family*.

So well assured was the new monarch of the attachment of his subjects, and of the weakness of the Pretender's friends, that he did not set out from Heren-Hausen till the 16th of September. His arrival in London was welcomed by M. D'Iberville, the envoy of Lewis, and by count Koningseg, the Imperial ambassador: the former assured him of the determination of his master, to cultivate the most perfect understanding with the English cabinet; and the latter proposed, in the name of the emperor, to supply any number of troops that might be required to support the authority of government. The change of ministry, which immediately succeeded the assumption of the regal power, was absolute and decisive. The earl of Nottingham, the only Tory entrusted with office, was declared president of the council; the command of the army was restored to the duke of Marlborough; lord Townsend and general Stanhope were nominated secretaries of state; the privy-seal was entrusted to the earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland was transferred to lord Sunderland; lord Cowper was reinstated in the office of chancellor. The earl of Halifax was made first commissioner of the treasury; the king refusing to create a lord high treasurer, unwilling (as he declared) that there should be a greater man in the kingdom than himself.

THE evident partiality to the Whigs, displayed in these appointments, excited the alarm, and destroyed the influence of their opponents. Bolingbroke, too conscious that his presence at the court of his sovereign was no longer acceptable, still continued to appear in public, to justify his conduct in the late negotiations, and to speak in parliament with a boldness and enthusiasm that might have been mistaken for the ardour and intrepidity of fearless innocence. But learning that Prior, who had long been admitted to his confidence, had promised to disclose his correspondence with the enemies of England, he determined to consult his personal safety, and fled to the continent. The conduct of Oxford was less indecent; but not more creditable to his courage, or favourable to his popularity. After being received with indifference by the king, he contented himself with protesting his innocence, and complaining of his wrongs in domestic society; but his own conduct, and the public opinion respecting the treaty of peace, rendered him the object of universal distrust, and even the simple disposal of his stock in the South Sea Company was attributed to his consciousness of guilt, and his dread of punishment.

THE new parliament met on the fourteenth of March, in pursuance of a proclamation, of which the following expressions were afterwards selected, as the subjects of violent animadversion: "It having pleased Almighty God, by most remarkable steps of his providence, to bring us safe to the crown of this kingdom, notwithstanding the designs of evil men; we do not doubt, that our loving subjects will, in the ensuing elections, have a particular regard to such as shewed a firmness to the protestant succession, when it was in danger." This part of the proclamation was stigmatized by sir William Wyndham, as not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but 1715.

of dangerous consequence, to the very being of parliaments. After being answered by lord Finch, and twice refusing to make good his assertion, he was reprimanded by the speaker. He addressed the commons, acknowledging that as he was a member of their house, he must acquiesce in their determination: but as he was not conscious of having offered any indignity to his majesty, or of having been guilty of any breach of privilege, he had no thanks to return to those gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, had subjected him to this censure.

In the beginning of April, general Stanhope laid before the house of commons all the papers relating to the negotiations of the late ministry with France, which were referred to a select committee of twenty-one persons. On the ninth of June, the committee delivered their report, and Mr. Walpole, as chairman, moved, that a warrant might be issued for apprehending several persons, particularly Mr. Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being in the house, were taken into custody. He then read the report, in which the secret preliminaries signed with M. Mesnager, the suspension of arms, the seizure of Ghent and Bruges by the duke of Ormond, lord Bolingbroke's journey to Paris, and separate conference with the French ministry, the precipitate conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht, and every measure relating to that event, were adduced as proofs of treachery or imbecility. After the report had been read, Mr. Walpole impeached Henry lord viscount Bolingbroke of high treason, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors; lord Coningsby immediately standing up, exclaimed, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand; but I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk; and I the justice: he has impeached the scholar; and I the master. I impeach Robert earl of Oxford and earl of Mortimer of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors. On the twenty-first of June, Mr. Secretary Stanhope impeached James duke of Ormond of high treason; and on the next day Mr. Aislabie impeached the earl of Strafford of high crimes and misdemeanors. These impeachments were passed by a large majority. The duke of Ormond, who had merely acted in compliance with the orders he had received, and enforced measures which had been sanctioned by the legislature, but whose haughty and offensive conduct, since his return to England, had rendered him the object of universal disgust, followed the example of Bolingbroke, and, irritated by persecution, entered into the service of the court of St. Germains, now removed to Commerci in Lorraine, in which he continued, obscure and contracted, as were the situation and establishment of the Pretender, during the remainder of his life. The earl of Oxford, conscious of his services to the family of Hanover, and of his own integrity, resolved to sustain and to repel the fury of his enemies, and on the impeachment preferred by the commons, being followed by a motion in the house of peers for his commitment, he rose to speak in his defence. He observed that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiation and conclusion of the peace; that the nation wanted a peace no one would deny; that the conditions of this peace were as good as could be expected, considering the backwardness and reluctance which some of the allies shewed to come into the queen's measures; that the peace was approved by two successive parliaments; that he had no share in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly transacted by the duke of Ormond, and if the charge could be proved, it would not amount to treason; that he had always acted by the immediate commands of the late queen, without offending against any known law; and being justified in his conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man. In his way to the Tower, the earl was accompanied by a great number of the populace, exclaiming, "High church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever." The discontent and turbulence of the metropolis extended to the distant counties, and, in order to quell these commotions, the commons presented an address to the king, desiring that the laws might be rigorously executed against the rioters. With the same view they prepared the riot act, declaring that if any persons to the number of twelve, when unlawfully assembled, should continue together an hour after having been required to disperse, by a justice of the peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy.

When the articles of impeachment were preferred against the earl of Strafford, that nobleman complained of the arbitrary and

illegal seizure of his papers; and, after much disgraceful opposition, obtained the recovery of such as were necessary to his defence. The names of Ormond and Bolingbroke, with their armorial bearings, were erased from the rolls of the peerage, and in the address of the speaker to the king, at the close of the session, their characters treated with extreme severity. These proceedings, apparently so inconsistent with policy or justice, inflamed the resentment of their partizans, and excited the dissatisfaction of the nation. The friends of the Pretender took advantage of the general discontent, and the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland, under the direction of the earl of Mar, who proclaimed the Pretender, under the title of James III. at the head of a force amounting to 10,000 men. These circumstances were no sooner known in the southern provinces, than the earls of Hume, Winton, and Kinnoul; lords Deskford, Lockhart of Karnwarth, Hume of Whitfield, and other suspected persons were committed prisoners to Edinburgh, and major-general Whitham marched, with the regular troops which were in that kingdom, to secure the bridge of Stirling. Several ships of war had been sent to watch the preparations making at Havre; but, notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of these cruisers, two vessels arrived on the coast of Scotland with arms, ammunition, and a number of officers, who assured the earl of Mar, that the Pretender would soon arrive in person. The latter assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the Pretender's forces, issued a declaration, exhorting the people to take up arms, and assured them, by proclamation, that the national grievances should be speedily redressed.

The English ministry were immediate and decisive in their precautions. The habeas corpus act was suspended, and lord Lansdowne and the earl of Jersey, with several other noblemen, committed to the Tower. The king requested permission, through the medium of Mr. Secretary Stanhope, to seize and detain sir William Wyndham and others, who were suspected of favouring the invasion. The duke of Somerset, uncle of sir William, was dismissed from his office of master of the horse.

Notwithstanding these indications of vigour on the part of government, the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster appeared at the head of an armed force in Northumberland, and proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth, Penrith, and Lancaster. They had advanced to Preston, when they were overtaken by the king's forces under generals Willes and Carpenter. Forster presently began to raise barricadoes, and make preparations for a vigorous defence. On the 12th of November, the town was briskly attacked on all sides; and, after a determined resistance on the part of the garrison, surrendered at discretion.

The surrender at Preston occurred on the same day which was distinguished by the battle of Dumblain. The earl of Mar had returned to his camp at Forth, where he heard that the duke of Argyle was returned from Lothian to Stirling; and being now reinforced by the northern clans, under the earl of Seaforth, and those of the west, commanded by general Gordon, determined immediately to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together into England.

The duke, apprised of his intention, hastened to secure the passes of the Forth, which he himself had crossed at Stirling; and immediately took possession, with a force not exceeding 4000 men, of the heights of Dumblain. The rebels approached within two miles of his camp, and remained till day-break in order of battle; their army amounting to nine thousand effective men, cavalry and infantry. In the morning, the clans which composed the centre and right wing of the enemy, with their chiefs Clanronald and Glengary at their head, charged the left wing of the king's army, sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in a few minutes both horse and foot were totally routed; and general Witham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, declaring the defeat of the whole body to be inevitable. The duke of Argyle, however, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan, though they attempted repeatedly to rally. The right wing of the rebels having pursued Witham to a considerable distance, had returned to the field of battle at the moment the duke was returning from the pursuit, so that each army found that it had changed its place for that occupied by the enemy previous to the conflict. In this posture they remained till

the approach of night, when the rebels retired to Ardock and the duke to Dumblain; the latter returning in the morning to the field of battle, and carrying off his own wounded, and four pieces of the enemy's cannon.

So gallant and successful a defence, against superior numbers, dispirited the enthusiastic hopes of the rebellious invaders. The Pretender landed in person at Peterhead on the 26th of December, and issued various proclamations for ordering all fencible men to resort to his standard, for summoning a convention of the states, and for fixing the day of his coronation. His private conviction, however, little accorded with his public demonstrations of hope and confidence. He observed to his friends convened in council, "That it was no new thing for him to be unfortunate; his whole life, from his cradle, had been a constant series of misfortunes; and he was prepared, if it so pleased God, to suffer the threats of his enemies and their own." His despair was augmented by various successes of the royalists in the northern parts of Scotland, by the loss of Inverness, and by the junction of large reinforcements under the duke of Argyle. On the twenty-ninth day of January, the duke began his march towards Tullibardine, where he received advice that the Pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired to Dundee. He took possession of Perth, and then began his march to Aberbrothwick in pursuit of the enemy. Being thus closely pursued, the Pretender embarked on board of a small French ship, which lay in the harbour of Montrose. In company with the earl of Mar, and several others of his friends, he steered his course for Norway, and, coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Gravelines in France; leaving behind him, in the country he had attempted to invade, no other impression than that of wretched imbecility. The slave of abject superstition, and the victim of constitutional cowardice; he was the meek and obedient tool of his religious advisers, and resisted every effort of his rational partisans, to obtain his assent to any declaration that might guarantee the security of the established church, and dissipate the alarms of the protestant community: when pressed for the motives of his conduct, he replied, That he was *told* such declarations were in violation of his conscience; and asked, with warmth, "Why the Tories were so desirous to have him, if they expected those things which his religion would not allow?'

The principal noblemen, who had been concerned in the rebellion, were immediately impeached; on the tenth of January were brought from the Tower; and a day was appointed for the reception of their answers. They all pleaded guilty, except the earl of Winton, (who prayed for a longer time to prepare for his defence) and, on the demand of the commons, sentence of death was pronounced upon them, by William earl Cowper, the lord chancellor, who on this occasion was appointed lord high steward. Orders were dispatched for the immediate execution of the earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and the viscount of Kenmuir: the others were respited to the seventh day of March. Nithsdale made his escape in female attire, brought him by his mother; Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower-hill. Their death was the result of party violence, which equally resisted the humanity of the king, and the dictates of just policy. The countesses of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and lady Nairne, threw themselves at the feet of the king, and vainly implored his mercy; they then repaired to the lobby of the house of peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and begged the intercession of the house, but no regard was paid to their petition. On the next day they returned to Westminster, with a still more numerous train, and petitioned both houses of parliament. The commons rejected the suit by a small majority; in the upper house they agreed to an address, praying his majesty would reprieve such of the condemned lords as should deserve his mercy. To this petition the king answered, That on this and all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people. The earl of Nottingham, the chief promoter of this address, his brother the earl of Aylesbury, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, his son lord Finch, one of the lords of the treasury, and his cousin lord Guernsey, master of the jewel office, were all of them dismissed from his majesty's service. 1716.

The inflexibility of the king, whose natural goodness of heart had been counteracted by the intemperance of his Whig advisers, and the consequent execution of many subordinate

individuals, who had been seduced into direct or collateral connection with the Pretender, inflamed the discontents of the people, who eagerly looked forward to the opportunity which would be soon afforded them, by the triennial act, of re-electing their constituents. In order to prevent so evident and so unwelcome a result, the ministers resolved to obtain a repeal of the triennial act, and to extend the duration of parliament to seven years; a measure by which the parliament not only assumed the power of prolonging the duration of other parliaments, but of extending its own. On the 10th of April a discussion took place; in which the duke of Devonshire contended, that triennial elections served to keep up party divisions, to raise and foment feuds in private families, to produce ruinous expences, and give occasion to the intrigues and cabals of foreign princes; that it became the wisdom of the house of lords to apply a remedy to an evil, which might be attended with the most dangerous consequences. His arguments were opposed by the earl of Nottingham, who observed, that frequent parliaments were of the essence of the English constitution, and were sanctioned by the practice of ages; that the members of the lower house were delegated by the body of the nation for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they were no longer the representatives of the people; that by thus lengthening, at their own pleasure, the duration of their own authority, they deprived the people of the only remedy which the wisdom of our ancestors had provided, against the ignorance and corruption of those who might be tempted to betray the trust reposed in them; that as to the pretence of adding energy or stability to the foreign transactions or projected alliances of government, what prince or state could rationally entrust us with the care of their interests, when we appeared so ready to abandon our own. After alluding to the confession of weakness on the part of the government, he affirmed, that a long parliament would encourage every species of corruption in every class of the community; that the value of a seat would bear a determinate proportion to the legal duration of parliaments, and the purchase would rise accordingly; that a long parliament would enhance the temptations, and multiply the opportunities of a vicious ministry, to undermine the independence and integrity of parliaments, far beyond what could occur; that the reasons urged, for prolonging the duration of parliaments for seven years, would probably be as strong, and by perseverance in the same politic conduct might be made much stronger, before the end of that term, for continuing and even perpetuating their legislative power. Notwithstanding the arguments, however, of the earl and of several other peers, the bill was passed by a large majority. On its being announced by two judges from the lords, to the house of commons, that their lordships had enlarged the time for the continuance of parliaments, lord Guernsey moved, that they reject the bill without reading it. It was determined, however, to receive it, and after long and vehement debates, the question of commitment was carried by a majority of 284 against 162 voices. Notwithstanding the number of petitions presented against it, the general question, that this bill do now pass, was carried in the affirmative by a majority of 264 votes against 121, and on the 26th of June 1716, it received the royal assent.

The attention of the king had been, in the mean time, diverted from domestic contentions to the critical situation of affairs on the continent. Lewis XIV., king of France, terminated his long and chequered career on the first of September, 1715. He was succeeded by Lewis XV., an infant only five years of age; the government of the kingdom being vested in the hands of the duke of Orleans. That nobleman cherished the ambition of ascending the throne of France, in case the young king, whose health was precarious, should die without issue. Philip of Spain was probably determined to dispute that succession, notwithstanding his renunciation, and was therefore equally the object of jealousy to the king of England and the regent. A treaty of friendship and alliance, for their mutual assistance and support, was therefore concluded between Great Britain and France, to which the states-general readily acceded. Another affair, of more importance in its consequences, induced his majesty to visit the continent. He had purchased the duchies of Bremen and Verden from Denmark, who had conquered them from Sweden, and, under the cover of a pretended equivalent in money, undertook, as elector of Hanover, to guarantee to Denmark the duchy of Sleswick, conquered

by that power from the duke of Holstein, the ally of Sweden; his Danish majesty parting with one half of his conquests in order to secure the other. The king of Sweden, exasperated at a conduct which he regarded as insulting and injurious, secretly assisted the views of the Pretender, and projected a regular plan for his restoration to the throne of Great Britain. With the view of counteracting this design, the king had hastened to the continent; and, in his treaty with the regent, obtained a stipulation, that the Pretender should be removed to the other side of the Alps, and never be permitted to revisit Lorraine or France. Immediately after his return, his majesty caused count Gyllenburgh to be apprehended; and baron Goertz, the Swedish resident in Holland, was arrested by the order of the states, at his requisition. In their papers was found the evidence of their intrigues. The Spanish ambassador remonstrated on the injustice and violation of the law of nations, displayed in the seizure of their persons; and the states of Holland having prudently released the baron, who boldly avowed and justified his machinations, he resumed his intrigues with recruited zeal and application.

1717. On the twentieth of February, the king, in a speech to both houses, informed them, that he had intended to open the session with an act of grace, but that the obstinate and inveterate rancour of the Jacobite faction had again endeavoured to animate and stir up foreign powers to disturb the peace of their native country; he descanted on the danger to be apprehended from the designs of Sweden, and promised himself from the known attachment of parliament to the government, that they would come to such resolutions, as would enable him to meet all the designs of his and their enemies. The lords returned an address of congratulation to the king, on having, by his late treaty with France and the states-general, recovered in a great measure those advantages which might have been expected from a glorious and successful war, but were basely given up by a treacherous and dishonourable peace; and expressed their horror and indignation at the malice and ingratitude of those, who had again endeavoured to embroil their country in blood and confusion. The address of the commons was to the same effect. They proceeded also to pass a bill, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, and to grant the necessary supplies; but the sums voted being found inadequate to the expences of the year, a message from the king was delivered by general Stanhope, requesting an extraordinary supply, that he might be enabled, by fulfilling his engagements with other powers, to counteract the designs of Sweden. The proposition was received with surprise and dissatisfaction; and the different members of the cabinet, having already begun to regard each other with enmity or distrust, a supply of £250,000 was voted, by no greater a majority than four. The opponents of the grant observed, with a severity justified by the history of many subsequent years, that whenever foreigners should begin to taste the sweets of English money, they would adhere to the interests of Great Britain, no longer than we should continue to supply their necessities. The motion was supported by Mr. Boscawen, Mr. Horace Walpole, and sir Gilbert Heathcote, but it was opposed by many of the Whigs, and Mr. Robert Walpole refrained from delivering his sentiments. These indications of disunion among the ministry were succeeded by the dismissal of lord Townsend from the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Walpole, Mr. Methuen, secretary of state, and Mr. Pulteney delivered in their resignations; lord Cowper relinquished the great seal, and was succeeded by the earl of Macclesfield. That the principle indeed of the late negotiation should excite the alarm, and demand the remonstrance of his majesty's advisers, was to be expected even by the most partial friend to the virtues of the monarch. It was justly observed, on the commitment of the bill, that we had an army and fleet superior to any force that Sweden could bring against us; that we were in actual alliance with France, whose connection with Sweden might otherwise have been dreaded; and that to call upon the English to support, with their blood and treasure, every act of policy or ambition in which the king, as elector of Hanover, might think proper to engage, was equally injurious and insulting to the British people. The force of these arguments was increased by the conduct of the Czar of Russia, who, resenting the opposition of George to his project of a settlement in Germany, as prince of the empire, and opposing the views of the king respecting the duchy of Mecklenburgh, acceded to the

preliminaries of a convention, with his enemy the king of Sweden, through the dexterous machinations of count Goerlitz. From the probable consequences of this alliance, however, the king of England was secured, by the death of the king of Sweden, who was killed by a cannon-ball in the trenches before the fortress of Frederickshal, on the thirtieth of November 1718; Bremen and Verden were therefore left in the possession of Hanover, and nothing was wanting to the completion of the purpose, but the investiture of these duchies by the emperor; and it became the first object of the English monarch, to overcome his reluctance to grant him that security. The court of Spain had witnessed with dissatisfaction the cession, by the treaty of Utrecht, of Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and the Low Countries to Austria; and of the island of Sicily, with the title of king, to the duke of Savoy. Cardinal Alberoni, therefore, the celebrated minister of Philip V., took advantage of the emperor's absence, in the prosecution of a war with Turkey, to equip a formidable armament, which speedily accomplished the conquest of Sardinia. The emperor complained bitterly of this outrage, committed by a Christian monarch, at the moment when he was waging war with the enemies of Christianity. After much recrimination, Philip engaged to suspend all further operations, that the powers of Europe might have time to adjust their differences, and to make such arrangements as should secure the peace and balance of power in Italy; agreeing to refer the decision of the quarrel to the king of Great Britain and the states-general. Conferences were begun between the ministers of the emperor and those of France and Holland; which produced, in the course of the following year, 1718, the famous quadruple alliance; by which it was agreed, that the French should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and the emperor exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the duke of Savoy; and that the succession to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, should be settled upon the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. The latter of these stipulations was introduced into the treaty, to soothe the disappointment of Spain at the proposed exchange of Sicily for Sardinia. The court of Philip, however, resented with spirit the injustice so visible in the whole arrangement. Cardinal Alberoni informed colonel Stanhope, with some warmth, that his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or consent to a further suspension of arms. An armament, containing 30,000 land forces, was immediately fitted out for the invasion of Sicily, whose monarch had concluded, as his only defence, a separate treaty with the emperor. But, in the mean time, the king of England had directed sir George Byng to sail from Spithead, with 20 ships of the line, to the defence of Naples, where he arrived on the first day of August, and was received as a deliverer. Here he obtained intelligence, that the Spanish army, amounting to 30,000 men, commanded by the marquis de Leda, had reduced Palermo and Messina, and was then employed in the siege of the latter city. On the 9th of August, the admiral came within sight of the Faro of Messina, and perceiving two small vessels, pursued them closely. They led him to their main fleet, which before noon he discovered in line of battle, amounting to 27 sail. They were commanded by Don Antonio de Castaneta; and one of his rear-admirals, an Irishman, of the name of Cammock, proposed that the fleet should remain in the road of Paradise, with the broadsides of the vessels to the sea, in order of battle; a position which would have permitted the operation of the batteries stationed on shore. This suggestion, however, was disregarded; and the Spanish fleet, notwithstanding its superiority of number, attempted, on the approach of the English, to sail away, and acted with much confusion. They were, however, obliged to maintain a running fight, in which they were all taken except three, which were preserved by the conduct of Cammock. Captain Walton, having been detached by sir George Byng, with five ships of the line, in pursuit of a division of the Spaniards much superior in force, transmitted to the admiral a singular specimen of naval eloquence, in the following record of his exploit:

"Sir,

We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as per margin.

I am, &c.

G. Walton."

In the margin of this laconic epistle, thirteen vessels were specified. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army prosecuted the siege of Messina with such vigour, that the governor surrendered the citadel by capitulation, and the garrison was transported to Syracuse and Reggio. A treaty was afterwards concluded at Vienna, between the emperor and the duke of Savoy; they agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia, in behalf of the duke, who, in the mean time, engaged to evacuate Sicily; but, until his troops could be conveyed from that island, he consented that they should co-operate with the Germans against the common enemy.

The court of Madrid protested with vehemence against the conduct of England, as a flagrant violation of the law of nations; orders of reprisal were transmitted to all the ports of Spain and the Indies; and in consequence of this hostile demonstration, the king of England, on the seventeenth of December, sent a message to both houses, intimating that all his endeavours to procure redress, for the injuries done to his subjects by the king of Spain, having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. The example of the cabinet of St. James's was followed by the regent of France.

1718.

During this succession of negotiations and hostilities, the ministry at home underwent a total revolution. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addison were appointed secretaries of state; Mr. Stanhope became first commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Craggs was declared secretary at war; the earl of Berkeley was constituted first commissioner of the admiralty, in the room of the earl of Oxford, who resigned; the duke of Bolton obtained the government of Ireland, and was succeeded in the post of lord chamberlain by the duke of Newcastle; the duke of Devonshire resigned his place of president of the council.

Some steps had already been taken towards the reduction of the national debt, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The first had been contracted with a redeemable interest, and these the public was bound to discharge; the others consisted of long and short annuities, granted for various periods, which could not be altered without the consent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole, when at the head of the treasury, had projected a scheme for lessening the interest, and paying the capital of these national debts. He proposed in the house of commons, to reduce the interest of redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities. His plan was received with approbation; but when he resigned his places, the new ministers thought proper to alter it, in a manner with which he was by no means satisfied. His remonstrances gave occasion to warm altercation between him and Mr. Stanhope, in which they inadvertently disclosed, that they had both been guilty of selling places and reversions. They were interrupted by Mr. Hungerford; and Mr. Boscawen moved, that the house would lay their commands upon them, that no further notice should be taken of what had passed. The house approved of the motion, and they pledged their word and honour to the speaker, that they would not prosecute their resentment.

The bank and South Sea Company having agreed to provide money for such creditors as should be willing to receive their principal and interest, the house came to the following resolutions: That all the public funds redeemable by law, which do not exceed 5*l.* per cent. per annum, shall be redeemed according to their respective provisoes or clauses of redemption, contained in the acts of parliament for that purpose; or, with the consent of the proprietor, shall be converted into an interest or annuity, not exceeding 5*l.* per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament; that his majesty should be enabled to borrow of any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, such sum or sums of money as should be requisite to redeem the said redeemable funds, at any rate not exceeding 5*l.* per cent. per annum, or to secure the same upon the funds so to be redeemed; that the annuity of £106,501 13*s.* 5*d.* payable to the governor and company of the bank, out of the window-tax, should be redeemed, or by consent of the said governor and company, be converted into an interest or annuity not exceeding 5*l.* per cent. redeemable by parliament; that so much of the fund, commonly called the aggregate fund, settled by an act of parliament in the first year of his present majesty, as is applicable to the interest, circulation, exchanging, or cancelling the present exchequer

bills, should also be redeemed; that his majesty should be enabled to authorise the high treasurer, or the commissioners of the treasury for the time being, to treat and agree with any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, for circulating such a number of exchequer bills, at a rate exceeding £1. 10*s.* per cent. for interest, exchange, and circulation, as might be charged and secured on that part of the aggregate fund so to be redeemed; that the annuities of £600,000 and £8000, payable to the governor and company of the merchants of England trading to the South Sea, should likewise be redeemed; that the annuities, payable by an act of parliament of the twelfth year of the reign of William III. to certain patentees therein named, their heirs and assignees, out of the weekly sum of £3700, charged on the excise, should also be redeemed; that the several terms of years, remaining on the duties appropriated by two lottery acts, passed in the ninth year of the reign of queen Anne, and by the two lottery acts, passed in the tenth year of her said majesty, should be made perpetual; that the duties comprehended in the said lottery acts should be made one fund for the future; that the proprietors of the orders, grounded on the said lottery acts, should within a limited time make their election, either to accept annuities after the rate of 5*l.* per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament out of such general fund, or be paid so much as remained due to them upon their orders respectively; that in all cases where the proprietors should choose to have their principal, the 5*l.* per cent. per annum thereby saved should be established as another fund, towards answering such sums of money as should be advanced for discharging the principal by loans, or such other securities as should be thought proper; that his majesty should be enabled to give power for receiving voluntary subscriptions from any person or persons entitled to any of the annuities issuing out of the public funds, for the residue of the respective terms of 99, 96, 89, or 32 years, formerly purchased therein (not being subject to redemption) who should be willing to accept, in lieu thereof, perpetual annuities redeemable by parliament, and to agree to some other regulations mentioned in the resolution of the house; that all savings, which should arise upon any of the present funds by the proposed redemption and reduction, should, after all deficiencies that might happen upon any of the said funds were made good, be reserved and applied towards discharging and reducing the national debt; and that all the said duties now in being, or to be continued, should immediately cease and determine, *after* the said *national debt should be discharged and paid off!* On these resolutions were founded three bills that passed into laws entitled, the South Sea act, the bank act, and the general fund act.

The original stock of the South Sea Company did not exceed £9,471,325; but as the funds granted were sufficient to answer the interest of ten millions at 6*l.* per cent. the company made up that sum to government, for which it received an annuity of £600,000 per annum, and £8000 a-year for management. By this act they declared themselves willing to receive an annuity of £500,000 and eight thousand pounds a year for management. It was enacted, that the company should continue a corporation until the redemption of their annuity, towards which not less than a million should be paid at a time. They were likewise required to advance a sum, not exceeding two millions, towards discharging the principal and interest of the four lottery funds of the ninth and tenth years of queen Anne.

By the bank act, the governor and company declared themselves willing to accept an annuity of £88,751 7*s.* 10½*d.* or the principal of £1,775,027 13*s.* 10½*d.* in the lieu of the present annuity, amounting to £106,501 13*s.* 5*d.* They likewise declared themselves willing to discharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many exchequer bills as amounted to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of one hundred thousand pounds, being after the rate of 5*l.* per cent. redeemable after one year's notice; and to circulate the remaining exchequer bills, at 3*l.* per cent. and 1*d.* per day. It was enacted, that the former allowances should be continued to the ensuing Christmas; after which the bank should have, for circulating the £2,561,025, remaining in exchequer bills, an annuity of £76,830 15*s.* 0*d.* at the rate of 3*l.* per cent. till redeemed over and above the 1*d.* per day for interest. By the same act the bank was required to advance a sum not exceeding £2,500,000 towards discharging the national debt, if wanted, on condition that they should have 5*l.* per cent. for as much as

they should advance, redeemable by parliament.

The general fund act recited the several acts of parliament, for establishing the four lotteries, in the ninth and tenth years of the late queen, mentioned the terms of years for which these revenues had been granted, and stated the annual produce of the several funds, amounting in all to £724,849 6*s*. 10½*d*. This was the general fund; the deficiency of which was to be made good annually, out of the first aids granted by parliament. For the regular payment of all such annuities as should be made payable by this act, it was ordained, that all the duties and revenues mentioned therein should continue for ever; with the proviso, that the revenues rendered perpetual by this act should be subject to redemption. The act contained a clause, by which the sinking fund was established. The reduction of interest to 5*l*. per cent. producing a surplus or excess upon the appropriated funds, it was enacted, that all the monies arising from time to time, as well from the surplus, by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South Sea Company, as also from the surplus of the duties and revenues, by this act appropriated to make good the general fund, and the overplus monies of the said general fund should be appropriated and employed for discharging the principal and interest of such national debts, as were incurred before the 25th of December in the preceding year, in such manner as should be ordered and appointed by any future act of parliament, to be discharged out of them, and for no other use, intent, and purpose whatsoever.

Had this plan, the invention of Mr. Walpole, been as steadily prosecuted as it was wisely concerted, the nation would soon have been relieved from its pecuniary difficulties; but we shall hereafter have occasion to observe, that antipathy to its author, and the improvidence of those who weakly sacrificed the certainty of future gain to the possibility of immediate advantage, circumscribed its utility, and counteracted its intention.

The declaration of war on the part of England and France against Spain, was the source of much national surprise and dissatisfaction. In the session of 1717, Mr. Shippen asserted, that the parliament was at liberty to controvert any propositions advanced in his majesty's speech, that speech being the composition of ministers, especially those which seem calculated rather for the meridian of Germany than of Great Britain; and that it was the infelicity of his majesty's reign, that he was unacquainted with our language and constitution. It was immediately moved by Mr. Lechmere, that the member who had spoken these words be committed to the Tower. The motion was seconded by Mr. Spencer Cowper; on which Mr. Walpole desired that the member might be permitted to explain his last words; but Mr. Shippen declared that he desired no such indulgence, and that the words needed neither explanation nor apology. The motion was therefore carried in the affirmative, by a majority of 175 against 81, and Mr. Shippen was committed to the Tower.

On the return of the king from the continent, the university of Cambridge presented an address of loyal congratulation; and at a meeting of the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges at Oxford, a motion was made for a similar demonstration of respect and gratitude. The motion was strenuously opposed by Dr. Smalridge, bishop of Bristol, and dean of Christchurch, who had in the preceding year been removed from his post of lord almoner, for refusing, with Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, to sign a protestation of the episcopal bench, against the claims of the Pretender; he declared that the rebellion had been long suppressed, and that there would be no end of addresses, should one be presented every time his majesty returned from Hanover; that the late favour they had received, in omitting at their request the late ceremony of burning in effigy the devil, the pope, the Pretender, the duke of Ormond and the earl of Mar, on the anniversary of his majesty's accession, was counterbalanced by a regiment of dragoons quartered on them; and that there was no precedent for addressing the king on his return from his German dominions. The motion was therefore lost; and the same spirit of resistance to the avowed sentiments of the monarch seemed to pervade every class of society, and every province of the kingdom. The dwelling-houses and meeting-houses of the dissenters were burnt and destroyed by the violence of the populace. The commons presented an address to his majesty, expressing their abhorrence of

all such traitorous proceedings, and beseeching him, that the laws now in force may be put in speedy and vigorous execution against them; they also requested, that his majesty would be pleased to direct an account to be taken of the losses and damages sustained by the sufferers, in order that full compensation might be made out of the first aids granted by parliament. This address was answered by a satisfactory declaration from the king, and succeeded by a loyal and sensible address from the dissenters themselves.

The earl of Oxford, who had now remained nearly two years in the Tower, presented a petition to the house of lords, praying that he might be brought to his trial; a measure to which he was probably encouraged, by the defection of his most formidable adversary, Mr. Walpole. A day therefore was appointed, and the commons were ordered to prepare for their charge. At the appointed time the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where lord Cowper presided as lord high steward. The king and the rest of the royal family, with the foreign ministers, were present at the solemnity. The earl being brought from the Tower, the articles of impeachment were read, with his answers, and the reply of the commons. Sir Joseph Jekyl standing up to substantiate the first article of the charge, which amounted only to a misdemeanor, lord Harcourt represented to the lords, that it would be tedious and unnecessary to go through all the articles against the earl; but that if the commons would make good the two articles for high treason, the earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter. He therefore moved, that the commons should not be allowed to proceed upon the less important part of the accusation, until judgment should be given on the articles of high treason. The lords acceding to this opinion, the commons declared that it was their undoubted privilege to impeach a peer, either for treason or for a misdemeanor, or to mix the accusation as they thought proper. The lords asserted, that it was a right inherent in every court of justice, to prescribe the methods of proceeding in their respective courts. The commons demanded a free conference; but this was refused. The dispute grew warm. The lords sent a message to the lower house, importing, that they intended to proceed upon the trial. The commons disregarded the information, and refused to attend. The lords, repairing soon after to Westminster-hall, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accusers to appear. But finding the commons resolute, and having waited a quarter of an hour, it was voted, that the prisoner should be set at liberty, with the secret approbation and concurrence of the crown. The commons, exasperated at his acquittal, presented an address to the king, desiring he might be excepted from the act of grace; and on the passing of that act, there were excepted from the indemnity, the earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moore, Crisp, Nodes, Obrien, Redmayn, a printer, and Thomson; the assassins in Newgate, confined since the reign of William, and the clan of Mr. Gregory in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the earl of Carnwarth, and lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately discharged; and the individuals who lay under sentence of death in the various prisons were released.

The attention of the public, towards the close of the present year, was strongly excited by two compositions of Hoadly, bishop of Bangor. One was entitled, "Preservatives against the principles and practices of the nonjurors;" the other was a sermon, preached before the king, under the title of "The kingdom of Christ." An answer to the latter discourse was published, by Dr. Snape, master of Eton college, and the convocation appointed a committee to examine the bishop's two performances. A representation was immediately drawn up, in which they were vehemently reprobated, as tending to subvert all discipline in the church of Christ, to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion, and to impugn and impeach the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, as well as the authority of the legislature, to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. 1718.

The bishop had selected, as the foundation of his discourse, the declaration of Christ to Pilate, that his kingdom was not of this world; and its object was to prove, that the kingdom of Christ, and the sanctions by which it was supported, were wholly intellectual and spiritual; that the CHURCH, taking the term in its utmost latitude of signification, did not and could not possess the slightest degree of

authority, under any commission, or pretended commission, derived from him; that the church of England, and all other national churches, were merely civil or human institutions, established for the purposes of diffusing and perpetuating the knowledge and belief of Christianity, which contained a system of truths, not in their nature differing from other truths, excepting in their superior weight and importance; and which were to be inculcated in a manner analagous to other truths, demanding only, from their more interesting import, proportionably higher degree of care, attention, and assidnity in their promulgation.

To the representation of the committee the bishop replied, That if his doctrine was rejected, certain other propositions must be admitted, and these were so absurd and contradictory, as to expose his antagonists in the most ridiculous light. A termination, however, was put to this disgraceful controversy, by a royal prorogation: from this period, the convocation has never been convened, but as a matter of form, and for the purpose of being again prorogued.

On the third day of November, the princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, who died in a short time after his birth. It was the custom, that when the child was a boy, the king assumed the duties of godfather, and the place of second godfather was supplied by one of the principal lords of the court. The prince, being ignorant of the custom, intended that his uncle, the duke of York, should be present as godfather. The king, apprised of the prince's intention, which he attributed to perverseness, rather than to ignorance, appointed the duke of Newcastle, the lord-chamberlain, to be present, not as representing the duke of York, but in his own person. The prince, unaware that the duke acted in obedience to his majesty's command, was exasperated at the supposed insult, and expressed his resentment in terms of the utmost violence. The king, to testify his displeasure at his son's intemperance, commanded him to quit the palace of St. James's. He retired with the princess to a house belonging to the earl of Grantham, but the children were detained at the palace. Notice was given to all peers and peeresses, and to all privy-counsellors and their wives, that in case they visited the prince and princess, they should forbear approaching his majesty's presence; and all who enjoyed offices or situations under both king and prince, were obliged to choose in which service they would exclusively continue.

The liberality and good sense of the king, on the question of religious tolerance, were honourably exemplified by the introduction into the house of lords, under his immediate auspices, of a bill to repeal the acts against occasional conformity and the growth of schism, and certain clauses in the corporation and test acts. The bill was violently opposed by lord Cowper, on the plea of danger to the church; a plea which the bishop of Peterborough justly characterized, as adapted only to the mouths of silly women and children. Notwithstanding the violence of the high-church party, the house agreed to repeal many of the clauses, which excluded dissenters from civil offices; and the bill, being sent down to the other house, was passed, after violent debates, by a small majority.

A bill for limiting the creation of peers having been rejected, after much discussion, a bill was brought in, for better securing the dependency of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain. One Maurice Annesley having appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree of the house of peers in Ireland, the former reversed the sentence of the Irish lords, and ordered the barons of the exchequer to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree passed in that kingdom. The barons having obeyed this order, the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, importing that they had acted in derogation of the king's prerogative, in the high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom and its parliament. They ordered them to be taken into the custody of the usher of the black rod; transmitted a long representation to the king, asserting their right to the final judicature of causes in that kingdom. The English house of peers, however, passed several resolutions, approving of the conduct of the barons, and a bill was introduced declaratory of the supreme jurisdiction of the house in cases of appeal, and of the right of the English parliament to make laws, to bind the kingdom of Ireland in all cases whatsoever.

During the absence of the king, and the negotiation of the quadruple alliance, the South Sea scheme was occupying the minds of his English subjects, with a 1720.

species of delusion more fatal and extraordinary than any they had before experienced. Blunt, the projector of the scheme, had taken the hint from the Mississippi project, formed by Law, a Scotsman, who had in the preceding year raised such a ferment in France, and involved in distress many thousand families of that kingdom. Since the revolution in 1688, the government not receiving from parliament sufficient supplies, or what was granted requiring time to be collected, they were obliged to borrow money from several different companies of merchants, and among others from that which traded to the South Sea. In the year 1716, the government was indebted to this company alone about nine millions and a half, at the rate of 6*l.* per cent. interest, and, as I have before related, Mr. Walpole suggested a plan of giving the several companies an alternative of accepting a lower interest, or of being paid the principal; the companies preferring the former at an interest of 5*l.* per cent.

In this state of things, Blunt, who had been bred a scrivener, and had all the art and plausibility necessary for such an undertaking, made an offer to the ministry, in the name of the South Sea Company, to buy up all the debts of the different companies, and thus to become the sole creditor of the state. The terms proposed to the government were extremely advantageous. The South Sea Company was to redeem the public debts out of the hands of the creditors, upon whatever terms could be arranged between them; and for the interest of the money so redeemed, they would be satisfied with receiving from government, for six years, 5*l.* per cent.; after which the interest should be reduced to 4*l.* per cent. and should at any time be redeemable by parliament. For these purposes, a bill passed both houses of parliament, and, during its progress, the stock of the South Sea Company rose from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred. As the directors could not be expected to possess money sufficient to buy up the debts of the nation, they were empowered to raise it, by opening a subscription to a scheme for trading in the South Seas. The company took advantage of this permission to propagate a report, that Gibralter and Port Mahon would be exchanged for some place in Peru, by which means the English trade to the South Sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffused with great industry, inspired the people with the most sanguine and extravagant hopes. In five days after the passing of the bill, the directors opened their books for a subscription of one milllion, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds of capital. Persons of all ranks crowded to the house in such numbers, that the first subscription amounted to more than two millions of original stock. In a few days the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payments. The delusion was continued by every variety of artifice; the stock at length was raised to one thousand per cent. and the whole nation infected with a propensity to gaming in the funds. Every profession, and every rank, was equally absorbed by the prevailing spirit of speculation; every business and employment of common life was neglected for the pursuit of imaginary riches; and the example of the South Sea Company was imitated by the self-created managers of similar establishments, under the titles of the Welsh Copper Company, the York Building Company, and the London and Westminster Building Company; three institutions, which attracted the notice of the public, under the respectable sanction of the prince of Wales, the duke of Chandos, and the duke of Bridgewater.

In a few months, however, the people began to awaken from their dream of riches. The number of sellers daily increased. On the 29th of September, the stock sunk to 150, several eminent goldsmiths and bankers were obliged to abscond, and the Sword-blade Company, who had hitherto been the principal cash-keepers of the South Sea stock were compelled to stop payment. In this emergency, the bank was prevailed upon to subscribe into the stock of the South Sea Company, valued at four hundred per cent., £3,700,000, which the company was to repay to the bank on Lady-day and Michaelmas of the succeeding year. Books were opened at the bank to receive subscriptions for the support of public credit, and considerable sums of money were obtained. But the relief was temporary, and the run upon the bank so considerable, that the money was paid away faster than it could be received from the subscription. The stock again declined, therefore, to one hundred and fifty, and the bonds

of the company were negotiated at the discount of 25*l.* per cent. The directors of the bank renounced their agreement, and thus completed the ruin of the company. By this event the nation was involved in deep and extensive distress. Thousands of families were reduced to ruin; and nothing was heard but the lamentations of poverty, misfortune, and despair. Many of the directors, by whose arts the people were taught to expect unbounded and immediate wealth, amassed considerable fortunes by the public credulity; but the parliament resolved to strip these plunderers of their infamously-acquired possessions. Orders were issued to remove all the directors of the South Sea Company from their seats in parliament, and from their places under government; and the principal delinquents were punished by a forfeiture of all such possessions and estates, as they had acquired during the continuance of the popular frenzy. The next care of the parliament was to redress the sufferers, as far as that purpose could be effected by the authority of the legislature. Of the profits arising from the South Sea scheme, the sum of seven millions was restored to the original proprietors. Several additions were made to their dividends, out of what was possessed by the company in its own right; and the remaining capital stock was divided among the old proprietors, at the rate of 33*l.* per cent.

Sir John Blunt, the projector of the scheme, refusing in the house of lords to answer the interrogatories of the duke of Wharton, and being vehemently justified in his refusal by lord Stanhope, the duke sarcastically observed, that the government of the best princes was sometimes rendered intolerable by bad ministers; adducing the example of Sejanus, who had rendered the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. The reproach excited the warm indignation of lord Stanhope, who replied with so much vehemence, that he was seized with a sudden illness, of which he expired in the evening of the following day. The king received intelligence of this respectable nobleman's death when at supper, and, not being able to suppress the emotions of his grief, rose from table and retired, his eyes suffused with tears. On the decease of this nobleman a new change occurred in the formation of the ministry. Mr. Walpole, lord Townsend, lord Cowper, and Mr. Methuen, being reconciled to the court, were reinstated in their former, or other offices.

The influence of Walpole was great and decided, now that he was no longer opposed by the predominance of lord Stanhope over the councils of the king; and lord Townsend, finding his ascendancy irresistible, resigned his office, rather than submit to be regarded as his inferior, and retired to his estate.

The appointment of Mr. Robert Walpole was preceded by the resignation of lord Sunderland. It having been proved, in a committee of the house of commons, that £50,000 had been taken for his use, without either payment or security, he vacated his place of commissioner of the treasury. The commons having resolved that Mr. Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, had combined, in the pursuit of his own profit, with the directors in pernicious practices, to the ruin of the public, he was expelled the house and committed to the Tower.

Knight, the treasurer of the South Sea Company, being seized at Tirlemont, was committed prisoner to the citadel of Antwerp. Application was made to the cabinet of Vienna, that he should be delivered up to such persons as might be appointed to receive him; but answer was unexpectedly made by the Imperial court, that such a proceeding would interfere with the privileges of the states of Brabant, by which no person, against whom a criminal accusation is brought, can be removed for trial out of the province. While this reply was the subject of discussion, he effected a second escape from the citadel of Antwerp, and was subsequently pardoned; a circumstance which excited strong suspicion, that Sunderland, though resigned, still retained his influence in the closet, and had obtained the escape of a criminal, whose disclosures might have been so unpropitious to himself and to his late coadjutors in office.

CHAPTER VIII.

GEORGE I.

[1721 to 1727.]

Proceedings in Parliament—Alliance with Sweden—Banishment of Bishop Atterbury—Return of Bolingbroke—Abdication of Philip of Spain—Expedition to the Baltic—Impeachment of the Earl of Macclesfield—Siege of Gibralter—Departure of the King for Hanover—His Death, and Character.

1721. THE spirit of the high church party, and the moderation, good-sense, and independence of their opponents, were strikingly exemplified on the introduction into the house of peers of a bill for the suppression of blasphemy and profaneness, which enacted, that if any one spoke or wrote against the being of a God, the divinity of Jesus Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Trinity, the truth of the Christian religion, or the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, he should suffer imprisonment for an indefinite term, unless, in a form prescribed, he renounce his errors. To the bill itself many persecuting clauses were added, which were justly represented as tending to the establishment of a protestant inquisition. On the motion, however, that the bill be committed, it was rejected by a majority of 60 to 31.

SCARCELY had the new ministry entered on the fulfilment of their respective offices, before a subsidy was voted to Sweden, with whom an alliance, offensive and defensive, had been just concluded; in which it was stipulated, that his Britannic majesty should send a fleet into the Baltic, to act against the Czar of Russia. The Czar loudly complained of this interposition, alleging that he had failed in his engagements, both as elector of Hanover, and as king of Great Britain. The mutual recriminations of the two cabinets tended only to exasperate their mutual resentments, and the Czar at length concluded a peace with Sweden, without the intervention of a mediator. On the 16th of June, the king acquainted the commons, that he had agreed to pay a subsidy to the crown of Sweden, and hoped they would enabled him to make good his engagements. This intimation produced a violent debate. Lord Molesworth observed, that he would go as far as any man in supporting the dignity of the crown of Great Britain; but, on the other hand, he was not for squandering away unnecessarily the small remainder of the wealth of the nation: that by our late conduct we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies; for we were obliged to pay them well for our assistance. He affirmed, that the treaties which had been made with Sweden, at different times, were partly inconsistent and contradictory; that our late engagements with that crown were contrary to existing treaties with other powers; that in order to engage the Czar to yield what he had gained in the course of the war, the king of Prussia ought to give up Stettin, and the elector of Hanover restore Bremen and Verden; that the distressed condition to which the Swedes were reduced was indeed worthy of compassion; but it must be considered, that they had in a great measure been the cause of their own misfortunes, by tame submission to a despotic prince, by sacrificing their whole substance to enable him to prosecute his rash, ambitions, and unjust projects, and that any nation who followed their example deserved most richly to share the same fate; that England had no right to interfere with the affairs of the empire, that we reaped little or no advantage by our trade to the Baltic, but that of procuring naval stores; that hemp was certainly a very

necessary commodity, particularly at the present juncture, but that if proper encouragement were given to some of the American plantations, we might be supplied from them at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway.—Notwithstanding the cogency of these arguments, the votes of supply were passed, after much clamorous debate, by a large majority. Having passed, after a determined opposition from the spiritual lords, a bill for permitting the omission of the words, "in the presence of Almighty God" in the affirmation of the quakers, but providing, at the same time, for the infliction, on a false affirmation, of the penalties of perjury; the parliament was dissolved in March; and early in the ensuing month of October, the king opened the new parliament with a speech from the throne, in which he observed, that he was extremely sorry to inform them, at the opening of the session, that a dangerous conspiracy had been for some time maturing, and was still carrying on against his person and government, in favour of a popish Pretender; that the discoveries made at home, the declarations of his ministers abroad, and the intelligence received from the various powers of Europe, had afforded him ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked design. "Had I," he proceeded, "since my accession to the throne, ever attempted any innovation in our established religion; had I, in any one instance, invaded the liberty of my subjects; I should less have wondered at any endeavour to alienate the affections of my people, and draw them into measures that can only terminate in their own destruction. But to hope to persuade a free people, in full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, to exchange freedom for slavery, the protestant religion for popery, and to sacrifice at once the price of so much blood and treasure, as have been spent in defence of our present establishment, seems an infatuation not to be accounted for." In reply to this speech, both houses of parliament presented addresses expressive of their indignation against the authors and abettors of the conspiracy, and containing assurances that they would cheerfully hazard their lives and fortunes in defence of his majesty's person and government. The regent of France was the first who communicated to the king information of the conspiracy, in which many persons of the first distinction were concerned. In consequence of the discovery, a camp was formed in Hyde Park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective stations. Lieutenant-general Macartney was dispatched to Ireland, to bring over troops from that kingdom, and the states of Holland were called upon to have in readiness their stipulated number of troops.

1722.

In this general alarm, the first person arrested was Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate of great abilities, who had long been obnoxious to the government. He was confined in the Tower, and soon after the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, lords North and Grey, with several others of inferior rank, were arrested and imprisoned. Of all these, however, only the bishop and Mr. Layer, a barrister, experienced the severity of government, the proofs against the rest not amounting to evidence sufficient for conviction. A bill was brought into the house of commons, impeaching bishop Atterbury, though he pleaded privilege as a peer. This measure met with opposition from several of the members; but it was resolved, by a majority of the house, that he should be deprived of his dignity and clerical appointments, and should be banished the kingdom for ever. The bishop made no defence in the lower house, reserving all his force till he should have occasion to exert it in the house of peers. When his cause came before the lords, there ensued a warm debate, in which the innocence of the bishop was ardently contested. There appeared against him little or no proof, except what arose from intercepted letters, written in cypher, which earl Paulet insisted did not contain any thing that could be construed into treason. The duke of Wharton animadverted on the weakness, insufficiency, and contradiction of the evidence against the bishop, and added, that such proceedings, like the stone of Sysyphus, frequently rolled back on their promoters. Lord Bathurst observed, that if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others, but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the most trifling correspondence might be made criminal; and turning to the bishops, he said, he could with difficulty account for the inveterate hatred

and malice, which some people bore against the ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless it was that, infatuated like the wild Americans, they fondly hoped to inherit, not only the spoils, but the abilities of the man they should destroy. In defiance of all that was advanced in the bishop's favour, the bill against him was carried by the force of ministerial influence. His sentence being confirmed, in two days after he embarked for the continent, attended by his daughter. On the same day that he landed at Calais, lord Bolingbroke arrived there on his return to England, having obtained his majesty's pardon. Atterbury, being informed of this circumstance, could not help observing, with a smile, that they were exchanged. The bishop continued in exile and poverty until he died.

Mr. Layer being brought to his trial in the king's bench, he was convicted of having enlisted men for the Pretender's service, and of having endeavoured to excite a rebellion, and was sentenced to death. The circumstances of the conspiracy are but imperfectly known; it is understood, however, that the intention of the conspirators was, by privately introducing into England a number of foreign officers, to prepare for a junction with the duke of Ormond, who was to land in the river with a quantity of arms provided for the purpose. Mr. Layer was reprieved from time to time, and many endeavours were employed to obtain from him a discovery of his accomplices; but continuing firm in his refusal, he was executed at Tyburn, and his head fixed on Temple Bar.

Bolingbroke, though restored to his paternal honours and estate, was still excluded from the house of peers. Stimulated by a lofty confidence in his own powers, by an ambition too ardent to be scrupulous, and by rivalry of his former colleagues in office, lords Oxford and Harcourt, who had been restored to all their privileges, he so far forgot the recent good offices of sir Robert Walpole, in advising his recal, as to arrange the plan, and collect the members of a systematic opposition.

During this session, a bill was passed for levying the sum of £100,000 upon the estates of all Roman catholics, on pretext of the constant endeavours of the papists to subvert the establishment. As the principles of toleration, and the important distinction between bigoted persecution and prudent restraint, have been, in common with many other subjects of debate, connected with and affecting the happiness of nations, more fully discussed, and more satisfactorily developed, in later periods of English history, I shall on this, as on many other important topics, defer the full consideration of such questions, in their various bearings, till many historical circumstances respecting them have past before review: a plan which will preclude the danger of superficial observation and prolix repetition. On the 27th of May, an end was put to the session, by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed his satisfaction at the proceedings of parliament, and in particular at those exertions of legislative authority, which were necessary in this crisis of danger, for the punishment of offenders whose guilt there was no room to doubt; but whose wicked arts and practices had been brought to such perfection, that they confidently carried on their dangerous projects in defiance of the law, from an assurance of being able to elude it. His majesty added, that some extraordinary affairs calling him abroad this summer, he doubted not the wisdom and vigilance of his good subjects would prevent their common enemies from taking advantage of his absence; and that they will at length cease to flatter themselves with the vain imagination of being able to subvert our religious and political establishment.

Philip V. of Spain, influenced by constitutional melancholy and habitual bigotry, retired to the monastery of St. Ildefonzo, and made a solemn renunciation of the crowns of Castile and Arragon to his eldest son, Don Louis, prince of Asturias. The young prince dying soon after his elevation to the rank of king, Philip was prevailed upon to resume his abdicated throne, but devoting his time to the duties of religion, he committed the exercise of power to the queen. The enmity between Russia and Sweden had, in the mean time, terminated by a treaty concluded at Nystad in 1721, which contained stipulations unfavourable to the views of his Britannic majesty, inasmuch as they affected the security of Bremen and Verden. A marked reserve had for some time existed between the king of England and the emperor, who refused to grant the investiture of Bremen and Verden, but on condition of an enormous

pecuniary consideration. At this moment the king was also chagrined by the death of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, whose system of policy had for some time corresponded with the views of the English court. If this cordiality was as singular as sincere, the termination of the long and inveterate enmity of the emperor and king of Spain, by a treaty concluded at Vienna was still more strange and unexpected. According to this treaty, which was denominated the PRAGMATIC SANCTION, Spain was pledged to the guarantee of the Austrian succession. To this treaty the court of St. Petersburgh acceded; and a confederacy, which changed the aspect of affairs in Europe, owed its origin to the dismissal, by the court of Versailles, of the young infanta of Spain, affianced to the king of France, but to whom that monarch had conceived a determined aversion. In order to counterbalance the preponderance of this coalition, a similar treaty of alliance was signed at Hanover, between England, France, Denmark, and Prussia, to which Holland and Sweden afterwards acceded. This treaty was communicated to the British parliament which met in January 1726; and an address, in approbation of its conclusion, was carried in the house of commons by a majority of 285 against 107.

THE duke de Ripperda, the favourite of the queen, and therefore the director of every measure at the court of Madrid, was the chief projector and negotiator of the treaty between the emperor and Spain. Having incurred the displeasure of the court by the insolence of his demeanour, and provoked the jealousy of the grandees by his evident influence over every department of the state, he was ostensibly dismissed from the confidence of the queen, and confuting his own abuse of the English nation, by confiding in its generosity, he fled to the house of the British ambassador for shelter. A guard was commanded by the queen to secure the avenues leading to his place of refuge, and to seize the duke's person; a proceeding which excited the remonstrance of the English court, as contrary to the privileges of ambassadors, as established by the law of nations, and as executed with brutal and unexampled severity.

REPEATED advices having been received, that preparations were making in Russia for the equipment of a numerous fleet, it was deemed expedient to send a squadron of ships into the Baltic. The command devolved upon sir Charles Wager, who received instructions not to permit the Russian fleets to leave their ports, till the empress had obviated all ground of suspicion by an explicit declaration of her intentions. The empress protested, that nothing was further from her thoughts than any design to disturb the peace of the north, expressing at the same time her astonishment that she had not received his majesty's letter, until his fleet was at anchor before Revel; a procedure totally inconsistent with the amity so long maintained, between her kingdoms and those of Great Britain. The task of pacification with Russia was indeed by no means complicated or difficult. All her objections to an amicable treaty were concentrated in the simple demand, that Sleswick should be restored to the duke of Holstein, or that he should be satisfied by an equivalent. The only equivalent, however, that was proper, easy, or convenient, were Bremen and Verden, which the king of England estimated at a value more consistent with his prejudices, as elector of Hanover, than with the interests of Great Britain. The Czarina, therefore, acceded to the coalition formed by the emperor, while the government of Sweden, influenced by secret service-money, became a party on the opposite side, by agreeing to the treaty of Hanover.

AT the beginning of the session of parliament, articles of impeachment, for high crimes and misdemeanours, were lodged by the commons in the house of peers, against the earl of Macclesfield. He was accused of receiving, during his possession of the exalted office of lord high chancellor, several exorbitant sums of money, as a consideration for the admission of certain persons to the offices of masters of chancery, and of abusing his trust as general guardian of the persons of orphans and lunatics. The house of peers, after a long and candid hearing, being satisfied with the proof of these crimes, sentenced him to pay a fine of £30,000, and be imprisoned till the fine be paid. Sir Peter King, who succeeded him, finding his talents unequal to the office, resigned in favour of lord Talbot, a nobleman, whom untimely death cut off in the prime of life, and the flower of his virtues. His place was supplied by sir Philip York, lord chief justice, created baron Hardwick, who fulfilled

the duties of his station for nineteen years, with virtue, circumspection, and ability.

1727. The parliament met on the 17th of January, and his majesty observed, in his opening speech, that the sudden and unaccountable conjunction between the emperor and the king of Spain, and the secret and offensive alliances concluded between them, had laid the foundations of a most exhorbitant and insatiable power; and were so directly levelled against the most valuable interests and privileges of the English nation, that we must determine, either patiently to submit to the peremptory and unjust demands of the king of Spain, by giving up Gibralter, and patiently acquiescing in the emperor's usurped and extended exercise of trade and commerce, or must resolve to be in a condition to do ourselves justice, and to defend our undoubted rights against these reciprocal engagements, entered into, in defiance and violation of all national faith, and of the most solemn treaties. He assured them, that it was a secret article of the alliance between the emperor and Spain, that the Pretender should be placed on the throne of Great Britain; that Russia was actuated by the same views; that two squadrons had been equipped, besides that sent to the Baltic; and that the king of Spain had ordered his ambassador to quit the kingdom, leaving a memorial, containing a formal demand for the restitution of Gibralter. The apprehension of an attempt, on the part of the other powers, to place the Pretender on the throne of Britain, was regarded by many members of the house as utterly chimerical: M. de Palm, the Imperial resident at London, was instructed to declare, that the assertion relating to the Pretender was absolutely nullity, and that the restitution of Gibralter formed no part of the treaty lately concluded; and it appeared, on investigation, that the first suggestion of the restoration of Gibralter had proceeded from George himself, in a letter to the king of Spain. Notwithstanding these circumstances, an address was voted by a majority of 251 against 81. Another formal address was likewise presented, in which the two houses expressed their indignation at the insolence of de Palm's memorial, which they characterized as an insult on his majesty, and a presumptuous and vain attempt to instil into the minds of his faithful subjects a distrust of his royal word.

As a consequence of the mutual jealousies between the contending powers, Gibralter was besieged; but the bravery of the troops, and the number of reinforcements, rendered all the efforts of the assailants ineffectual; and a successful resistance was continued, till the relief of the fortress by treaty in the subsequent reign.

The land-forces were now augmented, and 30,000 Danes, Swedes, and Hessians, engaged in the service of Great Britain. Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of a minority in parliament, the king was vested with the appropriation of such sums as should be necessary for making good his expences and engagements, and £370,000 issued in exchequer bills was charged, notwithstanding the evident tendency of the measure to destroy the efficacy of that important resource, upon the sinking fund.

At this important crisis, the politics of Russia underwent a new and propitious revolution, in consequence of the death of the Czarina; and the influence of the court of Versailles co-operating with that event, and with the secret inclinations of all the courts of Europe, preliminary articles of reconciliation were concluded in May, 1727, on the part of all the hostile powers. The policy of assisting, by his presence, at the final conclusion of the treaty, induced his Britannic majesty to pay another visit to the continent. He landed in Holland on the 7th of June, and proceeded on his journey to Hanover. He arrived at Delden between eleven and twelve at night, and ate a hearty supper. The next morning he continued his journey, was afflicted on the road with a severe cholic, and finding, on his arrival at Linden, that his appetite had left him, submitted to the operation of phlebotomy. Proceeding on his journey, contrary to the advice of his attendants, he fell into a lethargy as he passed along; and resting on the arms of a gentleman in the carriage, faintly ejaculated, "C'est fait de moi;" *I am a dead man.* He was extremely anxious to reach the capital of the electorate; but on his arrival at the palace of his brother, the bishop of Osnaburgh, all hope of recovery disappeared, and on Sunday the 11th of June he expired, in the thirteenth year of his reign and the sixty-seventh of his age.

The character of George I. was chiefly distinguished by those humble but valuable

qualities, which form the respectable friend and the useful citizen. His talents were less brilliant than solid; his views were limited, but accurate as far as they extended; and his manners were more conciliating than dignified. While his domestic policy was regulated, as far as the prevalence of corruption and of faction would permit, by the purest principles of benevolence, his foreign negotiations were more fortunate in their result, than comprehensive in their object, or rational in their design. As the elector of Hanover he was popular, able, and judicious; as the king of England his policy was too frequently directed by the influence of a party, and circumscribed by local partialities; but all his intentions were on the side of virtue, and the talents he actually possessed, devoted with sincerity to the furtherance of the happiness of his people.

CHAPTER IX.

GEORGE II.

State of Parties—Examination of the Jails—Congress at Soissons—Affairs of the East India Company—Cruelties and Injustice of the Spaniards—Debates on a standing Army—Excise Bill—Extraordinary Suicide—Marriage of the Princess of Wales—Affairs of Poland—Campaign and Intrigues on the Continent—Murder of Porteus, and unexampled Outrage at Edinburgh—Appeal in favour of the Prince of Wales—Corrupt Practices of the Minister—Progress of the Act for licensing the Drama.

GEORGE II. was born on the 30th of October 1683, and on August 22nd 1705, married Wilhelmina Carolina, daughter of John Frederic, marquis of Brandenburgh Anspach. On his accession to the throne, as well as throughout the whole progress of his reign, he was strongly influenced by partiality to his possessions on the continent. His prejudices and political views corresponded with those of the late king; the prime minister, sir Robert Walpole, received the most decisive testimonies of his regard and confidence; and the other principal officers of state were continued in their places. Sir Robert Walpole had raised himself from low beginnings to the head of the treasury. He was well acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and the mysteries of stock-jobbing; a perfect master of all the arts of bribery and intrigue; fluent in discourse, but destitute of dignity of manner. His address was artful and insinuating, conveying the impression of good-nature and sincerity, and his mode of argumentation displayed the cool, dispassionate, and unaffected equability of a disputant willing to acknowledge his own errors, and to allow their just weight to the arguments of his opponents. His associates were the duke of Newcastle, a man of plausible address and imposing habits, but of a capacity unequal to the duties of his station; Mr. Pelham, his brother, secretary at war, a man of virtue and talents; the earl of Chesterfield, a courtier by profession, graceful in his manners, fluent in his delivery, and distinguished by the delicacy of his wit, and the variety of his attainments. The duke of Argyle, whose haughtiness of address, vehemence of speech, and military skill, have already been noticed in the history of the

reign of Anne; and lord Cateret, an individual endowed with great extent and sagacity of comprehension, and an intimate knowledge of the general politics of Europe, dictatorial in his opinions, and reserved in his deportment.

In the house of commons, the members had for several years been distinguished by the titles of Hanoverians and Jacobites; but they now changed their appellations with their principles, and the opposing parties were characterized by the names of the *town* and *country*. Both sides had been equally active in promoting the accession of the house of Hanover, and were therefore alike secure from the reproach of disaffection. The former, arranged under the banners of the ministry, were favourable to all the measures of the crown; they were accustomed to regard foreign alliances and continental connections as conducive to internal security and prosperity. The latter were utterly averse to continental connections. They complained that immense sums were lavished on fruitless subsidies, and that alliances were bought with money, from nations that should rather repay Great Britain for her protection. These persons were joined by the most enthusiastic of the Tories, who began to perceive that their own cause was desperate; and as they were leagued with men who did not fear the imputation of Jacobitism, they gave and acquired greater confidence. As the court party generally endeavoured to stimulate the loyalty of the house of commons, by intimations of secret conspiracies and imaginary dangers, their opponents continually declaimed on the encroachments of the prerogative, and the increasing power of the crown. During the whole of the reign of George II. two principal objects of controversy appear to have agitated the contending parties: the national debt, and the number of forces to be retained in pay. The government, at the accession of the king, was indebted to the amount of forty millions, and, notwithstanding many years of profound peace, the debt was regularly accumulating. The country party was usually engaged, during the whole of the session, in investigating so singular a phenomenon; and the court party in tracing it to causes, which should not implicate their prudence or integrity. Demands for new supplies were brought forward every session, under the pretext of securing and rewarding friends upon the continent, or of guarding the kingdom from internal conspiracies. It was vainly contended, that these expences were entirely unnecessary, as well as prejudicial to the nation. The court party was constantly victorious, and every demand was granted with cheerfulness and profusion.

The produce of the civil list revenues, estimated at £800,000, was, on the motion of sir Robert Walpole, granted to the king for life, instead of the annual revenue of £700,000 granted to the late monarch; and in compliance with a message to the house of commons, £100,000 per annum was settled as a jointure on the queen. The parliament being dissolved in August, and a new one convened in January, the sum of £280,000 1728. was voted for the maintenance of the Hessian and Swedish auxiliaries; a subsidy of £100,000 was granted to the duke of Wolfembuttle, who agreed to keep in readiness for the king's service, a corps of 5000 men, and, with a singular estimation of his own power and importance, to guarantee the possession of his majesty's dominions! The supplies were raised by a continuation of the malt-tax, the duties upon malt, cyder, and perry, an additional imposition on unmalted corn used in distilling, and the sale of annuities not exceeding £50,000 per annum to the bank.

Mr. Oglethorpe, having been informed of cruelties and oppressions exercised by gaolers upon their prisoners, moved for an examination into those practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee, appointed to enquire into the state of the gaols, throughout the kingdom. They began with the Fleet Prison, which they visited in a body, where they found sir William Rich, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given some slight and involuntary offence. They made a discovery of many inhuman barbarities committed by the same individual, and detected the most shameful and hardened plans of fraud, villainy, and extortion. The house presented an address to the king, desiring that he would direct his attorney-general to prosecute Bambridge, his predecessor Huggins, and their accomplices. They were all committed prisoners to Newgate. A bill was brought in, disabling Bambridge from executing the office of warden, another for the better regulation of the Fleet

Prison, and for more effectually preventing and punishing the mal-practices of the warden.

His majesty, having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, set out for Hanover on the 17th of May, in order to remove a trivial misunderstanding between himself, as elector, and the court of Berlin. In the same month, lord Townsend resigned the seals, which were given to colonel Stanhope, now created earl of Harrington; James, earl of Waldegrave, was appointed ambassador to the court of France. In September, Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont. The father reserved to himself a revenue of one hundred thousand pistoles per annum, retired to the castle of Chamberry, and espoused the countess dowager of St. Sebastian, who declined the title of queen, but assumed that of marchioness de Somerive.

Soissons was the place finally appointed for the discussion of the separate and collective interests of all the belligerent powers. The congress made little progress towards a general pacification; France and Spain had returned to their former amity, and the court of Madrid became less anxious for an accommodation with England. Conferences, however, were begun at Seville, and a treaty was concluded on the ninth of November, 1729. not only without the knowledge of the emperor, but in direct violation of his rights. On this subject, he communicated an Imperial commissorial decree to the states of the empire, assembled at the diet of Ratisbon, which was answered by the French minister, De Chevigny.

In the succeeding session, the term of exclusive commerce, granted to the East India Company, being about to expire, many individuals of extensive trade and princely capital, presented a petition for the privilege of trading to those countries, proposing to lay open that branch of commerce to all the subjects of Great Britain, on certain conditions. In consideration of an act of parliament for this purpose, they offered to advance £3,200,000 for the redemption of the fund and trade of the existing East India Company. Their proposal was rejected, and the exclusive privilege vested in the company, protracted to the year 1766, on the following conditions: That they should pay into the exchequer the sum of £200,000 towards the supplies of the year, without interest, or addition to their capital stock; that the annuity, or yearly fund, of £140,000 payable to them from the public, should be reduced to £128,000; that after the year 1766, their right to the exclusive trade should be prolonged or refused on repayment of their capital, and after three years' notice, at the pleasure of parliament.

The parliament assembling in January, the king, in his speech from the throne, expressed his joy, that notwithstanding all the clamours which had been raised, the parliament had approved of his negotiations with the continental powers; he declared the peace of Europe to be firmly established by the treaty of Seville, concluded on the foundation of the quadruple alliance; he affirmed, that Spain had agreed to an ample restitution, and reparations for all unlawful seizures and depredations; that the free and uninterrupted exercise of commerce was fully secured, and the privileges and possessions of himself and his allies solemnly guaranteed. The emperor, however, was so much incensed at the conditions of the treaty, which prohibited the subjects of Great Britain from trading in his dominions, guaranteed the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia to Don Carlos and his successors, and pledged the king of England to transport a body of Spanish troops to Italy, without waiting for the Imperial investiture; that he began with a vigour and rapidity unusual to the court of Austria, to make preparations for war, and to detach numerous bodies of troops to Italy. 1730.

In the course of the session, a bill was brought in and passed, to prevent any subject of Great Britain from advancing money to foreign princes or states, without the consent of his majesty under the privy-seal; a measure which was intended to defeat the purpose of the emperor, who was now negotiating a loan in the English metropolis. A bill, for making more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of parliament who enjoyed any pension for any number of years or during pleasure, was passed by the commons, but rejected by the lords: and on the 15th of May, the king went to the house of peers, and closed the session with a speech, in which (alluding to the journals published under the auspices of the opposition) he expressed his indignation at

those incendiaries, who, by scandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people, to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonour of him and of his government, and in defiance of the sense of both houses of parliament.

In the speech with which the king opened the session of parliament on the first day of January, he told them, that the present critical juncture seemed in a most particular manner to deserve their attention; that as the transactions then depending, in the several courts of Europe, were upon the point of being decided, the great event of peace or war might be very much determined, by their first resolutions, which were expected by the different powers with much impatience. He said, that the plan of operations, for the execution of the treaty of Seville by force, was now under consideration; that their just concern for the interest of their country would, he doubted not, induce them to grant the supplies necessary to make good his engagements, with that cheerfulness and affection which became a British house of commons, tender of the honour of the crown, careful and solicitous for the glory and prosperity of the kingdom. Notwithstanding the evident determination of the king, to sacrifice the peace of Britain to the interests of Hanover, and the injustice of transferring, by hostile means, the legitimate possessions of the emperor to a rival power, the two houses of parliament promised to support his majesty in all his engagements. When the supply fell under consideration, the debates were renewed upon the subsidies to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle; which, however, were continued, and every article was granted, according to the estimates delivered in, for the expences of the ensuing year. Two petitions being presented to the commons, representing the delays of justice, occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting that all processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language. The bill met with warm opposition, on pretence that it would render useless the antient records, which were written in that language, and introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the established form and method of pleading. Notwithstanding these objections, it passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. A great number of merchants, from different parts of the country, having repeated their complaints of depredations and cruelties, committed by the Spaniards in the West Indies, their petitions were referred to the consideration of a grand committee. Their complaints, upon examination, appeared to be well founded. The extreme avidity of our merchants, and the natural jealousy of that people were every day productive of mutual encroachments and acts of violence. The inhabitants of our West India islands had long carried on an illicit trade with the subjects of Spain upon the continent; but, when detected, were rigorously punished, and their cargoes confiscated to the crown. Between the temerity of adventure on one hand, and the vigilance of pursuit and punishment on the other, it must frequently have happened that the innocent suffered with the guilty; and many complaints were made, perhaps not without just foundation, that the English merchants were plundered by the vessels of the Spanish king on the southern coast of America.

1731.

The English ministry, judging it improper to credit every report which might be urged by avarice, or inflamed by resentment, expected to prevent any rupture, by an amicable representation to the court of Spain, and in the mean time, promised the merchants that they should obtain redress. The complaints, however, becoming more loud and general, and the committee of the house of commons having delivered their opinion, an address was presented to the king, imploring his majesty to continue his endeavours to prevent such depredations for the future, to procure full satisfaction for the damage already sustained, and to secure the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the British colonies in America.

The committee examined several persons, who had been seized by the Spaniards, and treated with great cruelty. One man, the master of a trading vessel, had been treated with the utmost barbarity; after beating and plundering him, the Spaniards cut off his ears, and prepared to put him to death, but were accidentally prevented. The indignation of the people was universally excited by this instance of brutality; but the minister judged

it prudent to avoid, if possible, an open rupture with the court of Spain. New negotiations were therefore set on foot, and new mediators offered their interposition. On the prorogation of parliament in May, the king was enabled to state, that all apprehensions of war were at length removed, by a treaty signed at Vienna between him and the emperor; it had been communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaty of Seville, and to the states-general; the conditions and engagements into which he had entered were conformable to that necessary interest, which the British nation must always take in the security and preservation of the balance of power in Europe; and the fortunate change in the relations of the respective courts presented a favourable prospect of the perfect re-establishment of public tranquillity. By the treaty, on which the hopes of his majesty were founded, the emperor agreed, that Spain should take possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, in the mode prescribed by the treaty of Seville; and that the Ostend Company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that England, and the other contracting powers of the treaty of Seville, should become guarantees of the pragmatic sanction. The duke of Parma dying at this juncture, an English fleet, under sir Charles Wager, was fitted out; which, having joined the Spanish fleet at Barcelona, convoyed the Spanish troops destined for Italy to Leghorn, Don Carlos himself taking the route of France, when the Imperial forces which had marched into Parma being withdrawn, the infant took peaceable possession of his new territories.

On the 22nd of July, a new treaty was signed at Vienna, between the emperor and the kings of Great Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former. In August, a treaty of union and of defensive alliance, between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover, was executed at Dresden. The court of Spain, expressing some doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the duchess of Parma, which the late duke had declared in his will, at the same time soliciting the allies to defer the execution of their projects, till his consort should be delivered; she underwent a formal examination, by five midwives of different nations, in presence of the elder duchess-dowager, several ladies of quality, three physicians, and a surgeon, and was declared with child. After having kept all Europe in suspense for six months, she owned that she had been deceived; and general Stampa, with the Imperial forces, took possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which, as I have just related, were re-occupied by Spain, in consequence of the signing of the treaty of Vienna, and the retirement of the Imperial general into the Milanese.

On the return of the session in January, the king declared, in an elaborate speech, that the general tranquillity of Europe was restored and established by the last treaty of Vienna; that Don Carlos, notwithstanding the apparent difficulty of accomplishing that object, was in possession of Parma and Placentia; that the part taken in the late transactions had redounded much to the honour and interest of the nation; that a family convention was concluded between the courts of Spain and Tuscany, for preserving mutual peace and friendship in the two houses; that 6000 Spaniards had been quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure, by the express consent of the grand duke, the reversion of his dominions; and that the estimate for the service of the current year would be considerably less than those of former years. He recommended unanimity, observing, that his government had no security but what was equally conducive to their happiness, and to the protection of his people; that their prosperity had no foundation, but in the defence and support of his government. "Our safety," he observed, "is mutual, and our interests inseparable."

An address was moved by lord Harvey, a frivolous, superficial, and officious partisan of the minister, who obtained some degree of celebrity by his insignificant but unremitted activity, and who has been satirized by Pope with equal malignity and wit, under the name of Sporus. His motion was opposed by sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. William Pulteney, sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Shippen; who did not argue against a general address of thanks, but against the absurdity and bad tendency of expressions, which implied a blind approbation of all the measures of the ministry. The address, however, as originally moved was presented to his majesty, who declared in reply, that he had no doubt of

the continuance of the affection and confidence of the house, and that they should ever find his views tending to the honour, interest, and security of his crown and people.

The reduction of the standing army had always been the object of anxious exertion to the country party. When the supply fell under consideration, sir William Strickland, secretary at war, moved, that the same number which had been maintained in the preceding year should be continued in pay. In opposition to the motion, lord Morpeth having demonstrated the danger to which the liberties of the nation might be exposed, by maintaining a numerous standing army in the time of peace, moved an amendment, that the number should be reduced to 12,000. The motion of the secretary at war was supported by the usual advocates of the ministry; the amendment of lord Morpeth was eloquently and powerfully advocated by Mr. Watkins William Wynne, Mr. Walter Plumer, sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. William Pulteney, and Mr. Barnard; but their resistance was fruitless, and it was resolved, that the standing army be maintained without reduction. Such was the offence given by Mr. Pulteney to the court, by the zealous part he took in this and other questions of the same period, that the king, calling for his council-book, struck out his name from the list of privy-counsellors; a measure which, as in all other instances, only tended to extend and confirm his popularity.

Sir Robert Walpole, having now obtained the first great object of all his wishes and his exertions, Peace, determined upon the adoption of a measure, which, however vehemently opposed and universally reprobated, has proved, in its ultimate establishment and extension, one of the most permanent sources of our commercial and financial prosperity. The principal branches of revenue were at this time divided into port duties or customs, duties of excise, and taxes levied on immoveable property, such as the duties on land, houses, hearths, and windows. It was obvious that the latter description of duties bore with equal weight on the poor and wealthy classes of society; and the extent of the frauds on the customs, which no vigilance could prevent, were equally deplorable in a moral point of view, and injurious to the revenue. He conceived a plan, therefore, to convert the greater part of the customs into duties of excise, and in the month of February introduced a bill, proposing that the duties on salt, which about two years before had been abolished, should now be revived, and granted to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, for a term of three years; declaring, at the same time, as some propitiation of the country party, that the land-tax should be reduced to one shilling in the pound, and finally abolished. The duties on salt, he said, affected, it was true, all classes of society; but the burden of the tax being so equally and generally diffused, the sum contributed by the lower orders of the people would be found, on computation, so trifling as scarcely to deserve mention. This tax, while it existed, was never the subject of complaint; and when it was repealed, no one appeared to think himself benefited. He knew the reproaches he had to expect on this occasion; but he had been long accustomed to be affronted and insulted, both within the walls of that place and without, and while he knew his intentions to be upright, and his only aim to serve his country, to the best of his knowledge and the utmost of his power, he should continue to disregard those reflections which he was conscious he did not deserve. The country party expressed their opposition to the bill in terms of the utmost vehemence, and repeatedly accused the minister of being influenced, in bringing it forward, by wicked and malignant designs. It was passed, however, by a large majority, and was succeeded by the expulsion from the house of Dennis Bond and serjeant Birch, commissioners for the sale of the forfeited estates, who were declared guilty, by a committee of the house, of flagrant breach of trust, in the sale of an estate which had belonged to the late earl of Derwentwater. During this session, five other members were expelled for various acts of knavery. The house of lords followed the example of the commons, and voted against the reduction of the army. On the first day of June the king closed the session, after having informed both houses, that the states-general had acceded to the treaty of Vienna, and that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to vest the authority of regent, during his absence, in the queen. He accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June; having received intimation that the pragmatic

sanction had been confirmed by the diet of the empire, after a formal protest by Bavaria, Saxony, and the electors palatine; a confirmation which of course included the favourite object of his father and himself, the investiture of the duchies of Bremen and Verden.

A SINGULAR and lamentable act of suicide distinguished the annals of the present year. 1732. Richard Smith, a book-binder, and prisoner for debt within the rules of the king's bench, formed the resolution of dying by his own hand, and persuaded his wife to follow his example, after murdering their infant. The act was committed without any of the usual indications of lunacy or irresolution. They were found hanging in their bed-chamber, at the distance of about a yard from each other; and in a separate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers, enclosed in a short letter to their landlord, whose kindness they implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who should carry the enclosed papers to the person for whom they were addressed. In one of these, the husband thanked that person for the marks of friendship he had received at his hands, and complained of the ill offices he had experienced from a different quarter. The other paper, subscribed by the husband and wife, contained the reasons which induced them to act such a tragedy on themselves and their offspring. They declared that they withdrew themselves from poverty and rags, evils that through a train of unlucky accidents had become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours, for the industry with which they had endeavoured to obtain a livelihood, and justified the murder of their child, by saying, it was an act of less cruelty to take her with them, than to leave her friendless in the world, exposed to indigence and misery. They professed their belief in the mercy of God, and submitted themselves to his infinite goodness for his forgiveness after death.

TRUSTEES had been appointed by charter to superintend a new settlement in Georgia, and general Oglethorpe, being appointed governor, embarked at Gravesend, accompanied by a number of poor families, who founded the town of Savannah on the river of that name. The contiguity of Georgia to the Spanish settlement of Florida, and the impossibility of determining their respective boundaries, excited the natural apprehension of the Spaniards, and laid the foundation of future jealousy and contention.

THE session of parliament was opened 1733. by a speech on the usual topics, and by a correspondent reply on the part of the two houses; and the commons, having resolved themselves into a committee, to deliberate on the most efficacious means of securing and improving the duties and revenues charged on tobacco and wines, the papers relating to these duties were submitted to the perusal of the members. The commissioners of the customs and excise were ordered to attend the house, of which the avenues were crowded by multitudes; and the members of the country party waited impatiently for a proposal, in which they regarded the liberties of their country as so deeply interested. Sir Robert Walpole introduced his speech, by lamenting the arts which had been employed to prejudice the people against his plan, before it was known. He affirmed, that the clamours occasioned by these prejudices had originated in the misrepresentations of smugglers, and dishonest dealers, who had enriched themselves by defrauding the public. He expatiated on the frauds committed in that branch of the revenue arising from the duties on tobacco; on the hardship to which the American planters were subjected, by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill-usage they had experienced from their factors and correspondents in England; on the injury done to the fair trader, and the loss of revenue sustained by the public. He asserted, that the plan he was about to propose, would remove all these inconveniences, prevent innumerable frauds, perjuries, and false entries, and add £200,000 or £300,000 per annum to the public revenue; he declared that he had no intention to promote a general excise; he endeavoured to anticipate the chief objections that would be made to his plan, and then proceeded to enter into the necessary details. He proposed to join the laws of the excise to those of the customs; that the further subsidy of three farthings per pound, charged upon imported tobacco, should still be levied at the custom-house, and be paid as usual to his majesty's civil list; that then the tobacco should be lodged in warehouses, to be appointed for that purpose by the

commissioners of excise; that the keeper of each warehouse, appointed by the commissioners, should have one lock and key, and the merchant-importer another, and the tobacco be thus secured, till it should find a market, either by home consumption or exportation; that the part designed for exportation should be weighed at the custom-house, discharged of the three farthings per pound which had been paid at its first importation, and then exported without further trouble; that the portion destined for home consumption should, in the presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, on his paying an inland duty of 4*d.* per pound in weight, to the proper officer appointed to receive it, by which means the merchant would be relieved from the inconvenience of paying the duty on importation, or of granting bonds, and finding securities for payment, before he had found a market for the commodity. In the course of the debate, which was extremely violent, sir Robert took notice of the multitudes which had beset the house; he remarked, that it would be an easy task for a designing seditious person to excite tumult and disorder among them; that gentlemen might affirm they came as humble suppliants, but he knew whom the law called sturdy beggars, and those who brought them to that place could not be certain that they would not behave in the same manner. This insinuation was resented by sir John Barnard, who observed, that merchants of character had a right to come down to the court of requests, and to the lobby of the house of commons, in order to solicit their friends against any project, which they might deem injurious to their commerce. The bill being passed by a majority of 61, the whole nation, inflamed by the misrepresentations of those, whose fraudulent practices it was intended to counteract, exasperated by the appellation of "sturdy beggars," and stimulated by alarm for the safety of the constitution, and the liberty of the people, of which long experience has proved the fallacy, burst into one loud clamour of opposition and discontent. The populace crowded around Westminster-hall, blocking up all the avenues to the house of commons. The persons of those members who voted in favour of the bill were grossly insulted, and their lives endangered; and sir Robert Walpole himself was exposed to the continual probability of open assassination. He was at length obliged to give way to the expression of popular resentment, and thought proper to move, that the second reading of the bill might be postponed till the 12th of June. The rejoicings on occasion of this victory over the minister were universal, and he was burnt in effigy by the London populace. The introduction of the bill, however, prepared the way for future success, and called the attention of parliament and of the nation to the various and extensive frauds practised in the customs. A committee was appointed to enquire into the abuses of that branch of the revenue, and twenty-one persons ballotted for the purpose.

The king having intimated in a message, that he was about to give the princess-royal in marriage to the prince of Orange, eighty thousand pounds were granted, as a marriage dower, out of the money arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher's. After a warm debate, the directors of the South Sea Company were ordered to lay before the house an account of the forfeited estates which had belonged to them. It was now discovered, that the large sums of money thus arising had been distributed among the proprietors, without the knowledge or the sanction of parliament. Lord Bathurst moved for a resolution of the house, that the disposal of this money by way of dividend, without any order of a general court for that purpose, was a violation of the act of parliament, and a manifest injustice to the proprietors of stock. All endeavours, however, to obtain a resolution to that effect were precluded by the fears of the ministry, and the influence of the directors. A bill had been brought in, for devoting a part of the sinking fund to purposes inconsistent with its original intention; and notwithstanding the opposition of the lords Bathurst and Carteret, and the earls of Stafford and Chesterfield, the latter of whom had resigned his staff of lord steward of the household, was passed by a small majority. On the 11th of June, the king closed the session with a speech, in which he noticed, in terms of severity, the wicked endeavours that had been lately employed, to inflame the minds of the people by the most unjust representations.

The tranquillity of Europe was now disturbed by the death of Augustus, king of

Poland. The late emperor, Charles VI., had been much dissatisfied with the conduct of Augustus, in the latter part of his reign, suspecting that he had formed engagements with the courts of France and Bavaria, unfavourable to the pragmatic sanction. These suspicions being obliterated, by the acquiescence of the son of Augustus, the elector of Saxony, in the utility and necessity of the pragmatic sanction, the court of Vienna no longer opposed, as it had hitherto done, but promoted the views of Augustus respecting the succession. On the other hand, France from first to last openly supported the cause of Stanislaus, who had married the daughter of Lewis XIV. His numerous alliances, his shining virtues, and the exemplary correctness of his habits, compared with those of the other continental princes, had preserved him many friends in Poland; so that the marquis de Monti, the French ambassador, was easily enabled, in conjunction with the primate, to form a powerful and numerous faction in his favour.

The prince of Saxony being warmly supported by the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburgh, a double election ensued. Stanislaus had proceeded, immediately after the annunciation of the death of Augustus, to Warsaw, where he was received and treated as king; but he was soon driven from that city by the Russian army, under count Munich, was compelled to retire to Dantzick, where he sustained a long siege, encountered many dangers, endured many hardships, and with infinite difficulty made his escape to Konigsberg, where he was honourably protected by the king of Prussia. His flight was followed by a general submission to Augustus, and a general amnesty was granted, in return, to the partizans of Stanislaus. Disappointed in their principal object, the court of Versailles yielded to the impulse of revenge, commanded the duke of Berwick to pass the Rhine in October, at the head of a numerous army, and take measures for entering the heart of Germany, if the Imperialists should march into Poland. Before the day of election, the Imperial, Russian, and Prussian ministers delivered their protestations against the possible election of Stanislaus, as a person proscribed, disqualified, depending upon a foreign power, and connected with the Turks and other infidels. The Russian general, Lasci, entered Poland at the head of 50,000 men, and the diet was opened on the 25th of August. Prince Visazowiski, the chief of the Saxon interest, retired to the other side of the Vistula with 3000 men, including some of the nobility who adhered to the same party. Notwithstanding the vicinity of the Russian force, the primate proceeded to the election; and Stanislaus, who had travelled through Germany in the disguise of a peasant, and concealed himself in the house of the French ambassador at Warsaw, was elected king. He immediately appeared in the electoral field, and was received with loud acclamations. But his triumph was of short duration; the strength of the opposite party gradually augmented, and he was compelled to abandon Warsaw to his rival.

Kehl and Philipsburgh, having been taken by the French, notwithstanding the duke of Berwick had the honour to be opposed by prince Eugene, now in the decline of his health and faculties, and France having concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which they were engaged to the prosecution of hostilities against the emperor, made offers for a compromise, through the mediation of Great Britain, which were rejected. The confederate army of France, Spain, and Sardinia, entered Italy, and captured Tortona, Navara, Pavia, the city of Milan, and several other towns and fortresses. While the Austrians were thus driven from the Milanese, the Neapolitan nobility, irritated and oppressed under the government of the count de Visconti, the Imperial viceroy, joined in an invitation to Don Carlos, the infant duke of Parma, to attempt an invasion of that kingdom. He accordingly entered the Neapolitan territories, at the head of a considerable army, and was received in the metropolis with loud acclamations, as the general deliverer. Visconti, having retreated into Apulia, was pursued by the Spanish general, the count de Montemar, who gained over him at Bitonto, on May 25th, a decisive victory. Don Carlos, being proclaimed king of Naples, immediately proceeded in person to the reduction of Sicily, which he easily accomplished. In this extremity, the emperor implored succours of the Czarina of Russia, who immediately dispatched an army of 30,000 men to his assistance; an interposition which induced the court of Versailles to assent to a

1734.

negotiation. A general treaty of peace was concluded in the spring of the next year, by which Naples and Sicily were yielded to Don Carlos; and Parma and Placentia, the paternal possessions of Don Carlos, were ceded to the house of Austria; to whom the other conquests also of the allies in Germany and Italy were restored. The reversion of the grand duchy of Tuscany, relinquished by Spain, was conferred, as a fief of the empire at the demise of the grand duke, upon the duke of Lorraine, who was affianced to the eldest archduchess, Maria Theresa, the sole heiress, under the pragmatic sanction, of the dominions of the house of Austria. The elector of Saxony was acknowledged as king of Poland, and the duchy of Lorraine ceded to Stanislaus, with the nominal title of king; the duchy, a most valuable possession, for which France had frequently and unsuccessfully contended, to be after his death for ever united to that crown. The king of Sardinia was recompensed by certain districts of the Milanese.

The session of 1734 was distinguished by many vigorous but unsuccessful endeavours to obtain the repeal of the septennial act; by the rejection of a motion for preventing the removal of officers, not above the rank of colonel, otherwise than by the judgment of a court-martial, or the authority of parliament, the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham having been deprived of their commissions, for opposing the measures of the court; and by the failure of a bill for limiting the number of officers civil and military in the house of commons. In the ensuing sessions, the house of lords was agitated by a petition from several of the Scotch nobility, complaining of the influence of the crown in the election of the peers of Scotland, which was dismissed by a motion of adjournment. A bill, for the relief of the people called Quakers from prosecution in the exchequer, ecclesiastical, and other courts, was rejected in the lords, after violent opposition. The old statutes against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits, were repealed; and a bill was passed to distrain the disposition of lands by mortmain, an exempting clause being inserted in favour of the universities.

1735.

The kingdom was at this time agitated with curiosity, horror, and surprise, by the commission of a singular act of atrocity in the capital of Scotland. A criminal named Wilson, being condemned for robbing a collector, was executed at Edinburgh on the 14th of April; when John Porteus, the commander of the city guard, a man of brutal disposition and abandoned morals, provoked at the mischief of some boys, who flung stones at the executioner as he was cutting down the body, ordered his men, without having recourse to the previous formalities of the law, to fire with shot among the crowd, by which several persons were killed and wounded. He was committed to prison, in July found guilty of wilful murder, and received sentence of death, which was to be executed on the 8th of September; but, in the mean time, the queen (his majesty being absent on the continent) granted him a reprieve, on condition of his being transported. On the 7th of September, about ten at night, a great number of men entered the city of Edinburgh, and by surprize seized all the fire-arms, battle-axes, and drums belonging to the city guard. In a few minutes, they locked and secured all the city gates, beat an alarm with drums, and then attempted to force open the door of the prison, where Porteus was confined. Finding their attempts unavailing, they burnt the door from its hinges. Having obtained an entrance, they made the under-keeper open the double locks of the captain's apartment, dragged the latter down the stairs, and hurried him away. They marched along with lighted torches before them, and proceeded to the usual place of execution, where the murder was committed. The temporary gallows having been taken down, they obtained a rope from a neighbouring shop, one end of which they threw over a dyer's pole, from which they left him suspended, and quietly dispersed to their several habitations. The perpetrators of this atrocity were never discovered, notwithstanding a reward of £200 was offered by proclamation for such detection. The government yielding to the dictates of resentment rather than of policy, and in defiance of the remonstrance of the Scottish representatives, and the indignation of the Scottish people, brought in and carried a bill, for disabling the lord provost of Edinburgh from holding any office of magistracy in Great Britain, for abolishing the guard of that city, and for taking away the gates of the Nether-bow-port, which during this transaction had been shut, in order to

prevent the troops quartered in the suburbs from entering the city.

1737. The next session was opened by commission on the 1st of February, having been prorogued from the 21st of January, in consequence of the indisposition of the king, occasioned by a tempestuous passage from Holland. The first subject of discussion, in the course of the session, was a motion of Mr. Pulteney for an address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to settle £100,000 per annum on the prince of Wales. The motion was opposed by sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an act of officious interference in his majesty's domestic arrangements; and as an effort to excite dissension between his majesty and the prince. In consequence of the marriage of the prince to Augusta, princess of Saxe Gotha, the king had offered to settle a jointure on the princess, and to grant to his royal highness, for his majesty's life, the sum of £50,000 per annum, to be issued out of the civil list revenues, independently of the prince's revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwal. The prince, by a verbal answer, expressed his dutiful respect and gratitude to his majesty; but that "the affair was in other hands, and he was sorry for it." The motion was finally negatived by a majority of 234 to 204. The consequence of this motion, and of other causes of misunderstanding, was a decided and avowed alienation of the two courts of St. James's and Leicester House, which so deeply affected the minds and conduct of all the illustrious parties, that during the last illness of the queen, who expired in November, the prince was unable or reluctant to perform the usual offices of filial piety.

One of the great characteristics of Walpole's administration, was a liberal and politic employment of the agency of the press. To this line of conduct he was excited, by the number and virulence of those able pamphleteers, who, beneath the auspices of Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, and the other members of the opposition, discussed the principal questions of public policy with partial but persuasive ability, and descanted on the imbecility, the folly, and the criminality of their political opponents, in a strain of vigorous and ingenious satire, which, if it were frequently unjust and always malignant, delighted by its wit, and commanded the admiration of those who most sincerely and justly hated the principles of its writers. The most celebrated orators, the most profound statesmen, and the most brilliant wits of the day, were occasional auxiliaries to the public and popular journals; and even now that the interest arising from the relation of their essays to contemporary circumstances, and to objects of immediate anxiety, is necessarily lost, the effusions of Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, Amhurst, and their coadjutors, will be read with pleasure for the ingenuity of their arguments, the felicity of their sarcasms and allusions, and the beauty of their language.

To counteract the efforts of so formidable a phalanx, sir Robert engaged, on the side of the ministry, a host of periodical writers, who, if their talents had justified the liberality of their master, or the occasional justice of their cause, would have silenced and eclipsed the literary advocates of opposition. But unfortunately the wit, the eloquence, and the ingenuity of the latter were not more conspicuous, than the absence of all these qualities in the writings of their opponents; the literary talent of the nation was decidedly in favour of the ministry, and extended its influence from the journals to the theatres. At a time when many of the latter were employed to divert the public by every variety of entertainment, and when none of them were in a flourishing state, the imprudence and extravagance of a gentleman who possessed an unusual portion of wit, humour, and genius, obliged him to strike out a new species of amusement, which enabled the minister to counteract the political influence of the stage, under the pretext of restraining its licentiousness. To extricate himself out of many difficulties in which he was involved, and to revenge indignities which had been cast upon him by the people in power, Henry Fielding determined to amuse the town, at the expence of some persons of rank and of influence in the political world. For this purpose he collected a company of performers, who exhibited at the Haymarket Theatre, under the title of "The Great Mogul's Company of Comedians." The piece he represented was Pasquin, which he acted to crowded audiences for fifty successive nights. Encouraged by the favourable reception of this performance, he determined to continue at

the same place during the next season, where he produced several new plays, some of which were applauded, and some condemned. The severity of Fielding's satire exasperated the minister, and convinced him of the policy of preventing similar attacks upon the members of the government; and a bill was introduced, by the conditions of which no new dramatic pieces could be exhibited, without the express license of the lord chamberlain. The only decided opponent of this bill was lord Chesterfield, who strenuously urged the impolicy and injustice of reposing in a single person the power of judging and determining without limitation, control, or appeal. "If poets and players," he observed, "are to be restrained, let them be restrained as other subjects are, by the known laws of their country; if they offend, let them be tried, as every Englishman ought to be, by God and their country." Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the bill passed through the two houses, with little opposition; and, if we can forgive the injustice of the abstract principle to which lord Chesterfield alluded, may be applauded, as having contributed to the chastity, without having repressed the spirit or the freedom of the British drama.

CHAPTER X.

GEORGE II.

[1737 to 1744.]

Disputes with Spain—The Gin Act—Hostilities between Denmark and Hanover—Pacific Disposition of the Ministers—Expedition and extraordinary Success of Admiral Vernon—Capture of Porto Bello—Expedition to Carthagena, and its Failure—Banishment from Court of the Prince of Wales—Resignation of Walpole—Conduct of the new Ministry—Foreign Affairs—Accession of the Empress Maria-Theresa—Naval Transactions—Exploits of the King of Prussia—Battle of Dettingen—The Annesley Cause—Naval Operations of Matthews and Lestock—Anson's Voyage round the World—Death of the Emperor Charles VII.—Battle of Fontenoy—Change in the Ministry—Projected Invasion of England—Capture of Cape Breton.

SINCE the treaty of Seville, mutual encroachments, on the privileges of each other, had been made by the Spanish and English subjects in America. A right which the English merchants claimed by the treaty, of cutting log-wood in the bay of Campeachy, afforded them frequent opportunities of carrying on an illicit trade in the immediate vicinity; and to suppress the evil, the Spaniards were resolved to annihilate the claim. The Spanish vessels employed to protect the coast committed frequent hostilities on the English, many of whom were sent to dig in the mines of Potosi, and deprived of every means of communicating their complaints to the British government. Repeated remonstrances, on this violation of treaty, were sent to the court Madrid, but no effectual measures were taken by Spain to prevent these outrages. The English merchants complained repeatedly and loudly of the losses they sustained, while the minister, persisting in his usual policy, endeavoured to accommodate the dispute by protracted negotiation.

In the latter end of June, rear-admiral Haddock set sail with a strong squadron for the Mediterranean, with the view of giving weight to the negotiation of the British minister at the court of Madrid. An act, to discourage the retail of spirituous liquors, had incensed the populace to such a degree, as to occassion serious tumults in the cities of London and Westminster. They were so addicted to the use of the pernicious compound, gin or Geneva, that in less than two years 12,000 persons, within the bills of mortality, were convicted in the penalty of from £10 to £100 each, for having sold it illegally.

1738. On the 4th of June, the son of the princess of Wales was baptized by the name of George; but her royal highness still continued to labour under the displeasure of his majesty. In the month of October, the good understanding between the elector of Hanover and the king of Denmark had nearly been disturbed by a circumstance of trivial importance. A detachment of Hanoverians, irritated by some real or supposed provocation, took by assault the castle of Steinhorst, belonging to the privy-counsellor Wederkop, and defended by thirty Danish dragoons. Several men were killed on both sides, before the Hanoverians could enter the place, when the garrison was disarmed and conducted to the frontiers. Fortunately for England, which would have been compelled to support the rights of its monarch, as elector of Hanover, the dispute was compromised, in consequence of mutual concessions.

1739. On Thursday, the 1st of February, the parliament was opened as usual by a speech from his majesty, in which he informed them, that he had concluded and ratified a convention with the king of Spain, who had consented to make reparation for the loss of his subjects, by a certain stipulated payment; and that plenipotentiaries were named in the convention for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses, which had hitherto interrupted our commerce and navigation in the American seas, as well as for settling all other matters in dispute. The publication of the convention itself was the general object of animadversion in parliament, and of discontent among the most intelligent class of the nation. It was alleged, that the balance of £95,000, stipulated to be paid into the exchequer of England, by his catholic majesty, was wholly inadequate to the just demands of the English merchants; that the Spaniards, by the convention, instead of granting us reparation, had obtained a general release; that every insult and injury, uttered and committed in defiance of the king of Great Britain, was justified and avowed; and even the atrocity of the Spanish pirate, who had cut off the ear of captain Jenkins, and used the most disgraceful of expressions towards the person of the king;—even the atrocity of this fellow was forgiven, and he lived to enjoy the fruits of his rapine. Mr. William Pitt, who had first excited the attention of the house to his extraordinary talents during the preceding session, declaimed against the convention as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable; and sir Thomas Sanderson, afterwards the good, the great, and the accomplished earl of Scarborough, supported the general tenor of his reasoning with equal ardour and ability. The house, upon a division, agreed to the address, by no greater a majority than twenty-eight. After the division, sir William Wyndham addressed himself to the house in warm terms of remonstrance against the motion which had just been carried; and so far provoked the minister, beyond the limits of his usual circumspection, that he indulged in the grossest and most personal abuse. He asserted, that the gentleman, who was now the mouth of his opponents, had been pardoned by the vigilance of a former government, as the head of those friends to the Pretender, who twenty-five years before had conspired the destruction of their country and of the royal family, but all the use or return which he had made for that clemency, was to qualify himself, according to law, that he and his party might, at some time or other, have occasion to destroy the law. In the house of lords, forty peers entered their protests against the presentation of the address, and in the house of commons, many members of the country party retired in disgust from their parliamentary duty.

Notwithsanding the violence of the ministers in their domestic contentions, and their determination to postpone the resumption of hostilities, as far as might accord with the safety of their country and their own retention of power, the aggressions of Spain were too evident, and the sentiments of the nation too

determined, to permit any further indulgence in forbearance or inactivity. New instructions were therefore transmitted to Mr. Keene, our ambassador at Madrid, who declared to the marquis de Villarias, that his Britannic majesty insisted on the king's executing, without delay, the arrangements to which he had acceded by the convention; on his renouncing his pretended right to visit the British ships in the American sea; and on his acknowledgment of the justice of the British establishment on the confines of Georgia and Carolina. No attention was paid to this remonstrance; and the warmth of the nation became so fervent, that the ministry found it necessary to authorise reprisals. The breach soon became unavoidable, and Great Britain was unanimous for a reparation by arms. The negotiation was soon suspended, and war declared on both sides; that against Spain on the 23rd of October, with the usual solemnities.

Immediately after the declaration of war, two Spanish prizes of great value were taken in the Mediterranean, and admiral Vernon was sent with a fleet into the West Indies. He had asserted that Porto Bello, a port and harbour in South America, could be easily destroyed, and that he himself, with six ships, would undertake to reduce it. The project was regarded by the ministry as quixotic and impracticable; but the admiral persisting in his assertions, they at length complied with his request, not without hope, that the failure of the expedition might repress the confidence of the party which espoused it. After touching at Jamaica, and making reprisals in his course, he arrived on the 20th of November in sight of Porto Bello. The night was partly spent in consulting measures for a vigorous attack, as the place was defended by many forts, strongly guarded, and by several ships of force, which lay in the harbour to cover the town. On the 21st, the *Hampton Court*, being in the van, began its attack on Castillo d'Hierro, and was succeeded by the *Norwich* and *Worcester*, which behaved with admirable resolution. The admiral came up, with the blue flag at his topmast-head, and the bloody flag on his main-topmast-head, and dropt anchor within half a cable's length of the castle. On this the Spaniards summoned all their force, which did considerable execution, but was of little effect; the admiral's guns being so well directed as to make a breach in their upper works, and oblige them to quit their lower tier of guns, and fly for refuge to their ambuscades. This being perceived, the admiral hoisted the signal for landing, which was so well obeyed, that in a few minutes they were safely landed in the front of the enemy's lower battery, with the loss of only two soldiers. They immediately entered by the embrasures, the one creeping over the other's shoulders, so that in three minutes they were on the platform, they struck the Spanish flag of defiance, and hoisted the British standard. This event induced the Spaniards in the castle to hang out the white flag, and surrender at discretion, five officers and thirty-five men only remaining out of three hundred, the rest being fled, killed, or wounded. In the mean time, Castello de Gloria and the fort of Jeronimo kept up a constant fire on the admiral; but their shot either fell short, or went over him, while the admiral's lower tier beat down the flag of the castle, destroyed several houses in the town, and sunk a sloop that lay between the forts. The conflict was only suspended by the approach of night. In the morning, as the admiral was taking the necessary measures for resuming the attack, a flag of truce was sent from the castle, proposing terms, which, with some modification, were agreed to. The garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war; ten thousand dollars, which had arrived to pay the Spanish garrison, fell into the hands of the English, which the admiral ordered to be distributed among the forces; three hundred pieces of cannon were spiked or destroyed, and the fortifications razed to the ground.

The seceding members had resumed their seats in the house of commons, but were unable to oppose with success the measures of Walpole. On the 13th day of March, a vessel arrived from the West Indies with an account of the capture of Porto Bello, and the two houses of parliament joined in an address of congratulation on the success of his majesty's arms. The success of Vernon equally contributed to the acquiescence of the parliament, in granting liberal supplies, and to the general popularity of the war. In the beginning of the following May, the enthusiasm of the people was still farther excited by the arrival of a sloop, with

1740. additional dispatches from the admiral, announcing the bombardment of Carthagena, and the capture of the fort of San Lorenzo on the river Chagre, in the neighbourhood of Porto Bello. In the beginning of May the king set out for Hanover; in a fews days after his departure, the nuptials of the princess Mary to the prince of Hesse were celebrated by proxy; and these events were immediately followed by the death of his Prussian majesty.

A FORMIDABLE armament was now equipped, convoyed by sir Chaloner Ogle, and intended for the coasts of New Spain, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, and almost an equal number of frigates, furnished with every description of warlike stores, 15,000 seamen, and as many land forces. Never was a fleet more completely equipped, nor ever had the nation more sanguine hopes of success. Lord Cathcart was appointed to command the land forces; but dying on the passage, the command devolved on general Wentworth, whose abilities were supposed to be unequal to the importance of the undertaking. They at length arrived on the coast of Spain, before the city of Carthagena. This place lies within sixty miles of Panama, and served as a magazine for the merchandize of Spain, which was conveyed thither from Europe, and thence transported by land to Panama, to be exchanged for the commodities of the New World. The taking of Carthagena, therefore, would have entirely obstructed the trade between New Spain and the mother country.

IN order to form the siege of this important fortification, the troops were landed on the island Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, which had been previously fortified by all the arts of engineering. Having landed, they erected a battery, with which they made a breach in the principal fort; while Vernon, who had proceeded to Carthagena, and taken the command of the besieging fleet, sent a number of ships into the harbour, to divide the fire of the enemy, and to co-operate with the forces that were landed. The breach being deemed practicable, a body of troops was commanded to storm; but the Spaniards deserted the forts, notwithstanding they were perfectly defensible. On gaining this advantage the English troops advanced nearer to the city, but met with a reception more warm and intrepid than they had expected. It was alleged, that the fleet could not approach the town so near as to batter it, and that nothing remained but to attempt one of the forts by scaling. The leaders of the fleet and army indulged in mutual accusation, each asserting the probability of what the other denied. At length Wentworth, stimulated by the admiral's reproach, resolved to try the dangerous experiment, and ordered that fort St. Lazare should be attempted by escalade. The forces marching up to the attack, their guides were slain, and they mistook their way. Instead of attempting the weakest part of the fort, they advanced to where it was strongest, and where they were exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was killed in the beginning of the attack. It was soon afterwards discovered, that the scaling ladders were too short, the officers were perplexed for want of orders, and the troops stood exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, without knowing how to proceed. After sustaining a dreadful fire for some hours, with great intrepidity, they at length retreated, leaving 600 men dead on the spot. The rainy season now began with such violence, that it was impossible for the troops to continue encamped, and great havoc was made by diseases arising from the climate. To these calamities was added the dissension between the military and naval commanders, who blamed each other for every failure and disappointment. At length they were induced to agree in one mortifying measure; that of re-embarking the troops, and withdrawing them, as fast as possible, from the scene of enterprise. The fortifications near the harbour, therefore, being demolished, the troops were conveyed to Jamaica, which, though sufficiently unhealthy, was regarded as a perfect contrast to the infectious climate whence they had just escaped. Vernon, instead of undertaking any further enterprise, that might have done honour to the British arms, set sail in July from Jamaica, with the forces which had, by this time, in some degree recruited their health and strength, and anchored at the south-east part of Cuba, in a bay, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cumberland harbour. The troops were landed, and encamped at the distance of twenty miles further up the river, where they remained totally inactive, and subsisted chiefly

on salt and damaged provisions, till the month of November, when, being considerably diminished by sickness, they were re-embarked and re-conveyed to Jamaica. The admiral was afterwards reinforced from England by four ships of war and 3000 soldiers, but performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired by the capture of Porto Bello.

The failure of this expedition was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with clamour and indignation against the minister, who found himself charged also with various other acts of misconduct. The principal of these accusations related to the inactivity of the English fleet at home. Sir John Norris had twice sailed to the coast of Spain, at the head of a powerful squadron, without performing any thing of consequence against the enemy; while the Spanish privateers annoyed the British commerce with great success. The general discontent of the people had an evident influence on the election of members to the new parliament. The duke of Argyle exerted himself with much success among the shires and boroughs of Scotland, and all the adherents of the prince of Wales employed their talents and their influence in favour of the country party. In order to obviate the difficulties presented by the prince's strenuous opposition to his cause, Walpole endeavoured, by promises of royal favour, and by offers of pecuniary emolument, to disengage him from the country party. The bishop of Oxford was dispatched with an offer, that if he would write a letter of submission to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour, £50,000 a year should be added to his revenue, £200,000 be granted him to pay his debts, and suitable provision be made, in due time, for all his dependants. However tempting this offer must have been, to one in the prince's situation, he generously rejected it; declaring that he would not accept of conditions, dictated to him under the influence of a minister, of whose measures he disapproved.

On the meeting of parliament in December, the address of thanks was carried as usual; but in the first division on a disputed election, he retained only a majority of six, which he justly regarded as an indication of defeat. A petition presented by the electors of Westminster, against the illegal practices of the high bailiff, and the introduction, by the justices, of a military force to overawe the election, under the pretext of preventing riots, was taken into the consideration of the house; the election was declared void, by a majority of four voices, and the offending persons reprimanded on their knees, at the bar of the house. Sir Robert, perceiving the uncertainty and peril of the situation to which he was now reduced, determined to regain his ascendancy by one bold effort, or retire from the storm, which he was no longer able to resist. On the next question, therefore, of disputed election, he pressed the commons to a division; and having the mortification to witness a majority against him of sixteen voices, he declared that he would never more sit in that house. On the next day the parliament was adjourned from the 3rd of February to the 18th; and, in the mean time, sir Robert was created earl of Orford, with precedence to his illegitimate child as the daughter of an earl. 1742.

The whole nation was convulsed with a joy, more creditable to its sensibility than its judgment or good sense, on the earl's resignation of his employments. Yet if the professions of pretended patriots, and the vehemence of those senators, who indulge in continual and violent declamation against the government, as a matter of oratorical taste rather than political principle, might have been received as pledges of independence and sincerity, the change in the ministry would have more than justified the full expression of popular exultation. Unfortunately, the base and mercenary character of his opponents was as obvious to Walpole as unsuspected by the nation; his party still remained too steadily attached to his person, and too formidable in numbers, to leave much hope to his opponents of obtaining office, but on conditions, of which, however, only one was imposed, and that one the impunity of Walpole. The chancellorship of the exchequer was now confided to Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the treasury; and the earl of Wilmington succeeded him, as first commissioner of the board. Lord Harrington was declared president of the council, and in his room lord Carteret was made secretary of state. The duke of Argyle was made master-general of the ordnance, and

field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the forces in South Britain; both which employments he renounced in a month, dissatisfied with his colleagues. The marquis of Tweedale was appointed to the revived office of secretary of state for Scotland; Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy-council, and afterwards created earl of Bath; and after the resignation of the duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair was appointed field-marshal of all his majesty's forces, and ambassador extraordinary to the states-general. The ostensible policy observed in the formation of the ministry, was the change of men, but the preservation of Whig principles. The new possessors of office were loud and eloquent in their professions of patriotism and independence: they declared, that they would concur in promoting an enquiry into past measures, and in enacting the necessary laws to secure the constitution from the practices of corruption. Had they been disposed to fulfil their promises, they might have erected a monument of immortality to themselves, and placed the liberties and prosperity of Britain on a foundation, which internal corruption and foreign violence might have vainly endeavoured to overthrow. But they had scarcely assumed the reins of power, before they displayed themselves in all the prominence of their real characters. It was soon discovered, that the principles and practices of the late administration, which had been the theme of constant reprobation among the Whigs, who had now been called to the government, were adopted in all their extent: on the re-introduction of the pension bill, lord Carteret, who had been, during the last year, one of its most strenuous advocates, voted against it; and a motion of lord Limerick, for enquiry into the conduct of affairs for the last twenty years, was lost by a majority of two voices, in consequence of the opposition of the court party; sir Robert Godschall, having moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act for septennial parliaments, was opposed by Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys, and the question passed in the negative. As some compensation to the people for these repeated disappointments, they permitted the committal of a bill for excluding certain officers from seats in the house of commons. They passed another for encouraging the linen manufacture; a third for regulating the trade of the plantations; and a fourth to prevent the marriage of lunatics. Lord Limerick, not discouraged by his former failure, brought forward a motion, on the 23rd of March, for an enquiry into the conduct of Robert, earl of Orford, for the last ten years of his administration: after a vehement debate, the motion was carried, and a resolution passed for the choice, by ballot, of a secret committee. They immediately proceeded to examine evidence, and discovered many acts of irregularity and corruption which, at that period of English history, had been unequalled for boldness and magnitude. It appeared that he had granted fraudulent contracts for paying the troops in the West Indies; that he employed iniquitous arts to influence elections; that as secret service-money during the last ten years, he had obtained £1,453,400 of the public money; that above £50,000 of this sum had been paid to authors and printers of newspapers and political tracts in defence of the ministry; and that on the very day which preceded his resignation, he had signed orders on the civil list revenues, for more than £30,000; but as the cash remaining in the exchequer did not exceed £14,000, he had raised the remaining part of the £30,000 by pledging the orders to a banker. The committee proceeded to make further progress in their scrutiny, when they were interrupted by the prorogation of parliament.

During these intestine commotions, the Imperial throne became vacant by the death of Charles VI. second son to the emperor Leopold, who succeeded his brother Joseph in 1711, and was the fifteenth emperor of that family. In order to preserve the succession of his hereditary dominions entire, Leopold obtained the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, from the chief powers of Europe. In 1720, after the approbation of the council, it was sworn to by all the states of his hereditary dominions; in 1725, it was guaranteed by Spain, at the treaty of Vienna, on Naples and Sicily being ceded by the emperor, as an establishment for Don Carlos; in 1726 it was guaranteed by Russia, and soon afterwards confirmed by the Imperial diet; at the second treaty of Vienna, in 1731, it obtained the sanction of Great Britain; in 1732 it was confirmed by the king of Denmark and the states-general; in 1738 the elector of Saxony followed their example, on the emperor's

promising to establish him on the throne of Poland; and in the same year, France also acquiesced in its guarantee, on condition of the cession of Lorraine. The courts of Versailles and Madrid were the first to violate their engagements, notwithstanding they had obtained for their concession many valuable and probably unexpected equivalents. Great Britain, Holland, and Russia continued faithful to their promise; while the electors of Bavaria, Cologne, Triers, and the Palatine, especially the two former, who naturally opposed every measure that defeated their claim to so powerful a succession, had frequently and openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the arrangements of the other powers, and their determination to resist every violation of justice, or of their legitimate pretensions. Immediately on the emperor's death, Maria Theresa, his eldest daughter, who had been married in 1736 to the duke of Lorraine, now grand duke of Tuscany, was proclaimed queen of Hungary and Bohemia, princess of Transilvania, archduchess of Austria, and universal successor to all the dominions of Austria, pursuant to the pragmatic sanction. The queen immediately notified her accession to the different courts of Europe, by most of whom she was acknowledged; and France, in particular, renewed her assurance in the strongest terms. The conduct of the duke of Bavaria was different: he returned her letters unopened, and advanced his claim to the Austrian succession, on the foundation of the will of Ferdinand I., which imported, that in case no heir should remain of any of the three brothers of the empire, the eldest archduchess, daughter to the said Ferdinand, who should be alive when the succession should be open, should succeed. Now the male line being extinct in Charles VI., the elector, by his descent from Anne, second daughter to Ferdinand I., claimed the succession as open by the will. On the part of the court of Vienna, it was maintained, that the succession was not open; the tenor of the will, according to the copy deposited in the Austrian archives, declaring "in case there shall be no *lawful* heir living of any of the three brothers." He afterwards asserted his right through his wife, daughter to the emperor Joseph; in which he was powerfully supported by the house of Bourbon.

The example of the duke of Bavaria was imitated by the king of Spain, who advanced his pretensions to the Imperial succession by virtue of his descent from Maria Theresa, wife of Lewis XIV. and daughter of Philip IV. He immediately formed an army in Catalonia, and made public preparations to invade Italy.

The young king of Prussia became a claimant of the principality of Silesia, as having formerly belonged to the family of Brandenburg, and soon assembled a numerous army. How futile are the pretensions of the greatest heroes to the proper virtues of their exalted station, or their imposing professions, when placed in competition with their interest and ambition! How vain is it to trust the promises, assurances, and most solemn pledges of arbitrary monarchs, and corrupted courts, when an opportunity presents itself of violating their pledges with advantage and impunity! It was not the conviction of obstructed right, or the legitimate feeling of resistance to the unjust assumption of the Imperial power, that excited the activity, and awakened the pretended indignation of the hostile powers; but the prospect of easy conquest over a defenceless and inexperienced female, the apparent certainty of triumph over her feminine timidity, and the expectation that she would resign the greater and fairer portion of her dominions to preserve the rest. Yet there remained one at least of the European nations, which, subject like every other political community to occasional error, and debased by obvious imperfection, still supported, in defiance of difficulty, calumny, and all the probabilities against success, the cause of justice, and of continental happiness. Attacked on every side, by France, Saxony, and Bavaria, *England* alone supported the rights of Maria Theresa with promptitude and activity. Her example was followed by Sardinia and Holland; and Russia at length acceded to the union in her favour. In the mean time, the king of Naples resolved to support the claims of his family to the Austrian dominions in Italy; his mother, the queen of Spain, had formed a plan for erecting these dominions into a monarchy for her second son, Don Philip, and a body of 15,000 men, being embarked at Barcelona, were transported to Orbitello, under the convoy of the united squadrons of France and Spain. While

admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibralter, the Spanish fleet passed the straits in the night, and was joined by the French squadron from Toulon. The British admiral, sailing from Gibralter, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the French admiral sent a flag of truce to inform him, that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master's allies. This interposition prevented an engagement: admiral Haddock could not but perceive the absurdity of the protection, afforded by a pretended friend and legitimate neutral to the fleet of an enemy. But his force was much inferior to that of the combined fleets, and he was therefore obliged to proceed to Port Mahon, leaving the enemy to prosecute their voyage without molestation.

The king of England had ordered his ambassador, the earl of Hyndford, to join with Ginckle, the Dutch ambassador, in presenting an earnest remonstrance to the king of Prussia, against his continuing his troops in Silesia. The proposal was rejected by Frederic, and gave rise to a suspicion, that the English court had participated in a scheme of general confederacy against the king of Prussia, in which his dominions were to be partitioned out, and his Britannic majesty, as elector of Hanover, was to have his share of them. Though this intrigue was probably unknown to the court of England, and was certainly received with no encouragement, his Prussian majesty affected to believe the contrary, united himself closely with France, and espoused the cause of the elector of Bavaria.

The king of Prussia engaged the Austrians at Czaslaw, and defeated them; but instead of turning his victory to the general interest of the allies, he converted it to his own benefit; for he immediately concluded a peace with Austria, which left him in quiet possession of Upper and Lower Silesia, together with the country of Glatz. At the same time, the king of Poland concluded a treaty with the queen. The French were astonished and mortified by these treaties; they saw themselves abandoned by two principal allies, and were obliged to retreat under the walls of Prague; from which they were only enabled to escape by the skill and dexterity of Belleisle, who conducted the army through a hundred miles of the enemy's country, and brought them in the depth of winter, though harassed by a superior army of the Austrians, to the friendly ramparts of Agra.

Dispirited by the equivocal success of the operations at sea, the nation began to look with anxiety for an opportunity of retrieving the glory of England by some enterprise on land; and the views of the king according with the wishes of his people, it was determined to send a powerful force into the Netherlands, to join in the quarrels that were beginning on the continent. The king determined to conduct the undertaking in person: an army of 10,000 men was transported to Flanders, and the war with Spain became an object of secondary consideration. The policy of Britain, originally directed by the partiality of the sovereign to his electoral interests, but ultimately coinciding beyond the hopes of the court, or the anticipation of the people with the general interests of Europe, tended to retrieve the desperate situation of the queen of Hungary. The French were driven out of Bohemia. The general of the empress, prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, was obliged to fly before her, and being not only abandoned by his allies, but divested of his hereditary dominions, retired to Francfort, where he afterwards lived in obscurity. Though the French had begun the war under pretext of alliance to the duke, they did not relinquish hostile operations in consequence of his disasters, but persisted in sustaining of themselves the whole burden of the contest

The troops sent to the queen's assistance by England were commanded by the earl of Stair, an experienced general, who had learned the art of war under prince Eugene. His chief object was to effect a junction with the army of the queen, commanded by prince Charles, and thus to outnumber the enemy in the field. To prevent this junction, the French assembled an army of 50,000 men upon the Maine, under the command of marshal Noailles, who posted his troops on the east side of that river. The British forces, to the number of 40,000, pushed forward on the other side into a country, where they

found themselves, by the precaution of the French, entirely destitute of provisions. The king of England arriving in the camp while the army was in this deplorable situation, he resolved on penetrating forward, to join 12,000 Hanoverians and Hessians, who had reached Hanau. With this view he decamped; but before his army had marched three leagues, he found himself inclosed on every side by the enemy, near the village of Dettingen. In this extremity he seemed to be deprived of every resource: if he engaged the enemy, it must be at the greatest disadvantage; if he remained inactive, his army must unavoidably starve; and a retreat was evidently impracticable. The impetuosity of the French troops relieved him from this embarrassment: they passed the defile which they should have been contented to guard; and, under the conduct of the duke de Gramont, their horse charged the English with great fury; but being received with intrepidity, they were obliged to make a precipitate retreat over the Maine, having sustained a loss of 5000 men. His Britannic majesty, with great personal courage, exposed himself to a severe fire of the enemy's cannon, and in the midst of the engagement encouraged the troops by his presence and example. The English obtained the honour of the day; but were obliged to leave the field of battle, which was taken possession of by the French. The joy occasioned by this victory, in the camp of the allies, received a considerable check by their being obliged to leave their killed and wounded on the field of battle, and proceed to a plain on the road to Hanau, where they lay all night under arms, while his majesty was obliged to take up his quarters at Hernstein. A shower of rain, which fell in the night-time, and continued till eight in the morning, proved fatal to many of the wounded; and all that lord Stair could do for their relief, was to send a trumpeter to marshal Noailles, acquainting him, that the king his master having thought proper to remove to Hanau, he had left an independent company in the field to take care of the wounded, who were strictly ordered to commit no hostilities; that therefore the marshal might send a detachment to bury his slain, and hoped that he would treat with humanity the wounded who had been left behind. It is to the honour of the French general, that he punctually complied with his lordship's request, by treating the wounded with the utmost tenderness and humanity. The day after the battle, the allied army arrived at Hanau, and were joined by 12,000 additional Hanoverians and Hessians. After this junction, lord Stair proposed to the king to pass the Maine, and again attack the French, but finding his advice disregarded, resigned his command. In October, the king of Great Britain returned to Hanover, and the army separated. The troops in British pay marched back to the Netherlands, and the rest took the route to their respective countries.

On the 25th of November, the great cause between James Annesley esq. and the earl of Anglesea was decided in the court of exchequer in Ireland, in favour of the former. It was proved, that Mr. Annesley was the son of the late lord Altham, and had been trepanned by his uncle, the earl of Anglesea, and sent into slavery in America, where he was discovered by admiral Vernon. He was sent home to prosecute his claims to the title and estates, which by this verdict he obtained, but died before the litigation was concluded, leaving his right to his children. The earl of Anglesea dying soon afterwards, the cause was removed, on an appeal, to the court of chancery; and, as we shall find hereafter, became the subject of long and intricate proceedings.

The English ministry had sent out a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, to overawe those states, which might be inclined to lend assistance to France or Spain. This fleet had been conducted by Lestock; but admiral Matthews, though a younger officer, was sent out to take the chief command: in consequence of which a misunderstanding arose between them, and they soon had an opportunity of discovering their mutual animosity. The combined fleets of France and Spain, to the number of thirty-four sail, were seen off Toulon, and a signal was made by the English admiral to prepare for engaging. It happened that his signals were not perfectly exact: he had exhibited, at the same time, the signal for the line of battle, and the signal for engaging. This circumstance afforded Lestock a sufficient pretence for refusing to advance with alacrity; so that Matthews, after some vain attempts to engage the enemy in conjunction, resolved to engage 1744.

with his own division. One ship of the line, belonging to the Spanish squadron, struck to captain Hawke, but was next day burnt by the admiral's order. Captain Cornwall was killed in the action, after continuing to give command, even when his leg was shot off by a cannon-ball. The pursuit was continued for three days, at the end of which Lestock appeared to come up with some vigour: but Matthews now gave orders for discontinuing the pursuit, and sailed away to Port Mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained. The account of this transaction was received in England with equal surprise and discontent, and both admirals, on their return, were tried by a court martial. Matthews, who had fought with intrepidity, was declared for the future incapable of serving his majesty's navy; while Lestock, who had kept at a distance during the engagement, was acquitted with honour. So extraordinary a verdict, unjustified by evidence, and apparently influenced by no particular prepossession on the part of the court, presents a striking instance of human fallibility, and of the uncertainty of every decision, adopted at a moment of popular turbulence.

At the period when the expedition to the South Seas was first projected, a squadron was entrusted to the command of commodore Anson; which was destined to sail through the straits of Magellan, and steering northward along the coasts of Chili and Peru, to co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon, across the isthmus of Darien; but the latter part of the plan was frustrated by the delays and mistakes of the ministry. When the season was too far advanced, the commodore set sail with five ships of the line, a frigate, two store ships, and about fourteen hundred men. Two of his large ships, having separated from him in a storm, before he weathered Cape Horn, took refuge at Rio Janeiro, from whence they proceeded to Europe. A frigate, commanded by captain Cheap, was shipwrecked on a distant island in the South Sea. Having met with a dreadful tempest, which dispersed the remainder of his fleet, the commodore arrived at Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by the Glocester, a ship of the line, a sloop, and a pink with provisions. With these remains of his squadron he made prize of several vessels, took and burned the little town of Payta, and set sail from the coast of Mexico to the Philippine Islands, in the passage to which the Glocester was abandoned and sunk. The other vessels had been destroyed for want of men to navigate them; so that nothing now remained but the commodore's own ship, the Centurion, and that but very indifferently manned. The crews had been horribly thinned by sickness; they sustained the utmost extremities of misery from the shattered condition of their ships, and were dreadfully afflicted with the scurvy, which was in some measure relieved on their arrival at the island of Tinian. Anson now placed all his hopes in taking one of those valuable Spanish ships, which trade from the Philippine Islands to Mexico. Only one or two of these vessels went on the voyage in the same year, and they were therefore very large, in order to carry a sufficiency of treasure, and proportionably strong for the purpose of defence. The commodore now prosecuted his voyage to China, where he ordered his vessel to be sheathed, and procured a reinforcement of sailors. On leaving Canton, he again directed his course towards Manilla, where the object of his pursuit actually fell into his hands, after an obstinate engagement. This prize, the Neustra Signora de Cobadonga, mounted sixty guns, and was manned by 500 sailors, twice the number of the crew of the Centurion. Anson returned home after an absence of three years, with his prize, of which the value was estimated at £313,000, exclusive of his other captures, which amounted to as much more. He was immediately elevated to the peerage.

In the mean time, the French proceeded in their operations with vigour. They opposed prince Charles, and interrupted his attempts to pass the Rhine. They gained also some successes in Italy, but their chief hopes were placed on a projected invasion of England. Cardinal Fleury was now dead, and cardinal Tencin, who succeeded him in power, was proud, enterprising, and turbulent. France, from the violence of the parliamentary disputes in England, had conceived an opinion that the people were ripe for revolt, and only awaited the presence of the Pretender to avow their sentiments. These prepossessions being encouraged by the Jacobite party in Great Britain, an invasion was determined upon; and Charles, the son of the old Pretender arrived at Paris, where he obtained an

audience of the French king. This family had long been the dupes of France, but it was now imagined that the inclinations of the French court were decidedly in their favour. The troops destined for the expedition amounted to 15,000 men, whom it was proposed to embark at Dunkirk, and some others of the ports nearest to England, under the direction of the Pretender. The duke de Roqueville, with twenty ships of the line, was to see them safely landed; and the famous count Saxe was to command them when put on shore. But the whole project was disconcerted by the appearance of sir John Norris, who with a superior force advanced to attack them. The French fleet was thus obliged to put back; and being frustrated in the hope of a sudden descent, the cabinet proceeded to an open declaration of war.

While preparations were making, by all the continental powers, for a bloody and vigorous campaign, the emperor Charles VII. died at Munich on the 20th of January, an event which changed the aspect of affairs in Germany, and considerably affected the rest of Europe. The misfortunes of this monarch, which so deeply impaired his health, were owing to his fatal attachment to France. The grand duke of Tuscany, husband to the queen of Hungary, was declared emperor in his stead; and, notwithstanding this event, the belligerent powers continued to support the quarrel with unabated animosity. In the Netherlands, the operations of the allied army were far from successful. The French had assembled an army of 20,000 men, the command of which was given to count Saxe, natural son to the late king of Poland, who had acquired great experience in war. Having long been a soldier of fortune, he had, in the beginning of these commotions, offered his services to several crowns, and among others to that of Great Britain; but his offers were rejected. The English were now commanded by the duke of Cumberland, who, though possessed of bravery and talent, could not be expected to equal his antagonists in military skill, and was far inferior in the number of his troops. The French, therefore, bore down all before them, besieged Fribourg, and invested the strong city of Tournay. On the 19th of April, the duke marched from Brussels to stop the progress of the assailants. He continued his march to Soignies, where on the 24th, in a general council of war, it was resolved to advance towards the enemy, as the relief of the city was of the last importance. On the 28th, having repulsed some advanced guards, they took post at Maulbrey, in view of the enemy, with the wood of Leuse on the left wing. Orders were then given that no man should stir out of the camp on pain of death, while the allied generals reconnoitred the enemy, who were covered by a rivulet on the left, and copses and hedges on the right, lined with their grassines, and supported by several squadrons from the main body. They had the village of St. Antoine on the right, and the town of Fontenoy in their front. Both armies continued in this situation during the night, and orders were given that the main body should march at two in the morning and join the vanguard, to bring the enemy to a general engagement. The following dispositions were made for the attack. Prince Waldeck, with the Dutch troops composing the left wing, to undertake the reduction of the village of Fontenoy; brigadier Ingoldsby, with four battalions, was ordered to attack a masked battery, at the verge of the wood above the village of Vezon; while general Ligonier was to attack the trenches, with the British and Hanoverian infantry, covered by the cavalry, under sir James Campbell. This brave general, being carried off by a cannon-ball, left his part for some time defective, and the infantry exposed to the enemy's batteries; till his royal highness ordered up seven pieces of cannon at the head of the foot-guards, which soon silenced the enemy's moving guns. The army being obliged to pass through three narrow defiles, occupied from four till nine o'clock, to form themselves as they advanced in order of battle. The troops were then ordered to advance to the different points of attack as rapidly as possible: lord Ligonier, assisted by lord Albemarle, and count Zastrow, bore down all before him, and took possession of the French trenches; but the Dutch miscarrying in the attack on Fontenoy, though supported by two British battalions, exposed the left flank of lord Ligonier to an incessant cannonade, while, on the other hand, the battery to be attacked by general Ingoldsby was not even attempted; a circumstance which also exposed the right flank of his lordship, and left him, though in possession of the enemy's works, exposed to a continual

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discharge of 200 cannon. To avoid this cross-fire, it was judged necessary to retire from the trenches, and to rally the troops, in the expectation of exciting the Dutch to another attack; but on advancing a second time they acted as before, notwithstanding the British and Hanoverians retook possession of the trenches they had previously occupied. The duke of Cumberland, in this emergency, placed himself at the head of Ligonier's horse, and advanced through the hottest of the fire towards the right flank, which the Irish brigades in the French service embraced the opportunity of attacking before he could come up; for having poured down upon the right, supported by their whole army, he was obliged, from the rapid decrease of his numbers, to retire and form his troops; it being evident that no dependence could be placed on his allies. About three o'clock in the afternoon, a general retreat was ordered; to favour which, such prudent dispositions were made, that the enemy, on the severe repulse of the regiment of Noailles, by a body of Hanoverian horse, under major-general Zastrow, thought proper to drop the pursuit, being entirely broken, with the loss of thirty-two officers. The allies marched in regular order from the field, having posted some regiments of foot and squadrons of horse to secure the retreat of the main army, which encamped at night under the cannon of Aeth. The allied army left upon the field of battle about 12,000 men, and the loss of the French was nearly equal.

In the mean time, the attention of the English was diverted from the continent to an occurrence which more nearly affected the tranquillity of the kingdom. In our own dominions was about to be kindled a civil war, which, notwithstanding the temporary alarm, distress, and inconvenience, to which it gave occasion, cemented more firmly the union of the nation and the government. The threat of an invasion from France had roused the indignation of all classes, who burned with resentment against the Pretender, and against the enemy who had supplied him with arms, and assisted him by its council; nor were the people of England ever less disposed to receive him with favour, than at the moment he selected for his final attempt.

A change in the ministry had occurred, at a moment when such a circumstance was singularly propitious to the nation. Lords Harrington and Chesterfield and Mr. Pelham being appointed to the chief departments in the government, the operations of war were no longer thwarted by a turbulent opposition. Admirals Rowley and Warren had retrieved the honour of the British flag, and made several rich captures at sea. About the same time, a bold and enterprising project was formed, by several public-spirited gentlemen in New England, for dispossessing France of the island of Cape Breton, as it appeared to them that this possession afforded to the enemy, by the increase of the fishery in those seas, not only an inexhaustible source of wealth, but a constant nursery for able seamen. In consequence of the royal assent, orders were transmitted to his majesty's squadron in the West Indies, under commodore Warren, to sail for Canso, where, on his arrival, about the end of April, he found the American troops encamped. On the 29th, they embarked in the transports, and with a squadron of ten men arrived the next day off Louisburgh. The transports were ordered into Gaberous bay, a little to the southward of the city, where that evening the troops were landed, under cover of 100 men, who bravely repulsed a party of 150 of the enemy, who had marched down to oppose the descent, with considerable loss. The troops, as they moved towards the city, having set some houses on fire, so intimidated the enemy, that they evacuated their grand battery of thirty guns, and with it a proportionable quantity of stores, which was instantly taken possession of by M. Vaughan, with a body of the troops. The enemy, sensible of their error, soon rallied to recover it; but were as soon obliged to retire to the town in confusion. This event secured the approaches on the land-side, which greatly contributed to the reduction of the place: in the mean time, the fleet continued cruising off the fort, and took the Vigilant, a French man of war, with some transports destined for the relief of the place. On the 26th of May, the island battery was attacked by 200 men, who were repulsed with the loss of 152, killed and prisoners. This misfortune appeared trifling compared with the privations and distresses to which the troops were subjected; as they were obliged to act the parts of man and horse, drawing their heavy cannon and mortars on

sledges, through ways almost impassable, being all day up to their knees in swampy shoals, and exposed at night in miserable tents to foggy damps, which occasioned so extensive a sickness and mortality, that 1500 were disabled for service at one time. They supported their distresses, however, with exemplary resolution; and after the town had been greatly damaged by the bombs, and a general assault had been ordered, M. Chaubrun, the governor, consented to capitulate on the 17th of June. The acquisition of this important settlement, to the crown of Great Britain, delivered New England from her fears, secured Acadia, retained in awe the neighbouring Indians, and restored the advantages of the Newfoundland fishery. The place had not been many days in the hands of the English, before three valuable prizes appeared off the harbour, conceiving it to be in the possession of the French, and were brought in as prizes;—an act that could scarcely be justified, as it appears to be an indispensible stipulation of the law of nations, that the flag of the power to which it belongs, should be conspicuously exhibited from every fortress.

CHAPTER XI.

GEORGE II.

[1744 to 1746.]

Invasion of the Young Pretender—Arrives at the Western Islands of Scotland—Proceedings of Sir John Cope—Surrender of Edinburgh—Battle of Preston Pans, and Defeat of General Cope—Proceedings of the Government and the Parliament—General Alarm—Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh—The Pretender receives Supplies from France—Enters Carlisle—Proceeds to Manchester—Arrives at Derby—Retreats—Is pursued by the Duke of Cumberland—Entrance of the Duke of Cumberland into Carlisle—Defeat of the Chevalier at Culloden—His Wanderings, Distresses, and Return to France—Trial and Execution of the Rebel Leaders—Act relating to the Feudal Tenures of the Highlanders.

THE principal powers of Europe being now engaged in the wars on the continent; the kingdom being exhausted of troops by the necessity of augmenting the army in Flanders; and George II. being absent on a visit to his German dominions; the Pretender selected the opportunity to make a vigorous and final effort to regain the crown of England. Charles Edward, though educated in a luxurious court, was uninfected by its effeminacy. He was enterprising and ambitious; but, from inexperience or incapacity, unequal to the importance of the enterprise. He had been for some time excited to the attempt by the multitude of adherents who surrounded him, and was taught to believe that the nation, unable to sustain the load of taxes by which it was oppressed, would espouse his cause with enthusiasm and rapidity. He was furnished by Mr. Walsh, a wealthy merchant of St. Maloes, with a frigate of eighteen guns, well equipped, and a considerable supply of money and stores, and set sail on the 14th of July from port St. Lazare, accompanied by several of his adherents, the chief of whom were the marquis

of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, colonel Sullivan, George Kelly, esq. and Ray Stuart, and was joined off Belleisle by the Elizabeth, a French man of war of sixty-six guns, furnished with ammunition and military stores, and suspected to convey a large quantity of treasure, for the purposes of bribery and of paying the troops. They continued their course till the 20th, when, falling in with a fleet of merchant-ships, convoyed by four English men of war: the frigate bore away, while the Elizabeth waited for the Lion, captain Brett, and an engagement ensued, which lasted nine hours; in which the Elizabeth sustained the loss of her captain and sixty-four men killed, and 136 wounded. With great difficulty she returned to Brest. The frigate continued her course, and having arrived safely at the Western Islands of Scotland, cruised for some days between Ulst and Barra; and losing all hopes of being joined by the Elizabeth, stood in for the coast of Lochaber, and landed the Pretender and his companions at Mingarie castle, between the isles of Sky and Mull. Some of his friends, having immediate intelligence of his arrival, flocked to pay their compliments, and joined him with a party of the Camerons, Macdonalds, Macphersons, Maclaughlins, Mackinnons, and Stuarts, who formed a body of about 2000 men. The chief of the Camerons being indisposed, Miss Jenny Cameron marched at the head of the clan, appeared in the camp with her sword drawn, in a sea-green habit, and addressed the Pretender to this effect: "Here are men devoted to your service, who, though headed by a woman, you will find have nothing womanish about them." On the 12th of August, Charles displayed his banner with the motto *Tandem Triumphans*, inviting the clans to repair to the royal standard, and assuring them of liberty, property, and protection. Many of the Highlanders hastened to his standard, and the first camp of the rebels was formed in the neighbourhood of Fort William, from whence they found means to surprise two companies of foot, between Fort William and Fort Augustus. The king's troops made an obstinate defence till their ammunition was spent, when they were obliged, to the number of 80, to surrender at discretion. In a few days after, captain Swectman was surprised by a party of the rebels; and being brought before the Pretender, he liberated him on parole, and gave him one of his manifestoes, with a pass for his security, signed *Charles P. Custos Regni*.

The first accounts of the Pretender's progress were received with incredulity; but their authenticity being confirmed by the dispatches of the duke of Argyle, the lords of the admiralty issued a proclamation, offering a reward of £30,000 for the apprehension of the Pretender, and dispatched a courier to lord Harrington, then in Holland, for the purpose of acquainting his majesty with the events which had occurred.

In the mean time, lieutenant-general sir John Cope, who commanded in Scotland, received orders to assemble what troops he could to oppose their progress; while general Blakeney defended the fortress of Stirling, and general Guest the castle and town of Edinburgh, the only places which were at that time tenable. Sir John Cope took post near Stirling, where his situation was not only commodious for covering the town, but for receiving reinforcements to quell the insurrection in its infancy. The general, however, adopted a sudden resolution of decamping and advancing, whether with a design to attack the enemy, or expecting to be joined by some well affected clans, is uncertain. On his arrival at Delwhinny, he received intelligence that the rebels were advanced to the chain near the pass of Carryarick, and intended to wait for him in that position. The post, however, was so strong that it was pronounced impracticable to attempt it, without risking the loss of the army, which at this moment it was of importance to preserve, as no other troops had been collected to reinforce them, or to retard the progress of the enemy. A council of war was held, in which it was debated, whether it was advisable to return to Stirling, or proceed to Inverness. The former was objected to, as it was evident the rebels could reach Stirling before them, having at their command a much nearer way, by the head of Loch Ranagh; and as they would be able to seize and break down the bridge at Hynnachin, and thus cut off a retreat, the water of Tumble being at this time so rapid as to be no where fordable, and the necessity of obtaining provisions rendering it expedient to hasten to Inverness. By the march of the general northward, the south of Scotland

was wholly exposed to the incursions of the invaders, who did not fail to improve the opportunity. They immediately took possession of Blair Castle, where they stopped the post-boy, and examined his letters. They then proceeded to Perth, which they entered on the 4th of September. The provost and magistrates, on their appearance, departed the town; but new magistrates being appointed, they proclaimed the Pretender at the cross. They continued at Perth till the 17th, during which time they were considerably reinforced by several of the nobility and gentry with their clans, and having sent a party of 200 of Clanronald's men to Dundee, they proclaimed their king, levied the public money, and brought a vessel they found in the harbour round to Perth. The duke of Perth, and the marquis of Tullibardine, were very active in raising their tenants; the former of these noblemen, being refused by two of his tenants, whom he had requested to join the Pretender, shot them dead upon the spot; an act of atrocity which so intimidated the rest, that they marched with him, to the number of 400, to join the Pretender's forces. The Pretender first directed his march towards Glasgow, but suddenly changed his route, and proceeded in the direction of Edinburgh. The magistrates of that city, on sir John Cope's marching northward, seemed to exert themselves against the impending danger, by entering into a voluntary subscription for raising 1000 men for their defence. A regiment of volunteers, consisting chiefly of gentlemen, was formed, reparations made, cannon planted, and barricadoes erected at the gates, so that from the first appearance of loyalty a vigorous defence might have been expected; but the advance of the rebel army seemed to intimidate their resolution. Two regiments of dragoons, with the volunteers and city guard, retired from Cerstorphine, where they were posted on the approach of the rebel vanguard. A council was called, to deliberate on the safety of the city; and the well affected being mostly under arms, the Jacobites had a great majority, and urged the necessity of a mutual compromise. A letter was produced, signed Charles P. Regent, and a deputation was sent out to meet him; which had scarcely passed the gates, before intelligence was received, that sir John Cope, with the king's troops, were arrived at Dunbar. The deputies were immediately ordered to be recalled; but before the message reached them, they had entered the camp of the rebels at Grey's-Mills, and returned with a peremptory demand of their compliance by two o'clock next morning, otherwise they might expect to be treated as enemies. Another deputation was sent to gain time, and after some debate, whether the dragoons should enter the city or not, it passed in the negative. The dragoons, therefore, immediately proceeded to join general Cope. No orders being given what part to act, they delivered their arms into the castle. The governor issued orders for the cannon also to be deposited in the castle; but his commands being disregarded, they fell into the hands of the rebels. When the hackney-coach returned with the deputies, and entered at the Nether-bow gate, 1000 highlanders, under Sullivan and Lochyel, rushed in and took possession of the city; a circumstance so unaccountable, that the lord provost was suspected of treason, and soon after taken into custody. General Guest, in the mean time, having secured the castle, removed the bank and the effects of the principal inhabitants into that fortress, to the great disappointment of the chevalier. General Cope had arrived at Inverness on the 29th of August, where he obtained the necessary refreshments; and, being joined by several highlanders, continued his march to Aberdeen, where, having ordered transports, he embarked his troops for the road of Leith, but was obliged, by contrary winds, to land them on the 16th of September at Dunbar. Had he arrived a few days sooner, he might probably have saved Edinburgh; but on his being joined by general Foulkes he was informed of that event, and on the 19th he decamped from Dunbar, with an intent to expel the rebels and repossess the town. The army passed the night near Haddington, on the verge of Glaidsmuir, and continued in the morning their march to Edinburgh. On receiving intelligence that the rebel army was advancing, a detachment was sent forward to reconnoitre, which repelled the vanguard of the enemy from the village of Tranent. The army immediately drew up on an advantageous piece of ground, with the hamlets of Preston Pans and Cockney in their flanks; covered by Seaton house on their left; and those of Bankton and Grange to the

right; the village of Tranent in their front, secured by a large fosse; and the sea in their rear. The volunteers and militia had no share in the action, as it was imagined that they might confuse the regular troops. The Pretender placed himself, in his highland dress, at the head of his troops, and brandishing his sword, exclaimed theatrically,

"My sword I draw, my scabbard I throw by;
"A useless burden till I reign or die."

which was answered by a loud huzza, and "that they would soon find scabbards enough." In a council of war, it was determined to attack the king's troops early in the morning. At three o'clock, three columns of chosen highlanders advanced with so much impetuosity on the right flank of the English, where the train of artillery was posted with a guard of 100 men, that they broke the guard, seized the cannon, and by feats of irregular bravery carried dismay and destruction into the ranks of the enemy. Every endeavour was made, by general Cope and the rest of the officers, to rally the troops, but in vain. Colonel Gardiner, being deserted by his regiment, dismounted; and placing himself at the head of the foot, fell greatly regretted, and worthy of a better fate. The highlanders immediately gave themselves up to plunder, which afforded the king's troops an opportunity of rallying, and of attacking them in the midst of their disorder. But such was the confusion and panic of the dragoons, that all efforts and exhortations were ineffectual; and the general, perceiving that further conflict was hopeless, retreated in the direction of Berwick, where he arrived the next day. The loss of the king's troops, in the battle of Preston Pans, amounted to 500 killed, 1500 prisoners, including 83 officers, and all their baggage, tents, money, and ammunition. The loss of the rebels consisted of no more than four officers and 80 men. They immediately returned to Edinburgh in triumph, marching the wounded and prisoners in procession through the streets, and playing their favourite air, "The king shall enjoy his own again."

This unexpected instance of success induced many stragglers to flock to the chevalier's standard, and awed the inhabitants of the districts, through which the army passed, into the appearance of attachment and submission. Except the castle of Edinburgh, Stirling, Fort William, and Inverness, they were in fact masters of all Scotland; the three former were blocked up, and the troops in the latter obliged to act on the defensive. The lord president, however, by his alertness, succeeded in raising twenty independent companies for the protection of Inverness; and he was joined in October by lord Loudon, who received a commission to command what force could be assembled in that neighbourhood. These arrangements tended considerably to depress the hopes of the disaffected in that quarter, and induced lord Lovat, in particular, to temporise as long as possible. On receiving a letter from the lord president, animadverting on the ingratitude and folly of his conduct, in sending his son to join the Pretender, advising him to recal him immediately, as the only means of securing the favour of the government, he answered, that it was hard he should suffer for the disaffection of his son, in which he had no part; that his desire was to live peaceably under the government; but if he was attacked, he had 600 of his clan at home, who would defend him to the last extremity. Soon afterwards this wary hypocrite threw off the mask, and declared openly for the Pretender's interest, in which he had long been secretly engaged.

The militia was now drawn out; three battalions of the guards, and seven marching regiments, which had just arrived from Flanders, were ordered to march northward, and assemble under marshal Wade. They were soon afterwards joined by four Dutch regiments. Many of the principal nobility obtained commissions for levying regiments in their respective counties; one general spirit of attachment to the existing government appeared to animate the people. The zeal of the archbishop of York was eminently conspicuous; and under his auspices an association was formed, and £40,000 raised by subscription for the support of government: and the example was followed in many other cities and counties of the kingdom.

The parliament met on the 16th of October, and his majesty informed the two houses, in his speech from the throne, that the unnatural rebellion, broken out in Scotland, had occasioned his calling them together sooner

than usual in order to have their timely advice and assistance for its suppression; observing, that during the course of his reign, as he had made the laws of the land the rule of his government, and in all his actions consulted the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of his people, it was the more astonishing, that any of his protestant subjects should be deluded into measures introductory to popery and arbitrary power. Warm addresses were returned by both houses, expressive of their deep and grateful sense of his majesty's just and mild administration, their strong abhorrence and detestation of the rebellion formed against his person and government, and their unalterable and firm resolution to support, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, his rightful title to the crown, and the constitution established in church and state.

The speedy concurrence and loyalty of the parliament, diffused throughout the people a general spirit of confidence and satisfaction, which was increased by the arrival of the British troops, under the command of the duke of Cumberland, from Flanders, and of four troops of horse, Bland's dragoons, a battalion of the guards, and eleven battalions of foot. Some of these were encamped near Dartford, in the south of England, to prevent an invasion of the French troops, as a diversion in favour of the Pretender; others were stationed along the coast; while admiral Vernon lay in the channel, with a strong fleet, to watch the motions of the enemy. The alarm occasioned by these precautions was so serious and so general, that the bank, in order to evade the extraordinary pressure occasioned by the fears of its creditors, was compelled to issue a declaration, that all future payments would be made in silver alone; a measure, which considerably retarded the urgency and eagerness of the various claimants.

In the mean time, the young Pretender, elated with success, possessed himself of the antient palace of the Scottish monarchs, where he assembled a court, and assumed the formality and magnificence of acknowledged sovereignty. In this gleam of prosperity, he was joined by several reinforcements from the earl of Kilmarnock, lords Elcho, Pitsligo, Balmerino, Glenbucket, and Ogilvie. Nothing was now wanting to render him master of Scotland, but the castle of Edinburgh, in which the regalia of the kingdom, the bank, and all its other treasures were deposited. On the 29th of September, he directed the communication between the castle and the city to be cut off. General Guest had hitherto refrained from firing on the rebels, being unwilling to damage the town, or involve the innocent in common destruction with the guilty; but as hostilities were now unavoidable, a battery from the castle was opened upon them, by which twenty persons were killed, and several houses reduced to ruins. A resolute fellow, named Taylor, engaged to make himself master of the castle with 30 men: in the attempt he was taken prisoner, with most of his party; and the general, finding that if the blockade continued the garrison would soon want provisions, commanded a sally to be made under cover of the half-moon battery, by which they were enabled to throw up a trench between the town and the castle. On the next day, having posted a body of men behind the parapet, he cleared the street, obtained a considerable supply of provisions, and was pursued on retiring by a party, of which the object was to prevent his retreat, and to capture the intrenchments; but the detachment, cautiously withdrawing into the garrison, exposed the enemy to a smart cannonade, which obliged them to retire with considerable loss. From that time the communication was restored, and the garrison plentifully supplied.

The chevalier exerted his new authority, by levying contributions in all parts of the kingdom; his demands were 6000 pair of shoes, 4000 targets, and 1000 tents; to furnish which, a tax of 2*s*. 6*d*. in the pound was imposed on all landlords of houses, on pain of military execution, by which he raised £15,000. He obtained £7000 for goods which he had seized at his majesty's warehouse at Leith; extorted a considerable sum of money from Mr. Erskine, a wealthy brewer, and (as his forces suspected him to be well affected to the government) destroyed his furniture, and purloined his most valuable articles of plate and family remembrance. Mr. Erskine implored the chevalier in person for relief, assuring him, that such methods would never thrive with him, adding, "The good man George takes part of my money,

but verily thou takest all, and thou may'st as well take away my life as the drop that supports it;" to which the Pretender replied, that "as Mr. Erskine was many years indebted to his father's revenue of excise, he was bound in conscience to pay the arrears." A demand being made on the city of Glasgow for £15,000, the forbearance of the chevalier was propitiated by the immediate payment of 5000 guineas. The common apology of Charles consisted in the assurance, "that in the present emergency his necessities required what he demanded, that the persons temporarily injured should obtain ample redress when the present tumult of events had subsided, and that the day of their deliverance was at hand." The ravages of the foraging parties and detached patroles were still more extensive and exhorbitant, and obliged the unfortunate villagers and cottagers to fly from place to place, for their own safety and the security of their scanty property.

The expectations of the Pretender's friends were still further elated, by the arrival at Montrose of four French vessels, with a supply of cannon, military stores, and money, accompanied by Mr. Boyer, who acted in the capacity of French ambassador, and who assured them, that a powerful diversion would be effected in their favour in the south of England, and that repeated reinforcements would also join them in Scotland, till the contest should be decided. They immediately planted a battery at Alloa, to secure the passage of the Forth, and cover the landing of their stores, while they advanced detachments towards Stirling, which were frequently harassed by the vigilance of general Blakeney, and at length completely dispersed.

Encouraged by the first appearance of success, the chevalier determined, about the end of October, to march for England by the route of Carlisle. Warrants were issued for the detention of all horses and carriages; and the army, which consisted of about 10,000 men, being reviewed on the 28th, proceeded on the 1st of November in the direction of Carlisle. On the 6th, their vanguard entered England, and on the 9th was followed by the whole army, which crossed the Eden four miles below Carlisle, and established its quarters on Brough side. In the evening, a body of their hussars, having advanced to reconnoitre the town, were obliged to retire before the cannon of the garrison; but in the morning they drew a line of circumvallation, and invested the city on all sides. Mr. Patterson, the mayor, received a letter from the chevalier, in which he required him to surrender the place; with menaces of punishment in case of his refusal, and a demand of a definitive answer within two hours. On receiving no answer, the rebels retired to Brampton, and at the earnest persuasion of the duke of Perth, who expressed his suspicions of the sincerity of the French court, and enforced the necessity of taking Carlisle as necessary to the reputation of their arms, they determined to attempt the siege. The time from the 2nd to the 13th was occupied in providing themselves with scaling ladders, fascines, and carriages; and on the last of these days at noon, they appeared for the second time before the town. Colonel Durand, in the mean time, made all the preparations requisite for a vigorous defence; and being supported by the Cumberland and Westmoreland militias, with a few invalids, declared that he thought the garrison tenable against a better enemy than the rebel host, and that he was resolved to hold out to the last extremity. Accordingly the fire from the walls was renewed with great vigour; but it being found, the next day, that the rebels had broken ground to erect a battery, the magistrates thought proper to capitulate; on which the militia dispersed to their respective abodes, and colonel Durand, having but 70 men left, and these invalids, was obliged to evacuate the fortress, having previously spiked nine pieces of cannon. The town was entered on the 15th by the duke of Perth; on the 19th the chevalier made his public entry, under a general discharge of artillery, and was received by several of the inhabitants with every demonstration of joy.

Marshal Wade, who had assembled his army near Doncaster, arrived at Newcastle on the 19th of October, from whence he proceeded, on the 6th of November, towards Carlisle, through roads rendered almost impassable by the snow. They reached Ovington on the next day, and pushed forward to Hexham, near which place there was a camp marked out, and great care taken by the inhabitants to furnish them with straw and large fires. Here marshal Wade received

intelligence of the surrender of Carlisle, and deeming it impossible to overtake the enemy, determined to retreat to Newcastle, where he returned on the 22nd.

The surrender of Carlisle diffused a general panic throughout the nation, and stimulated the ministry to the utmost possible exertion. Orders were issued for forming an army of 10,000 men, in Staffordshire, under sir John Ligonier, who had under him as lieutenant-generals, the duke of Richmond and general Sinclair.

The rebels, exhilirated by their unexpected success in obtaining the northern key of the kingdom, finding that the inclemency of the weather retarded the march of marshal Wade's army, and expecting the aid of a powerful descent from France, conceived the bold design of attempting to possess the capital of England. A garrison of 200 men being left in Carlisle, under Mr. Hamilton, their main body, consisting of about 7500 men, with sixteen field pieces, proceeded on the 20th of November to Penrith, which the Pretender entered on the next day, marching on foot, at the head of a considerable body, in the highland dress. The rebels proclaimed the Pretender in all the towns through which they marched, and levied the excise. At Manchester they beat up for recruits, and formed a regiment, the command of which was given to colonel Townley. Among other individuals, they were joined by a clergyman, named Coppack, who received from the Pretender the title of bishop of Carlisle. While they continued their march with great rapidity, the maritime towns, particularly those of Whitehaven and Liverpool, carried all their valuable effects on board the shipping lying in the harbours, in order to put to sea on their first approach. The corporation of Liverpool, sacrificing their own safety to the defence of the country, sent the regiment they had raised to join lord Cholmondeley and his men; who, apprehending that the rebels intended a descent on Wales, ordered the bridges at Warrington, Stockport, &c. on the Mersey, to be broken down; which retarded their progress, while the army of the king obtained leisure to form at Stone.

The rebels continued their route, but in so indecisive a manner, that it could not be easily determined, whether they intended to make an irruption into England or into Wales. On the 30th they advanced towards Stockport and Knutsford; near the former, the young Pretender waded the river in his highland dress, with the water up to his middle, at the head of his men. On the 1st of December his whole army rendezvoused at Macclesfield, and sent an advanced party to Ashbury, on the road to Newcastle-under-Line. On the next day they resumed their march in two columns, one of which entered Congleton, the other passed by Gawsworth.

In the mean time, the duke of Cumberland arrived at Lichfield, to take the chief command of the army assembled in that neighbourhood; which he found posted in such a manner, to observe the motions of the enemy, as did great credit to the conduct of sir John Ligonier. He ordered Kingston's horse and Bland's dragroons to advance to Newcastle, to join two battalions of foot, that were stationed there to observe the enemy; on whose approach they were to retire to Stone, and rejoin the army. Two battalions of the guards arrived by forced marches from London; and on the same day the army encamped in the neighbourhood of Stone, in order to support the advanced posts, if attacked. The detachment stationed at Newcastle was alarmed by the approach of the enemy's vanguard, and retired to Stone, where the whole army was drawn up in the night, in order to receive them. In this position they continued until the noon of the ensuing day, when advice was received, that they had turned to the left in two columns, and had taken the route of Leek and Ashbourne in their way to Derby; a movement which sufficiently indicated their intention of proceeding to London. It was resolved, therefore, to march the troops to Northampton for the purpose of intercepting them; but, on the arrival of the duke of Cumberland at Coventry, he obtained intelligence of their halting at Derby, and he therefore commanded the troops to encamp on Merridan common to observe their motions.

The tardiness of marshal Wade was one of the causes which chiefly contributed to the rapid advance of the rebels. Between the 1st and the 15th of December he had only advanced about eighty miles; a delay which prevented him, not only from impeding their progress in the direction of Derby, but from arriving in time to intercept their retreat.

The consternation of the capital was great and general. The rebels had now advanced to the centre of the kingdom, within one hundred miles of their intended destination, and were promised a powerful and immediate accession of strength from the friendship of the French king. Such indeed was the exultation of the Jacobites, and the alarm of the friends of the establishment, that had the chevalier taken advantage of the general confusion, and proceeded immediately to London, he might have encouraged his secret friends to a declaration of their sentiments, and impressed the opposite party with a sensation of fatal and universal timidity. The government took advantage of their irresolution, to adopt such measures as effectually secured the national safety. A camp was formed on Finchley common, where the royal standard was to be erected; the militia were held in constant readiness, and double guards posted at the city gates, for the purpose of securing all suspected persons; the gentlemen of the law, headed by the lord chancellor and judges, entered into a loyal association; and having waited on his majesty at Kensington, in 200 coaches, were graciously received. The same enthusiasm and spirit of association pervaded all ranks and professions, and £20,000 was raised by subscription, for furnishing the army with necessaries, to protect it against the inclemency of the season.

The chevalier received from his friends in London regular intelligence of these demonstrations of public spirit; and he therefore assembled a council of war, in which it was debated, whether the army should proceed to London, in defiance of every obstacle, or to return to Scotland, while a retreat was possible. Many of the chiefs of the clans advocated the former resolution, observing, that the capital was the first object of military enterprise, and that by approaching it, whatever might be the success of ulterior operations, they would discourage their enemies, and exhilirate the confidence of their friends; that by a retreat they would lose at once their reputation and their discipline, and what was worse, their spirits; that the calamities of war would follow them, and lay waste their country. The lowlanders and the French were anxious to return to Scotland without delay, in order to join lord Dalrymple, and with the forces assembled there to effect the recovery of Edinburgh, and by that event be enabled to wait till succours could arrive from abroad. They determined on the latter of these alternatives; and having levied the public money, and furnished their followers with shoes, during their stay at Derby, they abandoned that town on the 6th of December, and resumed their march in the direction of Ashbourne, from whence they proceeded with such rapidity, that on the 9th their advanced guard entered Manchester, where they raised contributions to the amount of £2500, and, continuing their march with great expedition, arrived on the 12th at Preston.

His royal highness, on intelligence of their retreat, set out on the 7th from the camp at Merridan, with all the horse, and 1000 volunteers, leaving sir John Ligonier to command the army in his absence. The badness of the road materially impeded his progress, so that he did not arrive at Macclesfield until the 10th. Marshal Wade, in the mean time, had arrived at Preston on the same day in which it was evacuated by the rebels. He was joined that evening by the forces of the duke, and it was determined to pursue the enemy in the morning, in order to bring them to action before they reached Scotland. Their design was interrupted, however, by an express from London, with orders to hold the army in readiness to march southward; and the rebels, taking advantage of the delay, gained a day's march on their pursuers. This order was occasioned by intelligence received from admiral Vernon, that the enemy had put to sea; but on the next day a counter-order arrived, and the army continued their pursuit. On the 18th his royal highness, at the head of several horse and dragoons, came up with their rear-guard at the village of Clifton, where they had lined the ways and hedges with a body of their best troops, while the Pretender, and the remaining part of his army, continued their retreat through Clifton. Their intention was to let the duke, with the advanced guard, pass into the ambuscade, then to surround him and carry him off, before the troops could come up to his relief. His royal highness had approached so near, before he was apprized of his danger, that his footman was taken prisoner, and he himself was indebted for his escape to the intelligence of Thomas Savage, a poor inhabitant of the village, who, addressing him with bluntness,

enabled him to defeat their intention, and to dislodge them with great precipitation. A skirmish succeeded; in which the rebels sustained a loss of about 70 prisoners, the duke taking possession of the village. Early in the morning they proceeded to Penrith, where their famine and their necessities were acceptably relieved by the food and accommodations provided for the rebels, who had hastily proceeded to Carlisle; and having reinforced the garrison to secure their retreat, passed the Eden and Solway, and in two columns entered Scotland. The duke of Cumberland soon afterwards invested Carlisle with his whole army. After an interchange of messages between the duke and the governor, in which the former declared that he could not negotiate with rebels, and that all the terms he could or would grant to the garrison of Carlisle were, that they should not be put to the sword, but reserved for his majesty's pleasure, the gates were delivered up, and general Bligh took possession of the town, with 1000 foot and 120 horse. The rebel officers were committed prisoners to the castle, and the men secured in the jail and the cathedral.

1746. The young chevalier proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whose service it had raised a regiment of 900 men, under the command of the earl of Hume. Quitting Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by a small body of forces, which had been assembled by lord Lewis Gordon and lord John Drummond, brothers to the dukes of Gordon and Perth. He now invested the castle of Stirling, commanded by general Blakeney; but general Hawley, who lay near Edinburgh with a considerable detachment of the royal army, undertook to raise the siege, and advanced towards the rebel army as far as Falkirk. After two days were passed in mutually examining each other's strength, the rebels, being impatient to engage, were led in high spirits to attack the king's army. The chevalier, who was in the front line, gave the signal to attack; and by the first fire Hawley's forces were put into confusion. The horse retreated with so much precipitation, that they fell upon their own infantry; while the rebels, pursuing the advantage they had gained, put the greater part of the royal army to an immediate flight. The latter retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the rebels in possession of their tents, baggage, and artillery

The duke of Cumberland had, in the mean time, put himself at the head of the royal forces remaining at Edinburgh, which consisted of about 14,000 men. With these he advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by several persons of distinction, attached to the family on the throne. After having refreshed his troops for some time, he renewed his march, and in twelve days arrived on the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey. The Pretender, having entered Inverness without opposition, still continued to linger in that neighbourhood. On the 16th of April, his royal highness, having given the necessary orders for the day, decamped from Nairn between four and five in the morning; and having disposed the army in three columns, covered on the flanks by the horse and dragoons, proceeded towards the enemy. After a march of eight miles, the vanguard perceived them in motion to the left. The duke immediately formed his army; but the rebels declining to advance, he continued to move forward to the distance of a mile: after a short halt, his army again proceeded with fixed bayonets; and, having passed the morass, obtained a full view of the enemy in line of battle, behind the huts and walls of Culloden house. The dispositions made by his royal highness have always been regarded, by those conversant with military subjects, as highly honourable to his military skill: for such was the nature of his arrangement, that if any one battalion failed, there were two at hand to supply its place; and if any two pieces of cannon were taken, there were three to open upon the assailants. Some time was spent, by both armies, in gaining the flank; but the royalists, still advancing, were enabled to leave behind them the morass that lay to their right; a circumstance which enabled them to extend their front, for which purpose Pulteney's foot were ordered from the rear to take post on the right, and Kingston's horse, with a squadron of light dragoons, to cover the right. Lord Bury was ordered forward to reconnoitre a wretched imitation of a battery, and was fired upon by the rebels, whose cannon did little execution, owing to the unskilfulness with which it was conducted.

The first discharge of the royal artillery threw the rebels into evident confusion; they rallied, however, and after making a furious onset again retired, closely pursued by the horse. Their attack on the left was equally unsuccessful; for the king's troops being ordered to reserve their fire till the enemy had advanced within pistol-shot, the carnage was excessive. The commanders, however, of the rebels continued to exhort their troops, and to urge them to the most desperate exertions. The regiments of Barrel and Dejean, yielding to their impetuosity, opened them a passage, and immediately closing, encircled them between the first and second line, and so bravely and vigorously attacked them with the bayonet, that their broad swords and targets proved of little service, few escaping to their main body. At the same time, the Argyleshire militia pulling down a park wall that guarded the flank of the enemy, and making way for the dragoons under Hawley, they with sword in hand attacked the rebels, of whom they made great slaughter. In less than half an hour the highlanders were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and slain to the amount of 300 men. The French picquets on their left stood inactive during the whole engagement, and afterwards surrendered prisoners of war. An entire body of the clans marched from the field in order, while the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their leaders obliged to retire.

The glory of this victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers. Not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed during the action, they now traversed the field, and massacred and robbed the wounded. Many were slain, who had approached the scene of combat, excited by curiosity. Immediately after the action, the duke commanded that thirty-six deserters should be executed; and, within a short period of time, the country around was one melancholy scene of plunder, slaughter, and desolation.

By this decisive action were blasted all the hopes of the young adventurer, who immediately fled, with a captain of Fitz-James's cavalry. When their horses were fatigued, they both alighted, and separately sought for safety. He wandered in the country for some days, a forlorn fugitive, and the wretched spectator of all those horrors, which his ambition had brought upon the adherents of his family. He was surrounded by armed troops, who kept him in continual alarm. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any support but what the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he rowed in fishing boats from isle to isle among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers, who were animated in their search by a reward of £30,000 offered for taking him, dead or alive. For some days he appeared in female attire, and passed in that disguise through the midst of his enemies. In the course of his concealment, he had occasion to trust his life to the fidelity of about fifty individuals, whose attachment to his family prevailed over their avarice.

In the mean time, he continued to wander over the frightful wilds of Glengary, for near six months, until at length a privateer of St. Maloe's, hired by his adherents, arrived at Lochnanach, and in this vessel he embarked, in the most wretched attire. His linen had not been changed for many weeks; his eyes were become hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities; with Cameron of Lochiel, Cameron's brother, and other exiles. They set sail for France; and after being chased by two English men of war, arrived in safety at Roseau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne.

While the young Pretender was thus pursued, the scaffolds and the gibbets were preparing for those of his unfortunate adherents who were made prisoners. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were hanged, drawn, and quartered, on Kennington common. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle, and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number of the common men were sent to the plantations in America.

Bills of indictment for high treason were found, by the county of Surrey, against the earls of Cromartie and Kilmarnock, who had borne a considerable share in many of the subordinate operations. They were tried by their peers in Westminster hall, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned; but the other two were beheaded on Tower hill. Kilmarnock, convinced of his errors, or flattered to the last with hopes of pardon,

declared his consciousness of his crimes, and professed his repentance; but Balmerino, undaunted even at the approach of death, gloried in the cause for which he fell. His fellow-sufferers, when commanded to exlaim, "God bless king George," performed with a faint voice the injunction; but Balmerino cried out aloud, "God bless king James." Mr. Radcliffe, brother to the late earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded in the former reign, was taken on board of ship, and the identity of his person being proved, he was sentenced upon a former conviction, and also suffered on Tower hill.

Lord Lovat had endeavoured to escape the penalties attaching to his treason, by professions of antipathy towards the conduct of his son, who had formed, at a critical moment of the contest, the siege of Fort Augustus. Lord Loudon paid him a visit, at his residence of Castle Downie, with 800 men, and requested security for the peaceable behaviour of his clan. His lordship promised that all the arms in their possession should be delivered up by the 16th, expressed his aversion to the proceedings of his son, and agreed to return with lord Loudon to Inverness, till he should fulfil his engagements. Having lulled the vigilance of the guards, by his apparent indifference to the cause of the rebels, he effected his escape; but was retaken, was impeached by the commons, found guilty, sentenced on the 18th of March to the usual punishment of treason, and was beheaded on the 9th of April 1747. on Tower hill; exhibiting at the place of execution no indication of repentance, or of despondency, at the ignominious termination of a life of dissimulation and treachery.

The rebellion being thus suppressed, the legislature directed its attention to the establishment of some regulations in Scotland, with the view of preventing the recurrence of similar commotions. The highlanders had hitherto worn the antient military dress of their ancestors, and never went without arms. They therefore regarded themselves as a body of people distinct from the rest of the nation, and were ready, upon the shortest notice, to join any insurrection of their chiefs, to whom they still regarded themselves as bound, by the feudal tenures of military service. To remove these inconveniences, they were obliged, by act of parliament, to wear clothes of the common fashion, and were prohibited the use of firearms. The hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs was at the same time abolished. The law, prohibiting the highland dress, was however repealed in the month of June 1782; an act of policy and humanity which indicated, in common with more important circumstances, the gradual progress of the nation in justness of thinking and liberality of feeling.

CHAPTER XII.

GEORGE II.

[1746 to 1756.]

Successes of the French in the Netherlands—Affairs of Italy and Holland—Siege and Capture of Bergen op Zoom—Naval Affairs—Negotiations for Peace—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—Peopling of Nova Scotia—Proceedings of Admiral Boscawen—Mr. Pelham's Financial Plans—Death of the Prince of Wales—The Marriage Act—Law for the Naturalization of the Jews—Case of Elizabeth Canning—Imbecility of the Ministers—Negotiations and Hostilities of England and France in America—Commencement of the War—Defeat of Braddock at Fort de Quesne—Attack of the French on Minorca—Extraordinary Conduct of Byng—His Trial and Execution—Change of Ministers—Continental Affairs—Struggles of the King of Prussia—The Contest in America—Capture of Oswego—The King's Speech—Unanimity of Parliament.

DURING the commotions in England which we have just recorded, the flames of war continued to rage upon the continent with unabating violence. The French arms had been repeatedly crowned with success, and the Netherlands were reduced under the Gallic dominion. The factions, which for more than a century had divided the United Provinces, were increased by these disasters. One party declared for the prince of Orange as a stadtholder; the other, opposing this election, were favourably disposed to the cause of France. If a stadtholder were elected, the constitution would be established on the basis of a limited monarchy; if the opposite party prevailed, the whole power of the state would be rested in an aristocracy, which would sacrifice the interests of the kingdom to the views of France. Of two evils, therefore, the Dutch chose the former. The people, inflamed to a degree of turbulence approaching sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange as stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United Provinces. All commerce with France was immediately prohibited, the Dutch army was augmented, and orders were issued for the immediate commencement of hostilities. The king of Sardinia, influenced by the example of the states, deserted her connection with France, to become the ally of England. Italy was subjected to all the horrors of intestine war, while strangers were contending in her bosom for the possession of her usurped dominions. The French and Spaniards on one side, and the Imperialists, with the king of Sardinia, on the other, ravaged, by turns, the beautiful territories of the finest, and once the most powerful country of the world.

AT this period, the English made an unsuccessful attempt on Port l'Orient, 1747. and the French obtained considerable victories at Roeroux in Flanders, and at La Feldt. The fruit of these victories was still wanting, and it was resolved to lay siege to Bergen op Zoom, a place deemed impregnable, less on account of its being the masterpiece of the celebrated engineer, Coehorn, than because it was continually supplied with all kinds of ammunition and necessaries by the river Scheldt, which forms an arm of the sea behind it. Of all the sieges that had ever been formed, this, in all probability, was the most difficult. The conduct of it was given to count Lowendhal, who had already conquered a portion of Dutch Brabant. This general, a native of Denmark, had been in the Russian service. He spoke nearly all the languages of Europe; he knew all its

courts, their politics, the genius of the several inhabitants, and their manner of fighting; and had at last given the preference to the French service, into which, through the friendship of marshal Saxe, he was received, in the rank of lieutenant-general. The French and the allies, the besieged and the besiegers themselves, all believed that the enterprise would fail. Every measure of precaution was taken by the allies: the garrison was reinforced; provisions of all kinds arrived by the Scheldt; the artillery was admirably served; the besieged made several sallies; attacks were made by a considerable body of troops, which protected the lines near the city, and mines were sprung in several places. A sickness among the besiegers, encamped on an unwholesome spot, seconded the resistance of the garrison. At length, after three weeks open trenches, count Lowendhal demonstrated that there are occasions, when it is necessary to go beyond the established rules of art. The breaches were not yet practicable, but there were three works slightly damaged; the ravelin of Edem, and two bastions, one of which was called the Maiden, and the other the Coehorn. The general, on the 20th of September, resolved to carry the town by an assault on these three places at once. The troops having received their orders in whispers, descended in the dead of the night, when the besieged reposed in imagined security, into the fossée, and ran to the three breaches. Twelve grenadiers made themselves masters of the fort of Edem, killing all who resisted, and making the rest throw down their arms in dismay. The Maiden and the Coehorn were assailed and carried with the same vivacity, the troops climbing up in crowds. Every thing was carried; they pushed on to the ramparts, where they formed, and entered the city with fixed bayonets. The marquis de Lujac seized on the gate leading to the harbour, the commander of that fortress surrendering at discretion. All the other forts were surrendered in the same manner. The baron de Cromstrom, who commanded in the town, fled to the lines. The prince of Hesse Philipstadt making some resistance in the streets, with two regiments, the one Scotch, and the other Swiss, they were cut to pieces. The rest of the garrison fled towards the lines for protection, and spread terror wherever they came, till the flight became general. The city was pillaged by the victorious troops. They seized, in the name of the king, seventeen large barges, laden with ammunition and refreshments. On the chests were written in large characters, "For the invincible garrison of Bergen op Zoom." The king, on receiving intelligence of this important and unexpected event, created count Lowendhal a marshal of France. The surprise and affliction of the English nation was only equalled by the consternation of the people of Holland, which was still further increased by the commencement of the siege of Maestricht.

But the successes of the French in the Netherlands were counterbalanced by several disappointments. In Italy, the brother of the marshal Belleisle, attempting to penetrate into Piedmont, at the head of 34,000 men, was defeated and slain. A fleet sent out for the recovery of Cape Breton was unsuccessful; two more were fitted out, one to make a descent on the British colonies in America, and the other to extend and secure the dominion of France in the East Indies. The latter were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine of their vessels were captured. Shortly afterwards, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, took about forty French ships, laden from St. Domingo; and this loss was followed by another defeat, in which the French lost seven ships of the line and several frigates.

Amidst this variety of events, the belligerent powers began at length to wish for the blessings of peace. The Dutch had, for some time, endeavoured to limit the continuance of a war, in which they had much to lose, and nothing to gain. The king of France, even after his victories on the continent, had expressed his desire of general tranquillity to sir John Ligonier, who had been made prisoner at the battle of La Feldt. The bad success of his fleets, and of his troops in Italy, the frequency of bankruptcies, and the election of a stadtholder in Holland, who gave spirit to the opposition, all contributed to render him weary of hostilities, and to induce him to propose an accommodation. The secret wishes of the allies tended to the same purpose; the Dutch had already sustained a loss of 35,000 men, prisoners in France; and the English ministry, consulting their own security from the attacks of opposition, and the discontent of the people, excited by the unfortunate

vicissitudes of the war, readily acquiesced in the preliminary arrangements of a final negotiation. The contending powers, therefore, agreed to assemble a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain. The treaty
1748. was concluded on the 23rd of October. It confirmed the treaties of Westphalia, Madrid, Nimeguen, Ryswick, Utrecht, Baden, and the Hague, the quadruple alliance, and the treaty of Vienna. All conquests made in all parts of the world were to be reciprocally restored; the artillery found in the conquered places to be restored, in the same condition as when taken, with a few exceptions; the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, to be ceded to Don Philip, but to return to the present possessors in case he died without issue-male, or he, or any of his descendants, should become king of Spain, or of the two Sicilies; the king of Sardinia to be maintained in possession of all his estates; the duke of Modena to be re-established in his rights; the republic of Genoa to be restored to all its possessions; the states of Italy to remain, as far as was conformable with the above arrangements, in the same relative situation as before the commencement of the war; the *assiento* treaty was confirmed; the fortifications of Dunkirk were to remain as they stood on the land side, but in other respects the antient treaties to be observed; the king of Prussia was confirmed in the possession of Silesia, and it was agreed, that the queen of Hungary should be secured in her patrimonial dominions. One article of the treaty was particularly displeasing to the English people. It was stipulated, that the king of Great Britain should send two persons of rank as hostages to France, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all other conquests which England had made during the war. This was in itself a mortifying clause: and to add to the dissatisfaction of the nation, no mention was made of searching the vessels of England in the American seas, a point on which the war was originally begun. The limits of the different colonies and possessions of the various powers in North America, were not ascertained or defined, nor did the nation receive any equivalent for those forts which were restored to the enemy. The faction of the Pelhams, who had carried on the war so ingloriously, and were on that account obnoxious to the people, being apprehensive, that if the struggle continued much longer, they would be obliged to resign the reins of administration to more fortunate hands, came to the resolution of negotiating with the enemy. They were conscious that peace, which is itself a great support to an established ministry, would enable them to make the most of their parliamentary interest, which was considerable, and to perfect that system of corruption which had been introduced at the revolution, and uniformly practised by all their predecessors; but by none more successfully than by Walpole. The sudden and unexampled apostacy, immediately after the fall of that minister, of so many clamorous demagogues, impressed the people with a persuasion, that public spirit was no more than an empty sound, and that virtue had for ever deserted the senate. This disposition of mind naturally led them to acquiesce, without open murmurs, in the measures of the ministers, who were allowed to go on from blunder to blunder in the war with Spain and France, till they arrived at the climax of imbecility in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; by which, as we have seen, they sacrificed the honour of the nation, in sending hostages to France, left the original cause of quarrel as undetermined as at its commencement, and sowed the seeds of a future war, or rather perpetuated the preceding one, by the appointment of commissaries to fix the boundaries of the English and French territories in America.

The earl of Sussex and lord Cartwright were sent as hostages to France, and soon afterwards the French evacuated their conquests in Flanders, and compelled the Pretender to retire from their territory.

On the 7th of March in the ensuing year, the lords of trade and plantations 1749.
published an advertisement for the better peopling and settling the province of Nova Scotia in North America, comprising offers of so liberal a nature, that numbers of settlers were induced to emigrate, and the capital, Halifax, was laid out. About the same time, letters were received from admiral Boscawen, dated Fort St. David's, October 17th, 1748, informing the ministry, that he had taken the port of Arria Coupan, and afterwards laid siege to Pondicherry; but had been at length

compelled to raise the siege, from the vigorous resistance of the garrison, and the inclemency of the season, and to retreat to Fort St. David's. The admiral lost before the place 757 soldiers, 43 artillery-men, and 265 seamen. In the course of the spring, intelligence almost equally disastrous was received from the same admiral, stationed in the East Indies. A hurricane came on in the night of the 12th of April, and continuing all the next day, the Namur of 74 guns, and the Pembroke of 60, were entirely lost, and every soul on board, but 38 seamen, perished. The Apollo, of 40 guns and 350 men, foundered at sea. No part of the fleet escaped the storm, and the sea shore was covered with wrecks and dead bodies.

Among the less important, but remarkable events of this period, must be numbered, the trial and reprimand of admiral Knowles for negligence, in an action with the Spanish fleet near the Havannah, in which he took the Conquestadore, and drove on shore a 74 gun vessel, which was burnt by her crew; the occurrence of several shocks of an earthquake in London and Westminster, on the 8th of February and the 8th of March; and the passing of a bill, which gave much satisfaction to the populace, for the encouragement of the white herring fishery.

1750. One of the most grievous consequences of the war had been the immense accumulation of debt, which it had been the means of entailing on the nation. To lighten this burden, Mr. Pelham, who now conducted the business of the state, proposed to have recourse to the same expedient which immediately preceded the consolidation of the various funds in the year 1719. His plan was to lessen the debt by lowering the interest, which had been promised on granting the supplies, or obliging the lenders to receive the sums originally granted. This measure, though considered as in some degree a hardship on the lender, produced the desired effect, without any inconvenience to the public credit. Other measures, equally beneficial to the public, were prosecuted with the same success. The importation of iron from America was permitted, and the commerce of Africa laid open to the nation, under the sanction of the board of trade.

1751. On Wednesday, the 20th of March, his royal highness, Frederick prince of Wales, departed this life, in the 46th year of his age, universally regretted. He left issue by his princess, then far advanced in pregnancy, five sons and three daughters; of whom prince George, afterwards George III., succeeded him as heir apparent. On the 25th of March, both houses waited on the king with addresses of condolence; and, on the 12th of April, the body of his royal highness was, with the usual pomp and ceremony, deposited in a vault of the chapel of Henry VII. On the 17th, both houses sent messages of condolence to the princess-dowager. The death of the prince, by depriving the opposition of one great source of electioneering and parliamentary influence, contributed, above all other events, to secure, for the next five years, the domestic tranquillity of the nation.

The rest of the year 1751, and the year 1752, were distinguished by few events, either domestic or foreign, worthy of being recorded. On the 11th of July in the former year, the princess-dowager of Wales was delivered of a posthumous princess, baptized by the name of Caroline Matilda. On the 14th of November, his majesty opened the session of parliament with a gracious speech, in the close of which, he exhorted both houses to consider seriously of some effectual provision to suppress the audacious crimes of robbery and violence, which had become so frequent around the capital, proceeding, in a great measure, from that profligate spirit of irreligion, idleness, gaming, and extravagance, which had of late extended itself, in an uncommon degree, to the dishonour of the nation, and the great offence and prejudice of the sober and industrious part of the people. The addresses of the two houses were echoes to the speech; and the grants amounted to nearly £4,000,000. An act was passed, for preventing thefts and robberies, by which places of public recreation, dancing, and music, were suppressed and prohibited, unless licensed by justices of the peace empowered for that purpose. An act also received the royal assent, for annexing the forfeited estates in Scotland unalienably in the crown; and for establishing a method of leasing these estates, and applying the rents and profits to the civilization and improvement of the islands, and for preventing future disorders in that part of the united kingdom.

The most important object of parliamentary

1752. attention in the succeeding session, was an act for the better prevention of clandestine marriages, and for the more public solemnization of that ceremony. The grievance complained of, and which this law was meant to redress was, that the sons and daughters of opulent families were often seduced into marriage, before they had acquired sufficient experience in life to guard against any imprudent connection. This statute, therefore, enacted, that the banns of marriage should be regularly published three successive Sundays, in the church of the parish where both parties had resided for one month at least before the ceremony. It declared, that any marriage solemnized without this previous publication, or a license obtained from the bishop's court, should be void; and that the person who solemnized it should be transported for seven years. It is impossible to contemplate one provision of this act, without indignation at its cruelty, and surprise at its absurdity. The clause by which it is declared, that a marriage contracted under the circumstances mentioned shall be void, tends to facilitate, instead of impeding the designs of the licentious and the unprincipled, on youth and inexperience. Within the last ten years, nearly a hundred instances have occurred, of venturers and profligates, who, having gratified their libidinous desires, under the sanction of an illegal marriage, have afterwards, on the authority of this act, obtained a divorce.

This session was also distinguished by another act, which excited the jealousy of the people, and was ultimately abandoned. A law, for the naturalization of the Jews, was introduced into the house of commons; the ministry affirming that such a law would greatly contribute to the benefit of the nation; that it would increase the commerce, the credit, and the wealth of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of toleration. It was observed in reply, that by this bill greater favour was shewn to the Jews than to some sects professing Christianity; that an introduction of that obnoxious people into the kingdom would degrade the character of the nation, and repress in the people that zeal for religion which was already too much abated. The bill was at first passed into a law, but excited such general and vehement dissatisfaction, that it was thought expedient to repeal it in the ensuing session.

The absence of all political discussion, and the tranquillity subsisting 1753. in all the states of Europe, gave an importance to domestic and comparatively trivial incidents, which would have been disregarded amidst the turbulence of political contention, and the vicissitudes of hostile conflict. Every class, and every rank of society, was at this time agitated by the case of one Elizabeth Canning, who deposed before a magistrate, that, on the night of new year's day, she was seized under the wall of Bedlam by two ruffians, who stripped her of her upper garments, gagged her, and attempted to murder her if she made the least noise, conveyed her to Enfield Wash, where she was robbed of her stays, and on her refusal to comply with the brutal desires of several visitors of the house, confined in a cold, damp, and unfurnished apartment. Here, according to her own account, she remained a whole month, with no other sustenance than a few stale crusts of bread, and about a gallon of water, till at length she forced her way through a window, and ran home to her mother's house, almost naked, on the night of the 29th of January. The story, improbable as it was, and totally unsupported by evidence, excited the compassion of several benevolent individuals, who raised a subscription for bringing to justice the supposed criminals. Wells, her servant-maid, Virtue Hall, and a gipsey-woman named Squires, were apprehended. Wells was acquitted of the felony, but punished as a loose woman; and Squires, though she produced evidence that she was seen at Abbotsbury, in Dorsetshire, at the time of the supposed robbery, was capitally convicted, upon the evidence of Virtue Hall, who had become evidence for Canning, but afterwards retracted all she had sworn. On the representation of the attorney-general, Squires was pardoned, and bills of perjury were found on both sides. The witnesses against Canning were acquitted; but she was found guilty of perjury, and transported to America. Such, however, was the impression produced in her favour, by her own artifice, the effrontery of Virtue Hall, and the general prejudice against the character of Squires, that her opponents were insulted by the populace; every class and description of society was agitated by the quarrel; the cause of both parties was advocated with vehemence in pamphlets and pasquinades;

and the partisans of Canning paid for her transportation in a private ship, supplied her with money to the amount of £300, and obtained her, by the warmth of their recommendations, a reception among the most respectable families of New England.

1754. The beginning of the year was rendered remarkable by a severe frost, so that the navigation of barges was impeded, and passengers crossed the river on foot above Kingston bridge. On the 31st of May, the duke of Newcastle succeeded his deceased brother, Mr. Pelham, as first lord of the treasury, and was himself succeeded, as secretary of state, by sir Thomas Robinson, afterwards lord Grantham. Mr. Legge was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and these changes were accompanied by many subordinate arrangements.

The incapacity of the English administration, and the inglorious issue of the late war, had encouraged the insolence, and given new energy to the injustice of France. As they undertook the war without spirit, they concluded it without prudence. The whole tenor of their conduct was an indication of timidity and apprehension. They discovered nothing of that firmness and perseverance which become the ministers of a great and brave nation, and of which their enemies had set them an example in the day of their distress. By their suppliant behaviour, and tame acquiescence in the proposals of France, they manifestly acknowledged her superiority, augmented her confidence, and inflamed her ambition.

A more infallible method of preventing the permanence and stability of the peace could not be invented. Our enemies imagined, not without reason, that the same ministry which crouched to them in the course of the negotiation, would be equally acquiescent if they infringed any article of the treaty. They accordingly continued hostilities in the East Indies, and made encroachments on our territories in America, believing that Britain, whom they had lately reduced so low, would not dare to retaliate. Nor is it unlikely that their belief would have been realized, had not the intrepidity of the people counteracted the indecision of the ministry. For though the enemy had, by presents and false insinuations, been constantly debauching the Indians from our interest, and spiriting them up against our colonies; though they were erecting one chain of forts from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and another along the great lakes, to cut off our planters from any trade or communication with the natives, the ministers trusted to the slowness and feebleness of negotiation, and though they always received evasive answers, and found that hostilities were continued, still imagined that they could conquer the arms of France with rolls of parchment.

Intimidated at length, however, by the clamours of the people, they sent orders to the different governors of the American provinces, to form a general association against the enemy, to endeavour to win the Indians over to our interest, and to repel force by force. But the orders were more easily given than executed. The colonies, which were chiefly peopled by dissenters, and persons who were dissatisfied with the state of civil and religious liberty in Great Britain and Ireland, entertained the utmost jealousy of each other, so that it required time and address to make them act in concert. Had not the enemy proved successful in their first operations, and rendered the common danger apparent and imminent, it is difficult to pronounce how far their opposite interests and religious prejudices might have misled them. They seemed to coincide in nothing, but in acknowledging a certain degree of dependence on the crown of Great Britain.

It was not surprising, therefore, that they should ineffectually oppose the French, who acted in concert, and under one head; or that they could not secure the Indians to their interest, when they were not only at variance with each other, but endeavoured to excite the savages against their brother-colonists. Their conduct to the natives had been so blameable, that they could not hope to succeed in recovering their friendship. They had made a practice of comprehending in their surveys the Indian hunting grounds and cornfields, without permission or compensation. They had been accustomed to sell them adulterated rum, and to decoy their children into slavery. Having built a fort on their territories, the missionaries and agents of France took advantage of the prejudice excited by these acts of injustice and cruelty, to represent the erection, as intended for the subjection of the Indians, and the hostile

possession of their country. The Indians themselves were inclined, from interested motives, to believe them. They found that the English were wealthy and divided, and that more was to be gained by taking up the hatchet against them, than from attacking the French, whom they saw acting in a compact body, animated by one soul.

To resist the encroachments of the French, a party was sent from Virginia, under major Washington, afterwards so distinguished in the annals of his country, to dislodge them from a position on the Ohio. At first he gained some trivial advantages; but on the 4th of July 900 French and 200 Indians attacked his party, consisting of only 300 men, and defeated him, with the loss of 150 killed and 70 wounded. After this disaster, the majority of the Indians either remained neuter, or joined the enemy, who had a body of 11,000 regulars, 4000 workmen, and 25,000 well-trained militia-men, ready to act on any emergency.

The views of the French, in their present line of policy, were no less obvious than dangerous. They had, in the last war, acquired an evident superiority over Great Britain on land. The object was now to cut off the resources of her maritime strength, the remaining obstacle to the prosecution of their ambitious designs. As this strength depended, at that period, chiefly on her trade to India and America, they formed the project of extirpating her colonies and factories in both those quarters of the globe, and of establishing their own marine on the ruin of the British. For these reasons they availed themselves of the inaccuracy with which, through the imperfection of geography, the limits of Nova Scotia had been ascertained in the treaty of Utrecht, to lay claim to more than was their due, and by that claim to render the remainder of little utility to England. Pretending, from the same motives, to have first discovered the mouths of the Misissippi, they asserted a right to all the adjacent country, towards New Mexico on the east, and as far as the Apalachian and Allegany mountains on the west; in consequence of which, they expelled the planters of the Ohio Company, which had obtained a charter from the British legislature, for cultivating a considerable tract of these rich and valuable lands, and built fort Du Quesne, on the arms of the river Monongahela, a situation which gave it the command of all the country contiguous to the Ohio and Misissippi.

If we discard from our estimate the right of the natives, which by both sides was regarded as nothing, it is apparent that justice was on the side of England. Both of the nations engaged in the contest had much less regard to right than to convenience. Were the French allowed to unite Canada to their settlements along the Misissippi, by the possession of the vast country which lies between them, the English colonies would, in time of peace, be deprived of all share in the Indian trade, and be, in time of war, exposed to the danger of continual inroads, or to the ruinous charge of defending a frontier of more than 1500 miles in length. If, on the contrary, the claims of France on the Ohio and Nova Scotia did not succeed, their two colonies would remain entirely disunited, the entrance into one being shut up, during the winter, by the intensity of the frost; and the entrance into the other being at all times difficult, on account of the banks and bars at the mouth of the Misissippi; circumstances which would greatly diminish their value to France, and ultimately involve the ruin of her principal settlements in the West Indies.

Both nations, being fully sensible of these truths, no longer considered the quarrels in America as worthy of little consideration; and though the two courts breathed nothing but peace, and exchanged mutual professions of friendship and regard, which deceived neither party, it was determined to terminate the negotiation by an appeal to the sword. The French silently prepared a naval armament at Brest, to convey troops and military stores to Canada. But the English government, whose superiority of strength on the watery element enabled them to equip fleets with greater expedition, obtained the start of them, and dispatched admiral Boscawen, with a considerable squadron, into the Indian seas, for the purpose of intercepting their ships of war and convoys. Fogs, which are so frequent in the latitude where he cruised, favouring the enemy's escape, prevented the full success of his expedition. Two ships of the line, however, were taken, and the question of peace or hostility at length decided, a measure so vigorous being the most explicit and effectual declaration of war.

1755. Nor were hostilities directed to ships of war exclusively. French merchantmen were brought into our harbours in great numbers. The ministry did not think it necessary to wait for a formal declaration of war before they proceeded to hostilities, which would destroy the resources of France's maritime strength, and procure the country full indemnification for what had been wrested from it in time of profound peace. It was in vain that our enemies made all Europe resound with their complaints, and endeavoured to represent these reprisals as acts of piracy. All the world perceived that they were the aggressors, and that they assumed this hypocritical moderation, because they intended to interest other courts in their favour, and because, having been counteracted in their schemes, before they were ripe for execution, they were unprepared for the prosecution of successful warfare.

The advantages which we obtained by this manœuvre yielded us ample compensation for the losses sustained in America, where, upon the whole, we considered ourselves as worsted. Four operations had been undertaken in America at the same time: of these, one was commanded by colonel Monckton, who had orders to expel the French from their encroachments on the province of Nova Scotia; the second, further to the south, was directed against Crown Point, under the command of general Johnson; the third, under the conduct of general Shirley, was destined to Niagara, to secure the forts on the river; and the fourth, which was yet further southward, against fort Du Quesne, under general Braddock. In these expeditions, Monckton captured the fort of Beausejour, which secured to Great Britain the entire possession of Nova Scotia. Johnson, though he failed in taking the fort which had been the first object of his enterprise, obtained a decisive victory over the French, under baron Dieskau, at Lake George, on the 8th of September, in which the baron was taken prisoner, and 1000 of his army killed. Shirley lost the season for operation by delay. Braddock was vigorous and active, but suffered a defeat. He was naturally proud, self-conceited, and impatient. His impatience was inflamed by the slowness of the provincials in assembling, and by seeing great part of the season for action exhausted, without an opportunity of signalizing his courage. Stimulated by these motives, he marched precipitately and incautiously against the enemy, as soon as he had surmounted the obstacles which had hitherto retarded his operations. Instead of employing the allied Indians as a scouting party to reconnoitre the woods and thickets, and to prevent the main body from falling into an ambuscade, he moved on securely with the regulars in front, and, as might have been expected, was suddenly attacked in a swamp, overgrown with bushes and high grass, by bodies of French and Indians, so judiciously posted, that though they could not be distinctly seen, they kept up a constant fire, which was the more severe and galling, because it could not be returned. The troops, being seized with a panic, fell into confusion, and notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the general and the other officers, fled in consternation. Had not the Virginians, by advancing from the rear, and by engaging the enemy, allowed them time to resume their ranks and recover their spirits, the rout would in all probability have been total, and the army destroyed. As it was, one half of the troops were cut to pieces, and their precipitate retreat exposed the Virginian frontiers to the scalping parties of the enemy, and had the most pernicious influence on our interests, by deciding the conduct of the wavering Indians. The general, after having five horses killed under him, remained on the field of battle; preferring an honourable death to an ignominious life, and atoning, in some measure, by his devotion, for having sacrificed the lives of so many brave men in vain.

Such was the state of affairs in America, the first theatre of the war, when the French, finding that the concessions of the English ministry were by no means so immediate or so extensive as they had reason to anticipate, from the feeble and timid policy of the last few years, began at length to devote the whole of their attention and resources to the prosecution of the war in Europe. 1756. Several bodies of troops moved to the coasts of Picardy, Normandy, and Britany, and threatened an invasion of Great Britain. The consternation which a few misled islanders had lately occasioned, was yet impressed on the remembrance of the nation. Through the want of a well-regulated militia, the use of arms was unknown to the generality of the

people; and that martial spirit, which formerly rendered them the terror of France, was consequently extinct. As there was not in the kingdom a body of regulars, upon whom alone they relied for protection, an universal panic was diffused through the nation; nor could it be removed by the consideration of our superior fleet, because we might, as has frequently happened, be deprived of its assistance by unfavourable winds and tides. So that the ministry, who were not free from the general contagion of fear, could think of no better expedient, for quieting the general apprehension, than calling to our assistance a body of hired Hanoverians and Hessians, imitating, in this respect, the example of the antient Britons, who lost their liberty by employing auxiliary Germans, against their invaders, the Picts and Scots.

While the kingdom shamefully trembled at this alarm, too notorious to be concealed, too fatal in its consequences to be forgotten, the French equipped, at Toulon, with the utmost expedition, a fleet of twelve men of war, which convoyed an army of eleven thousand men, under the command of Richlieu, to the island of Minorca. The British ministry obtained early intelligence of this design; but such apprehension, distraction, and irresolution prevailed in their councils, and so absurdly arranged was the disposition of our navy, that admiral Byng, with a squadron of ships inferior to that of the enemy in number and quality, did not make his appearance off Minorca till a month after trenches had been opened before St. Philip's fort.

About six o'clock in the evening of the 19th of May, the enemy, to the number of seventeen sail, was descried by admiral Byng, advancing in order of battle. The evening was spent, by both fleets, in contending for the advantage of the weather-gauge. At day-light on the 20th, the French fleet could not be descried; but soon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on both sides; and about two, admiral Byng made the signal to engage. Rear-admiral West, an officer of approved ability and resolution, bore down with his division upon the enemy, and attacked them with such impetuosity, that the ships opposed to him were driven out of the line. Instead of supporting the rear-admiral, Byng, either from a desire to preserve the line, or from an inexcusable timidity, kept at the greatest distance, and made little use of his artillery. The French admiral discovered the same disinclination to continue the engagement; he edged away with an easy sail, while Byng made a demonstration of giving chace. The French laid claim to the victory, and the retreat of the English admiral was productive of all the consequences of a defeat. Under pretext of providing for the safety of Gibralter, he repaired thither with the utmost expedition.

The garrison of St. Philip's, thus shamefully abandoned to the enemy, instead of giving themselves up to despair, resolved to behave with spirit, and to defend the place to the last extremity. From the 20th of May to the 27th of June, they sustained and retorted the enemy's fire with the most undaunted resolution. At length, the works being in many places demolished, the guns dismounted, the garrison exhausted by hard duty and incessant watching, and little probability remaining of relief, a capitulation was demanded, and granted on honourable terms. The fortress was accordingly delivered up to the French on the 28th of June.

Minorca, thus dismembered from the British empire, was the object of universal regret. Its importance was sensibly felt, and its loss sincerely lamented. The fears of an imaginary invasion gave way to indignation and resentment against the ministry and the delinquent admiral. Addresses were presented to the throne, petitioning in the strongest terms for a change of men and measures; and the people, rendered gloomy and distrustful, and irritated by misfortunes, already imagined themselves on the brink of ruin. The first fury of their resentment was directed against the unfortunate Byng. The ministry used every endeavour to foment this animosity, and to avert the danger which threatened themselves. They aggravated his misconduct, exposed his folly, and expatiated on his cowardice. The public prints abounded with the most virulent invectives against him, and mobs were hired to hang and burn him in effigy in various parts of the capital. He was superseded in command, and sent home under an arrest. On the 28th of December, he was brought before a court-martial, and after a long trial was condemned as falling under part of the twelfth article of war. The severity of this article, which inflicts the punishment

of death on every person in the fleet, who, through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall, in time of action, keep back from the enemy, and violate his duty, induced the judges to recommend him as a proper object of his majesty's mercy. The distinguished merit and services of his ancestors, the recommendation of his judges, and the testimony of the French general, who had been a spectator of the whole engagement, proved insufficient to save him, his death being represented to the king as the only means of pacifying the populace. Thus devoted, he prepared to meet his fate with steadiness and resolution. He was shot at Portsmouth, on the 14th of March in the ensuing year. The firm, composed, and undaunted manner in which he died, confuted every imputation on his personal courage. Immediately before his death, he delivered a paper to the marshal of the admiralty, in which he declared his innocence, and that he considered himself as a victim, destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from their proper objects. While the judicious part of the nation lamented the misfortunes, they could not but condemn the backwardness of the unhappy admiral. They were at a loss to discover in his conduct any offence worthy of death; and whatever idea they entertained of the cruelty and injustice of the minister, it was still the subject of regret and astonishment, that they were not contented with a mode of punishment less ignominious and severe.

Such was the state of the kingdom at this crisis, that it was found absolutely necessary to sacrifice the private partialities of the court to the wishes of the people, and to commit the administration to men, whose character for patriotism and ability had obtained them the confidence of the public. The duke of Devonshire was placed at the head of the treasury, and lord Temple succeeded lord Anson in the admiralty. Mr. Legge was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Pitt succeeded Mr. Fox as secretary of state. The seals were committed to the judges Willes, Smythe, and Wilmot.

While the people of England were regretting the last and unfortunate campaign, and execrating the individuals to whom they ascribed their losses and disappointments, the flames of discord and dissention, which had already been lighting up in the New World, began to burst forth among the principal powers of Europe. To form a just opinion of the present situation and interests of the states of Europe, it will be necessary to retrace concisely the steps we have already trod, and to recal the attention of our readers to negotiations and events which we have already recorded.

The rich and fertile province of Silesia had been wrested from Austria by the king of Prussia, and solemnly confirmed to him by two different treaties. This very important conquest, reluctantly surrendered, had excited an antipathy between the empress-queen and that monarch, and the former only waited for a favourable opportunity, to attempt its recovery.

Russia was allied to Austria by antient treaties, by their united wars against the Turks, and by the reciprocal affection of their native sovereigns. There existed, between the czarina and the king of Prussia, several personal subjects of complaint, and every means had been employed to injure that monarch's affairs in the north. They succeeded so far as to render Russia his implacable enemy, and ready to participate in any designs that might contribute to his ruin.

Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, independent of his close connection with Austria and Russia, to the latter of whom he owed his crown, was anxious to obtain an opportunity of renewing his demands on the king of Prussia, for an indemnification of the depredations committed by him in Saxony, in 1741. But the dominions of this monarch were in no condition to support a war, with so formidable a monarch as the king of Prussia. Poland was destitute of troops, resources, and fortifications, exposed to every incursion, and considerable only by her extent and fertility, Saxony was in the same defenceless situation; her army mouldering away, and her coffers empty.

As the views of these powers were exactly similar, they entered into a treaty apparently inoffensive; but several private articles were added inimical to his Prussian majesty; and it was particularly stipulated, that in case he should attack either of their territories, they should mutually furnish an army of 60,000 men, to re-invest the empress-queen in the duchy of Silesia.

The monarch, against whom these three powers were united, was at once the dread and the admiration of Europe. The house of Brandenburgh, from the most humble situation, had risen imperceptibly, in the course of a century, to a considerable degree of influence and power. The late king was extravagantly attached to a numerous army, and had converted a great part of his subjects into soldiers. Though barbarous in manners, cruel and turbulent in disposition, and despotic in his power, by singular good fortune, he had no opportunity of diminishing that army he had been so careful in collecting. He delighted in review and bloodless skirmishes, and trained one of the most numerous armies in Europe to the most perfect discipline. At his death, he delivered this powerful palladium to his son Frederic III., whom he had always treated with rigour and inhumanity, and accompanied the gift by a sum in the treasury adequate to the support of so numerous a force. From the moment the young monarch ascended the throne, it became obvious that there was an end to that inactivity which had characterized the former reign. The extent of his views, and the variety of his talents, were soon conspicuous in his actions. The boldness of his enterprises could only be equalled by the impenetrable secrecy observed in their execution. To the most lively imagination, and a fortitude scarcely to be paralleled, were added the strongest propensity for an active life, and a constitution capable of supporting its fatigues. He invented a new method of disciplining armies, and of giving battle. By the rapidity of his evolutions, and the celerity of his marches, he totally changed the modes of warfare. He saw the storm which was gathering around him, and determined to meet it. He had studied the character of the courts and the generals to whom he was opposed; and reposed, with a confidence justified by the event, on his own superiority.

I have already noticed the commencement of a treaty, between his Britannic majesty and the czarina of Russia. The king of Prussia had been, for some time, secretly discontented with the court of Versailles; but they continued, in appearance, so closely connected, as to excite suspicion that France had cajoled him into a participation of her views. To obviate the effects of such an alliance, the treaty with Russia was projected. It stipulated, that her Russian majesty should furnish a body of troops to the number of 55,000 men, and 50 gallies with the necessary crews, to be employed in the service of Britain, whenever required. No sooner was this treaty made public, than his Prussian majesty, perceiving at once the motives which had induced Russia to accede to it, declared, in the strongest manner, that he would oppose to the utmost the introduction of all foreign troops into the empire. This declaration, while it put an end to the treaty with Russia, evinced that the views of their Britannic and Prussian majesties were the same. The former was apprehensive of the French, the latter of the Russians. The king of England, who was particularly attached to his Hanoverian dominions, beheld them not only exposed to the resentment of France, but to that of Prussia, either of whom was sufficient to ravage his electorate, while the Russian subsidiaries were at too great a distance to afford him relief. An alliance with the court of London would relieve the king of Prussia, on the contrary, from the attacks of the Russians, and afford him an opportunity of attacking Austria, of whose designs he had been long suspicious. With regard to the views of the French court he entertained little apprehension, concluding that, from its long and hereditary hatred to Austria, it would always continue stedfast to the Prussian interests. A treaty was therefore signed at London, by which his Prussian majesty obtained from Great Britain a subsidy of £750,000, and the two sovereigns agreed not to make peace without the consent of each other. The queen of Hungary, finding that, by the late treaty, all her hopes of Russian assistance were frustrated, and inflamed with resentment, made proffers of negotiation to France, her most dangerous and most antient enemy; and to procure the friendship of that court, gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had for ages been securing against that power, with its blood and treasure. By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political system of Europe acquired a new aspect, and the treaties of a century were rendered ineffectual. The treaty between France and Austria was no sooner ratified than Russia was invited to accede, and the czarina, regardless of her subsidies from

England, warmly embraced the proposal. Sweden was seduced, by the intrigues of the French, to join the confederacy; and a war was commenced, between that nation and Prussia, contrary to the inclination of both monarchs.

The United Provinces, confirmed in their taste for peace by their fear of the expences of war, were unwilling to lose the advantages of a neutrality, which would throw the greatest part of their conquests into the hands of their subjects. Spain had equally neglected her finances and her forces. Her settlements abroad, and her dominions at home, were in the same defenceless situation, and the court was equally destitute of ambition and of policy. The monarch resigned himself to amusements inconsistent with his rank, and paid no attention whatever to public affairs.

The menaces of his enemies only rendered the Prussian monarch more eager to take the field. He marched, therefore, with a numerous army into Saxony, proposing to penetrate through that country into Bohemia. His declarations of friendship to the king of Poland were specious; but that monarch chose rather to rely on the valour and attachment of his troops, whom he assembled in a strong camp between Pirna and Konigstein, which was entrenched, provided with a numerous train of artillery, and deemed impregnable. Frederic, offended at this proceeding, demanded, as a proof of his neutrality, that the king of Poland should disembody his troops immediately. On the refusal of this demand, he instantly surrounded the Saxon army, intercepted their convoys of provision, and cut them off from all communication with the adjacent country. In the mean time, a great proportion of his army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of field-marshal Keith, and encamped within a small distance of the Bohemian army, consisting of 50,000 men.

Frederic, with his wonted celerity, repaired to Bohemia, assumed in person the command of M. Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy. The Austrian general had taken possession of Lowoschutz, with a numerous body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in the front of the town; he had formed his cavalry chequerwise, and posted 2000 croats and pandars in the vineyards on his right. The Prussian monarch occupied with six battalions a hollow way, and some rising grounds which commanded the town. Early in the morning of 1st of October, the Prussian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's horse; they were twice driven back, with very considerable loss. The Prussian infantry then advanced to attack the village of Lowoschutz in flank, but met with so warm a reception, that in all probability they would have been repulsed, had not marshal Keith headed them in person. Drawing his sword, he told them, "that he would lead them on to victory." But being informed that their powder and shot were exhausted, he exclaimed, with admirable presence of mind, "that he was happy their ammunition was expended, as he was confident the enemy could not withstand them at the point of the bayonet." So saying, he advanced at their head, drove the Austrians from Lowoschutz, and set the suburbs on fire. The loss was nearly equal on both sides, and both parties claimed the victory; but the consequences adjudged it to the king of Prussia, as the Austrian general was cut off from all hopes of relieving the Saxon army, which was the principal object of the battle.

By the battle of Lowoschutz, his Prussian majesty became absolute master of Saxony. Being informed that the original papers, relating to the confederacy which had been formed against him, were deposited in the archives of Dresden, he demanded the keys from the queen of Poland, who still remained in that place, and acted with a dignity becoming her birth. Upon her refusal, he ordered the doors to be forced, though not without some imputation on his politeness, as the queen of Poland opposed in person the officer who executed the order. Having obtained possession of these originals, he immediately published them, as the best justification of his proceedings in Saxony, and his invasion of Bohemia.

During these transactions at Dresden, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had made himself master of Leipsic. The Prussian monarch, having rejoined his forces before Pirna, his Saxon enemies were reduced to the necesity of perishing by famine, or of attempting to cut their passage through the Prussian detachments that surrounded them, and forming a junction with the Austrians.

Marshal Brown advanced to Altendorf to facilitate their design, and they effected the passage of the Elbe; but not being sufficiently acquainted with their ground, they were soon entangled in the broken roads and narrow ravines which they had to pass, and reduced to such extreme distress, that they were obliged to surrender at discretion. The king of Poland thus suffered the mortification of seeing his whole army, consisting of 17,000 men, lay down their arms. In this deplorable condition, he sent a letter from the fortress of Koningstein, petitioning a safe passage for himself and his two sons to retire into Poland.

The affairs of America had been hitherto distinguished by the same gloomy aspect with those of Great Britain. Major-general Abercrombie arrived at New York on the 25th of June, and took upon him the command of the troops there assembled, till such time as the earl of Loudon, who had already distinguished himself in the service of his country, should arrive as commander-in-chief. A body of the enemy had formed an ambuscade, to intercept any reinforcements or provisions that might be sent to relieve the garrison of Oswego, which had hitherto been shamefully neglected. A considerable convoy of stores and provisions were, however, safely conducted thither by colonel Bradstreet. Returning with his detachment down the river Onondaga, he was saluted with a general charge of musquetry, from a party of Indians secreted among the bushes, which killed a considerable number of his men. The colonel expected, and was prepared for such an attack. He immediately landed his men, and taking possession of a small island, drove the Indians from their lurking places. Proceeding up the river, he attacked and defeated two different parties of the enemy, with great slaughter, and returned to Albany without further molestation. Intelligence being received from the prisoners that the French were preparing to besiege Oswego, a regiment of regulars, under the command of major-general Webb, was detached to its relief, but proved too late to afford any assistance.

The fort of Oswego was situated on the south side of Lake Ontario, at the mouth of the river Onondaga. On the opposite side was another fort called Ontario. Both of these had been erected in a hasty and injudicious manner, and were incapable of resisting a regular approach. The garrison consisted of about 1400 men, most of them newly-raised and inexperienced, and were commanded by lieutenant-colonel Mercer, an officer of acknowledged talent and courage. The attack of the place was formed by M. Montcalm, an officer remarkable for his vigilance and enterprising spirit, with upwards of 2000 men under his command. The fort of Ontario being deserted in a short time, was taken possession of by the enemy; after which they kept up an unceasing fire upon the English from its batteries. Colonel Mercer being killed, and the garrison in the greatest confusion, they were obliged to capitulate, and surrender prisoners of war. Both forts were immediately demolished. Several cruelties were committed by the Indians on the English prisoners, which the English commander did not use the requisite endeavours to prevent. In violation of the articles of capitulation and of humanity, he not only suffered the British officers and soldiers to be insulted, robbed, and massacred by the Indians, but gave up 20 of the garrison, as an atonement to these barbarians for the same number of their countrymen, who had been killed in the siege. They were put to death with the most excruciating torments.

The earl of Loudon, who had been unaccountably detained in England, did not arrive in Albany till the 29th of May. No determinate plan of operations had been arranged; the season was suffered to pass away, and the capture of Oswego by the enemy had dispirited the colonies, and prevented the adoption of any spirited enterprise. His lordship, however, did all that remained in his power to remedy the negligence of his predecessors in command. Every preparation was made for an early campaign in the spring. He secured the frontiers, reinforced the garrisons, and endeavoured to remove that spirit of disaffection and inactivity, which had been disseminated among the different provinces.

To counteract the depression of the public mind, occasioned by a succession of disastrous events, was the first object of the new ministers, and to do this, it was necessary to display a confidence in themselves. On the meeting of parliament in December, his majesty addressed the two houses in animated language, expressing his assurance, that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and

affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the antient enemy of Great Britain. He declared that the succour and preservation of America constituted a principal object of his solicitude and attention; and observed, that the growing dangers to which the British colonies might stand exposed, from recent losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigour and dispatch. He said, that an adequate and firm defence at home should occupy the chief place in his thoughts; that, with a view to that object, he had nothing so much at heart as to remove all ground of dissatisfaction from the minds of his people, and for that end he recommended to the care and diligence of the parliament, the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with an equal regard to the just rights of his crown and of his people. After adverting to the danger which threatened the protestant interest in Germany, from the combination formed against it, he told them, that he had ordered his electoral troops to be withdrawn, relying with pleasure on the zeal and spirit of his people for the defence of his person and realm. Every part of this speech was acceptable to the nation, but the last declaration was received with peculiar satisfaction. To provide against the unfounded dread of an invasion, a body of 12,000 Hessians and Hannoverians, were commanded over, and encamped in different parts of the kingdom. This measure contributed to exasperate the resentment, and foment the turbulence of the people. They reprehended the minister for a measure so pusillanimous and disgraceful; it was asserted in the houses of parliament, and echoed by the people, that by such a proceeding the liberties of the country were endangered, and that the employment of foreign troops evidently implied, that the nation was incapable of defending herself, and must confide her safety to mercenary auxiliaries. The general impression was so warm and uncontrolable, that the populace were exasperated to insult and maltreat the inoffensive Germans. The return of these troops, therefore, to their native country was hailed with sincere and universal gratulations, and contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the popularity of the ministers, and the consequent success of those measures which required the support and sympathy of the whole community.

THE most liberal supplies were immediately granted for carrying on the war. Fifty thousand seamen and marines, and 40,000 men, were voted for the land service. Grants of £8,350,000 were made for the expences of government. These votes, however, did not pass without some animadversion. When it was stated, that a great part of the troops were intended to form an army of observation, for the defence of Hanover, and that a great part of the supplies were demanded to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the king of Prussia, it could not but occur, even to the friends of the ministers, that they had formerly opposed with intrepidity the system of politics now adopted, by which Great Britain, sacrificing the advantages of her insular situation, had been seduced, by her connection with Hanover, to become a principal in the wars of the continent. They expatiated on the enormous amount of the debt, which had been already incurred by supporting this interference. These arguments, whatever may be their force, (and as applied to the connexon of Hanover with England they cannot easily be refuted,) were overpowered by the evident demands of the crisis, and the necessity of counteracting the ambition, and repelling the violence of France. The address was expressed in language the most gratifying to the king, and the supplies were granted with readiness and liberality.

CHAPTER XIII.

GEORGE II.

[1756.]

War in India—Classes of Indian Society—Expedition against the Pirate Angria—Destruction of his Capital—Capture of Calcutta—Horrible Scene of Human Misery in the Black Hole—Changes of Administration—Situation and Exploits of the King of Prussia—Blockade of Prague—Retreat of the Duke of Cumberland—Victory of Rosbach—Treaty of Closter-Steven—Inhumanity of the King of Prussia.

1756. HOSTILITIES had been carried on in the East Indies, for some years, before the courts of Great Britain and France had come to an open rupture. By espousing the quarrels of the princes and nabobs of that country, a pretence was found for perpetual acts of warfare between the two nations. Soon after the death of Aurengzebe, who was the last monarch of distinguished abilities, an universal degeneracy pervaded the empire of Indostan, and those provinces which were most distant from the seat of government, asserted their independence of his successor; or were only in nominal subservience to his authority, which they acknowledged, because it gave a sanction to their own power. The inhabitants of the extensive and fertile country lying on both sides of the Ganges, and extending from that river to the Indus on the west, and to Cape Comorin on the south, are of two distinct descriptions: the Hindoos or Gentoos, who are the Aborigines of Indostan; and the Musselmen or Mahometans, who are descended from those Arabs, Persians, and Tartars, who have at different times invaded India, and gradually extended their conquests through the whole of the peninsula. The Hindoos, a mild and industrious people, are employed under Zimændars, or land-holders, either in manufactures, or in the labours of husbandry. The Zimændars are themselves dependent on their Musselmen-lords; and all the offices of state, the lucrative employments, and the judicial and military appointments are in the hands of the Mahometans. Such are the circumstances of those Hindoos who inhabit the districts conquered by the Musselmen. But there are also others, who, having never been subdued, are still subject to their own rajahs and hereditary kings, whom I have just described, as only acknowledging a nominal superiority, by the payment of tribute or some act of fealty. In these circumstances Thamis Khouli Khan, or Nadir Shah, king of Persia, found the inhabitants of Indostan, when he invaded the empire in 1738, at the invitation of Nizam al Moulouk, grand vizier and subah of the Decan. That conqueror, after he had reduced to subjection the pusillanimous emperor Mehemet, and had laid the empire under enormous contributions, compelled the Mogul to enter into a treaty with him, by which it was stipulated, that the functions of grand vizier, and those of subah, originally an officer invested with the authority of viceroy, or vicar-general in a certain division of the empire, should be rendered hereditary in the families of the present possessors; and the ambitious Nizam al Moulouk was confirmed in the subahship of the Decan, which constituted a third part of the Mogul empire.

SUBORDINATE to the dignity of subah was the office of the nabobs; who, by the constitution of the empire, were governors of provinces, nominated by the emperor, and confirmed by the Mogul. Of those in the Decan, the chief was the nabobship of Arcot, or the Carnatic, extending along the Coromandel coast, from Cape Comorin to the

river Kistna, and comprising the territories of the rajah of Tanjore, and the states of Madura and Mazara, which were tributary to the nabob.

The nabob of Arcot, having been deposed by the Mogul, and another appointed in his room, had recourse to the French, who on certain conditions engaged to reinstate him in his government. With their assistance he attacked, defeated, and slew his competitor, resumed the government of Arcot, and punctually performed the conditions which had been stipulated with his French allies.

Mahommed Ali Khan, the son of the deceased nabob, solicited the aid of the English, who assisted him with men, money, and ammunition. Under the pretence of acting as auxiliaries to these princes, the English and French East India Company endeavoured to obtain the expulsion of each other from the peninsula. Victory, however, for the most part, declared in favour of the English, Mahommed Ali Khan was placed on the throne of his father, and the French, reduced by repeated defeats, were obliged to act on the defensive. A mutual agreement was at last entered into by both companies; by which it was stipulated, that they should reciprocally restore the territories taken by each since the year 1748, and that for the future neither should interfere in the differences between the princes of the country. In this war, the extraordinary talents of Mr. Clive, who had formerly served in a civil station, were for the first time displayed. The tranquillity produced by this treaty was but of short duration. The restless ambition of the French could not brook the superiority which the English maintained in India. Insidious intrigue was employed in the place of open hostility. They endeavoured to foment animosities among the nabobs who favoured the English, or were under their protection, and again assisted their enemies with troops to oppose them.

In consequence of an application from the English East India Company, government had dispatched a small fleet under the commands of rear-admirals Watson and Pocock, to support their pretensions, and to protect their commerce. On the arrival of this squadron at Fort St. David's, it was judged adviseable that they should proceed to the attack of Angria, a piratical prince in the neighbourhood of Bombay, who was formidable to all the European powers, and had particularly distressed and annoyed the English, from his vicinity to their settlements. This piratical state had existed longer than a century. Its founder was Kouna Ji Angria. He took possession of the small island of Severndroog, and for some time continued his attacks on Indian vessels trading along that coast. Grown bolder by success, he attacked without distinction the ships of all nations. Under his successors this little nest of robbers flourished and increased, and it became the mutual interest of the European powers, however divided in their views, to extirpate this lawless and universal invader. The Portuguese joined the English in 1722, and attempted to destroy the place of their resort; but their expedition proved disgraceful and abortive: and a similar enterprise, undertaken by the Dutch in 1724, was equally unfortunate. At length the Marattahs, a fierce and rapacious people, upon Angria's refusing to pay the customary tribute, agreed to attack the common enemy by land, while the English attacked them by sea. Admiral Watson, accompanied by colonel Clive, who commanded the land forces, sailed from Bombay on the 7th of February, and on the 12th anchored off the harbour and fort of Geriah, the principal residence of Angria. The chief had quitted the place; but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law, who, on being summoned to surrender, by a message from the admiral, replied, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. Upon this, about five in the afternoon, the whole English fleet sailed into the harbour, and in a few minutes silenced the enemy's batteries. Angria's fleet was set on fire by the bursting of a shell, and soon after the magazine of the fort blew up. At five in the morning the place surrendered, and was taken possession of by the English, who found a great number of cannon, a large quantity of ammunition, and money, and effects, to the value of £130,000. Among the prisoners were Angria's wife, children, and mother, whom the admiral treated with becoming humanity.

Soon after the admiral's return from this enterprise, an event occurred, which clouded for a time the prospects of the company, and excited one general feeling of alarm and

indignation. A custom had for some time prevailed in these countries, which was productive of the most pernicious consequences. The governors of all the European provinces had assumed the right of granting an asylum to such of the natives of the country as were afraid of oppression or of punishment; obtaining for these acts of protection very considerable bribes. One of the chief officers of Bengal had taken refuge at Calcutta, in order to escape the penalties of his crime. Surajah Doulah, the subah of Bengal, was greatly incensed at this proceeding; and being likewise irritated by the inattention paid to his claims of certain duties, he levied a numerous army, marched to Calcutta, and invested the place, which was then destitute of defence. The governor, under the pretence of being a quaker, took refuge on board a ship in the river, accompanied by the ladies and counsellors, with their most valuable effects, and the books of the company. Mr. Holwell, the second in command, declared that he would stay and defend the place to the last extremity, though 100 soldiers of the garrison had accompanied the party that fled on board. With the assistance of a few gallant officers, he defended the fort for three days with uncommon courage and resolution. At last, overpowered by numbers, deserted by his soldiers, and the enemy having forced their way into the castle, he was obliged to submit; the subah promising, on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him or to his garrison.

A SCENE now occurred, unparalleled in the annals of inhumanity, and to which no language can do justice.

AT five the nabob entered the fort, accompanied by his general Meer Jaffier, and most of the principal officers of his army. He immediately ordered Omichund and Kissendass to be brought before him, and received them with civility; and having bid some officers go and take possession of the company's treasury, he proceeded to the principal apartment of the factory, where he sat in state, and received the compliments of his court and attendants, in magnificent expressions of his prowess and good fortune. Soon after he sent for Mr. Holwell, to whom he expressed much resentment at the presumption of the English in daring to defend the fort, and much dissatisfaction at the smallness of the sum found in the treasury, which did not exceed fifty thousand rupees. Mr. Holwell had two other conferences with him on this subject, before seven o'clock, when the nabob dismissed him with repeated assurances, on the word of a soldier, that he should suffer no harm.

Mr. Holwell, returning to his unfortunate companions, found them assembled, and surrounded with a strong guard. Several buildings on the north and south sides of the fort were already in flames, which approached with so thick a smoke on either hand, that the prisoners imagined their enemies had caused this conflagration, in order to suffocate them between the two fires. On each side of the eastern gate of the fort extended a range of chambers, adjoining to the curtain; and before the chambers a varanda, or open gallery: it was of arched masonry, and intended to shelter the soldiers from the sun and rain, but, being low, almost totally obstructed the chambers behind from the light and air; and whilst some of the guard were looking into other parts of the factory, for proper places to confine the prisoners during the night, the rest ordered them to assemble in ranks under the varanda, on the right hand of the gateway, where they remained for some time, with so little suspicion of their impending fate, that they laughed among themselves at the seeming oddity of this disposition, and amused themselves with conjecturing what they should next be ordered to do. About eight o'clock, those who had been sent to examine the rooms reported, that they found none fit for the purpose. On which the principal officer commanded the prisoners to go into one of the rooms which stood behind them, along the varanda. It was the common dungeon of the garrison, who used to call it *the black hole*. Many of the prisoners, knowing the place, began to expostulate; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated; on which the prisoners obeyed. But before all were within, the room was so thronged that the last entered with difficulty. The guard immediately closed and locked the door; confining one hundred and forty-six persons in a room not twenty feet square, with only two small windows, and these obstructed by the varanda.

IT was the hottest season of the year, and the night uncommonly sultry even at this

season. The excessive pressure of their bodies against one another, and the intolerable heat which prevailed as soon as the door was shut, convinced the prisoners that it was impossible to live through the night in this horrible confinement; and violent attempts were immediately made to force the door; but without effect, for it opened inward: on which many began to give a loose to rage. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, exhorted them to remain composed both in body and mind, as the only means of surviving the night, and his remonstrances produced a short interval of quiet; during which he applied to an old jemautdar, who bore some marks of humanity in his countenance, promising to give him a thousand rupees in the morning, if he would separate the prisoners into two chambers. The old man went to try, but returning in a few minutes, said it was impossible.—Mr. Holwell offered him a larger sum; on which he retired once more, and returned with the fatal sentence, that no relief could be expected, because the nabob was asleep, and no one dared to wake him.

In the mean time, every minute had increased their sufferings. The first effect of their confinement was a profuse and continued sweat, which soon produced intolerable thirst, succeeded by excruciating pains in the breast, with difficulty of breathing little short of suffocation. Various means were tried to obtain more room and air. Every one stripped off his clothes; every hat was put in motion; and these methods affording no relief, it was proposed that they should all sit down on their hams at the same time, and after remaining a short time in this posture, rise all together. This fatal expedient was thrice repeated before they had been confined an hour; and every time, several, unable to rear themselves up again, fell, and were trampled to death by their companions. Attempts were again made to force the door, which, failing as before, redoubled their rage: but their thirst increasing, nothing but water! water! became soon after the general cry. The good jemautdar immediately ordered some skins of water to be brought to the windows; but, instead of relief, his benevolence became a more dreadful cause of destruction; for the sight of the water threw every one into such excessive agitation and ravings, that, unable to resist this violent impulse of nature, none could wait to be regularly served, but each, with the utmost ferocity, battled against those who were likely to get it before him; and in these conflicts many were either pressed to death with the efforts of others, or suffocated by their own. This scene, instead of producing compassion in the guard without, only excited their mirth: and they held up lights to the bars, in order to have the diabolical satisfaction of seeing the deplorable contentions of the sufferers within; who, finding it impossible to get any water whilst it was thus furiously disputed, at length suffered those who were nearest to the windows to convey it in their hats to those behind them. It proved no relief either to their thirst or their sufferings; for the fever increased every moment with the increasing depravity of the air in the dungeon, which had been so often respired, and was saturated with the hot and deleterious effluvia of putrifying bodies, of which the stench was little less than mortal. Before midnight, all who were alive, and had not partaken of the air at the windows, were either in a lethargic stupefaction, or raving with delirium.—Every kind of invective and abuse was uttered, in hopes of provoking the guard to put an end to their miseries, by firing into the dungeon; and whilst some were blaspheming their Creator with the frantic execrations of torment in despair, Heaven was implored by others with wild and incoherent prayers; until the weaker, exhausted by these agitations, at length lay down quietly, and expired on the bodies of their dead or agonizing friends. Those who still survived, in the inward part of the dungeon, finding that the water had afforded them no relief, made a last effort to obtain air, by endeavouring to scramble over the heads of those who had stood between them and the windows, where the utmost strength of every one was employed for two hours, either in maintaining his own ground, or endeavouring to get that of which others were in possession. All regards of compassion and affection were lost, and no one would recede or give way for the relief of another. Faintness sometimes gave short pauses of quiet; but the first motion of any one renewed the struggle through all, under which, ever and anon some one sunk to rise no more. At two o'clock, not more than fifty remained alive. But even this number

were too many to partake of the saving air, the contest for which, and life, continued until the morn, long implored, began to break; and, with the hope of relief, gave the few survivors a view of the dead. The survivors then at the window, finding that their intreaties could not prevail on the guard to open the door, it occurred to Mr. Cook, the secretary of the council, that Mr. Holwell, if alive, might have more influence to obtain their relief; and two of the company undertaking the search, discovered him, having still some signs of life; but when they brought him towards the window, every one refused to quit his place, excepting captain Mills, who, with rare generosity, offered to resign his; on which the rest likewise agreed to make room. He had scarcely begun to recover his senses, before an officer, sent by the nabob, came and enquired if the English chief survived; and soon after the same man returned with an order to open the prison. The dead were so thronged, and the survivors had so little strength remaining, that they were employed near half an hour in removing the bodies which lay against the door, before they could clear a passage to go out one at a time; when, of one hundred and forty-six who went in, no more than twenty-three came out alive, the ghastliest forms that ever were seen. The nabob's troops beheld them, and the havock of death from which they had escaped, with indifference; but did not prevent them from removing to a distance, and were immediately obliged, by the intolerable stench, to clear the dungeon, whilst others dug a ditch on the outside of the fort, into which all the dead bodies were promiscuously thrown.

The deliverance of the few who remained alive, was neither owing to compassion nor to regret. The subah had been informed, that there was a considerable treasure secreted in the fort, and that Mr. Holwell knew where it was deposited. It was in vain that he solemnly declared his ignorance of such a treasure; the subah gave no credit to his protestations, but ordered him and three of his friends to be conveyed, loaded with fetters, to the Indian camp. Every variety of torment was inflicted, in the hope of obtaining the disclosure of the imaginary secret, or in the rage of disappointment, till, after a variety of sufferings, for which even the subah at last appeared to display some indications of compassion, they were permitted to retire to a neighbouring settlement, belonging to the Dutch.

While these unfortunate events continued, for some time, to depress that spirit of exultation and of confidence, which had been excited by the fall of Angria; the public mind at home was equally agitated, by the dismission from office of the favourites of the people. The weight of parliamentary influence possessed by the former ministers, still gave them importance; and they had secured their sovereign's favour, by gratifying his attachment for the electorate of Hanover, and his propensity to interfere with the affairs of the continent, as a prince of the empire. Several propositions peculiarly acceptable to the court, on these and other topics, were opposed by Mr. Pitt and his adherents, and this opposition was exaggerated by the associates of the old ministry, who still hovered about the throne. The consequence of their intrigues was the peremptory dismission of the ministers from their respective offices, and Mr. Pitt, by his majesty's express command, resigned the seals on the 5th of April.

As the politics of this period were complicated and mysterious, it will be necessary to delineate the characters of the different parties who advanced pretensions to the management of the state. They consisted of three different factions: the first, highly respectable for their rank and fortune, possessed of a considerable share of parliamentary interest, and commanding influence over the monied classes, was composed of those who had grown into place and power under the old ministry. Their adulation and subservience had rendered them respected by the king; but in some material requisites of political distinction, their weakness was conspicuous; they were deficient in popularity and in talent. The second party, though superior in point of abilities, was possessed of less parliamentary interest, and was much more unpopular. Their influence entirely depended on their connection with the prince of Wales, and after his death gradually subsided. The third party, of which Mr. Pitt was the most conspicuous leader, had little influence in parliament, and less at court; but they possessed in a high degree the support and confidence of the people.

The two former were strenuous advocates for standing armies, for a strict connection with the continent, and for the necessity of securing a majority in the houses of parliament, by the liberal donation of pensions and sinecures. The third and popular party was actuated by principles of a different nature. They viewed, indeed, the increasing power of France in the same light with the two former, and acquiesced in the necessity of prescribing bounds to its extension; but they differed widely in the means to be used for that purpose. They were anxious to render the military operations of Great Britain entirely subservient to our naval strength. The sea, they contended, was our natural element, while the superiority of France is confined to the continent. Our government, they asserted, stood in no need of a standing army, which was always dangerous to freedom, and a well-trained militia would be our best security against invasion. They conceived it possible to influence the minds of men by nobler motives than that of interest; the minister who governs uprightly will never be opposed by the people.

The kingdom was filled with consternation at the dismissal of a ministry, on whom the nation relied to retrieve its honour. Addresses were presented to the throne from all quarters, bearing the most honourable testimony to their conduct, and entreating their restoration, as necessary to the salvation of the country. It was found expedient to attend to the national voice; and his majesty sacrificing his private resentments to the wishes of the people, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were restored to their former stations. The unpopular party, however, was not entirely excluded from a share in the administration. Their influence in the privy council, and credit in the house of commons, were too considerable to be despised or neglected. The duke of Newcastle was therefore promoted to the station of first lord of the treasury. Lord Anson was appointed first lord of the admiralty; lord Temple privy-seal; Mr. Fox paymaster of the forces; the duke of Devonshire chamberlain; and lord Gower master of the horse. The measures already pursued by the Newcastle administration had led us too far from the line of naval policy advocated by Mr. Pitt, to permit us to retreat with safety and with honour. He would not have promoted our active interference with the affairs of the continent; but to violate our engagements now that it had been made, would have been equally dangerous and dishonourable. The most vigorous measures were therefore adopted, to support the cause of our continental allies, by immediate resistance and powerful diversion; and the long and splendid succession of glorious events, which it will be soon our pleasing duty to record, present the best testimony to the promptitude, the vigour, and sagacity of the minister.

It was fortunate, indeed, for England, that the fortitude of the individual, to whom the guidance of her affairs was entrusted, was equal to his other qualities: for such was the situation of the king of Prussia, at the opening of the campaign, that a less virtuous and intrepid minister would have abandoned the contest in despair. In the preceding summer, a process had been commenced against Frederic in the Aulic council, and before the diet of the empire. The influence of a family, in which the empire had so long been hereditary, and the formidable confederacy against him, intimidated his friends, and his enemies eagerly seized the opportunity to reduce his power. He was condemned for contumacy, and it was notified to him, that he was placed under the ban of the empire, and fallen from all the dignities and possessions he held under it. The contingents of men and money, ordered to be furnished by the circles of the empire, to put this sentence in execution, were, however, slowly collected. His victory at Lowoschutz had been attended with no other consequence than the surrender of the pass at Pirna. The Austrian army in Bohemia, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine and M. Brown, amounted to upwards of 100,000 men. The czarina sent 60,000 men, under the command of M. Apraxin, assisted by a powerful fleet, to invade Ducal Prussia; and the Swedes, in hopes of recovering what they had lost in Pomerania, joined the same confederacy, being aided by 6000 troops of Mecklenburgh.

In this perilous situation, threatened on all sides, and apparently on the brink of destruction, the Prussian monarch had no other foundations of self-confidence than his own abilities, and the superior valour and discipline of his troops. Far from being daunted at the formidable confederacy against him, he

prepared for the contest with a cool rapidity peculiar to himself. He distinguished between difficulties and impossibilities; and being never discouraged by the former, sometimes appeared to execute the latter. He divided his army into three bodies, which penetrated, at the same time, by different routes into Bohemia; determining to carry the war as far from home as possible. The first body was commanded by M. Schwerin, and entered that kingdom from Silesia; the second, under the prince of Bevern, marched from Lusatia; and the third was commanded by the king in person.

As a prelude to the campaign, the prince of Bevern, on the 21st of April, having possessed himself of some strong posts on the frontiers of Bohemia, marched to attack the Austrian army, amounting to 20,000 men, commanded by count Konigseg, and posted near Reichenbach. The action began at half an hour after six in the morning, and continued until eleven. The Austrians were defeated and put to flight; their loss amounting to 1000 men killed and wounded, while that of the Prussians did not exceed 150.

The king of Prussia, on receiving information of this victory, published the account at the head of his army, by whom it was received with repeated acclamations of applause. This advantage, at the beginning of the campaign, was productive of the most salutary consequences to his Prussian majesty. It facilitated his future operations, intimidated his enemies, and animated his own troops to a spirit of desperate enterprise. The Prussian armies were now in such a situation, that a junction could be formed whenever it should be thought necessary. The intention of Frederic was to draw the enemy, if possible, to a general engagement. They were superior to him in number, and were encamped in a place so strongly fortified, by nature and art, as to be almost impregnable. It was necessary, therefore, to accomplish that object by stratagem, which strength and bravery alone could not have effected. After making a feint as if he intended to proceed towards Agria, the king of Prussia turned suddenly to the left, and joined the other divisions of his force at the place of rendezvous. By this movement, a body of 20,000 men, which had been detached from the Austrian army to observe his motions, were debarred from all communication with their main body. Elated by this advantage, he was resolved to attack the enemy, notwithstanding his own disparity of force. The Austrians, though amounting to 100,000 men, were sensible of the talents of their adversary, and determined to act with caution. Their commanders, prince Charles of Lorraine and M. Brown, determined not to march in quest of the Prussian monarch; but to wait his united force in their camp, and cover the city of Prague from insult.

The river Egra runs from the western boundary of Bohemia, and falls into the Elbe between Dresden and Prague, a little above Lowoschutz, where Frederic had obtained the victory we have recorded in the preceding year. Prague is the capital of the kingdom of Bohemia, and is situated on both sides of the Moldaw, a considerable river, which, running northwards, falls into the Elbe, higher up than the Egra. Frederic was encamped, on the 3rd of May, between the Moldaw and the hills called Weissenburg. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had a few days before taken the command of the Austrians, had encamped on the right, or east bank of the Moldaw, his left being supported by a hill, and his right extending towards Sterboholi, where he had posted the greatest part of his cavalry. Frederic, leaving one half of his army on the east side of the same river, under the orders of marshal Keith and prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau; and with the other half crossed the river and encamped on the east side, near to Czimitz. Marshal Schwerin, arriving next morning, formed with his corps the left wing of Frederic's army, which now consisted of about 68,000 men. A deep ravine, which lay in front of his left, rendered it unattackable. The battle was begun by a successful charge of the Prussian cavalry on those of the Austrians. The infantry then advanced to the attack with more impetuosity than prudence, and were received with such a tremendous fire of artillery, that they were compelled to retire. In this crisis of the engagement, marshal Schwerin, who at the age of 80 years retained all the fire of youth, seeing his troops giving way, seized a pair of colours, and placing himself at the head of his regiment, exclaimed, "Let all brave Prussians follow me." The attack was then renewed with such spirit, that the Austrians were soon routed, and a signal victory was

obtained, the enemy having lost 19,000 men slain, and 5000 taken prisoners, with 11 standards and 60 pieces of artillery. This loss was balanced, on the part of the Prussians, by the loss of 18,000 men, among whom was the brave old Schwerin, who was found among the slain, grasping the colours in his hand.

1757. By the event of this battle, it was expected that the Prussians would invest Prague; which they immediately did, the king commanding on one side, and marshal Keith on the other. In four days all communication from without was cut off, the whole city being surrounded with lines and entrenchments.—The number of forces shut up within the walls amounted to 50,000, besides a great many persons of the first rank, viz. prince Charles of Lorraine, marshal Brown, the princes of Saxony, the prince of Modena, the duke d'Aremberg, count Lacy, and several others of great distinction. It was generally imagined, that this city would necessarily fall a sacrifice to the victorious army, the numbers within serving no other purpose than to consume the provisions of a garrison, then but indifferently supplied. Immediately after the blockade was formed, the Prussians took possession of Cziscaberg, an eminence which commanded the town, on which the Austrians had a strong redoubt. The besieged made several vigorous, but ineffectual attempts, to recover this post, which was defended by the Prussians with the utmost resolution.—In order to ease the city of the multitude of forces cooped up useless within the walls, it was resolved to attack the Prussian army in the night, with a body of twelve thousand men, sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungarian infantry, and thus, if possible, to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers.

The Prussians, having received intelligence of this design by a deserter, took proper measures for their reception, and in less than a quarter of an hour they were all under arms. But notwithstanding the Prussians were warned of this attempt, it was conducted with so much silence, that nothing was discovered before the Austrians charged their advanced posts. From their beginning the attack on marshal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army, encamped on the Moldaw, it is probable the enemy intended to destroy the batteries that were raising, and to attack the bridges of communication which the Prussians had thrown over the Moldaw at Branick and Podaba, about a quarter of a German mile above and below the city. The alarm began about two o'clock, the enemy hoping to come unexpectedly upon the miners; but in this they were disappointed. The piquet of the third battalion of the Prussian guards, who were to sustain the body which covered the works, was thrown into confusion at the first fire from the enemy, owing to the darkness of the night, which rendered it impossible to distinguish the Austrian troops from their own. A lieutenant, who was detached with a party to reconnoitre the enemy, endeavoured, by lighting a fire, to discover their disposition. This had the effect of informing captain Rodig, who commanded the piquet, of their situation, who immediately attacked them on the flank, giving orders to his men to fire in platoons; upon which the enemy fled with the greatest precipitation, being ignorant of the strength of the piquet, as the shouting of the Prussian soldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body. Numbers deserted, some took shelter in Prague, and many were forced into the river, and drowned.—A regiment of the enemy's horse-grenadiers, at the time this attack began, supported by the Hungarian infantry, endeavoured to surprise a redoubt, under an incessant fire upon the whole front of the Prussians; but were repulsed with considerable loss. They renewed the attack three times, and were as often beat back, the Prussians maintaining the post with a firmness and resolution not to be described. On this occasion the battalion of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick suffered greatly.

At three in the morning, the Prussians marched out of their camp to meet the enemy. Part of the army attacked a building called Red-house, at the bottom of a declivity before Wellastowitz. The Pandours, who were in possession of this house, fired upon them incessantly from all the doors and windows, but were at last dislodged. For about two hours the Prussian army were obliged to sustain the fire of the enemy's whole cannon and musketry, which did much execution. At length, the Prussians having abandoned the Red-house, owing to the continued fire which

was kept upon it from the artillery of Prague, the Pandours again took possession of it; and the rest of the enemy retired to the city, without in the least effecting their design, leaving behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters. The Prussians upon this occasion made a few prisoners, although they suffered the loss of several officers and private men. Prince Ferdinand, the king of Prussia's youngest brother, was slightly wounded in the face, and likewise had a horse shot under him.

HITHERTO neither of the parties had received very considerable damage, the operations of the Prussians being confined to a silent blockade, and those of the Austrians to a few slight sallies, in which they were generally repulsed with loss. But the Prussian works being at length completed, and their heavy artillery arrived, they opened four batteries erected on the banks of the Moldaw, and began to play furiously on the city. In the space of twenty-four hours they threw in no less than three hundred bombs, besides an infinite quantity of red-hot balls, which set the city on fire in several places.—The king of Prussia has on this occasion been censured for want of humanity; and indeed the generals on both sides seem to have been actuated by the most horrid barbarity. When the conflagration had lasted for three days, and the inhabitants saw their city on the point of being reduced to a mass of rubbish, they in a body petitioned the commander to hearken to terms; but, instead of granting their request, he turned out 12,000 persons, the least useful in the defence of the city. These were again forced back by the Prussians, which soon brought on a famine, and reduced both the garrison and inhabitants to the necessity of living on horse-flesh, and even that was given out in a very sparing manner. In this melancholy situation, the inhabitants saw no end to their miseries, but by a speedy capitulation, which the commander, who saw himself at the head of a numerous, well-appointed, and desperate army, was determined by no means to listen to. Several resolute and well-conducted sallies were made, but without success, being always rendered fruitless by the vigilance and determined bravery of the Prussians.

IT no doubt will appear a fable to posterity, that near 50,000 men, with a train of artillery, arms, &c. should submit to be shut up for six weeks, and reduced to extremity, by an army of equal force. That of the king did not certainly, at the end of May, exceed that of the Austrians; which will appear evident, if we consider how many men he had lost in the battle, by sickness, desertion, and the numberless detached corps. This army, small as it was, formed a chain of posts, which extended many miles, and was moreover separated by the Moldaw; over which they communicated by two bridges only; the one above, and the other below the town: so that, in fact, the Austrians, had they chose to march out of the place, would have had no more than half the Prussian army to contend with: why therefore they did not, no man that has the least idea of military affairs, can ever comprehend. A torrent carried one of the bridges away; yet did they still continue quiet, and let slip this favourable opportunity, without making any attempt to go out. We have been very often on the ground about Prague, and must own it is, and will be, a matter of wonder and astonishment, that no effort was made to march out. Had they attacked the Prussians, thus separated by a great river, and divided into so many small detachments, they could not fail in their attempt; they must have destroyed their army. It is no less surprising, that so great a general as the king of Prussia should think it possible to reduce an army of 50,000 men, in such an extensive town as Prague, with one of equal force. The supineness of the Austrians justified this attempt, and saved his army from inevitable destruction.—The celebrated M. Belleisle, who knew Prague perfectly well, had, in the preceding war, with 15,000 men, defended it for many months against the Austrians; and, being at last reduced to the greatest extremity, quitted it with 12,000 men, and retired to Egra, with safety and glory. This general wrote a letter, while the king was blockading that town, wherein he says, "Je connois Prague, si j'y etois, avec la moitie des troupes, que le prince Charles y a actuellement je detruirois l'armee Prussienne."

IN this situation, when the empress-queen was on the brink of ruin, her grand army dispersed, and flying in small parties, her princes and commanders shut up in Prague, that capital on the point of surrendering, and the

utmost favour the garrison could expect was being made prisoners of war, a general arose, who seemed destined by the hand of Providence to mark the vicissitude of human affairs, and who in return was to reduce his Prussian majesty to as bad a situation, as that in which the empress-queen at present found herself. Leopold count Daun, bred from his infancy in the camp, who had served under the greatest generals, and particularly had studied the art of war under the great Kevenhuller, was now put at the head of the Austrian army, on which depended the fate of the empire. Born of a noble family, and possessing the greatest abilities, he owed not his preferment to servile court policy, but rose slowly and silently from the rank of a subaltern to that of commander-in-chief, by mere dint of superior merit. Arriving within a few miles of the city of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the straggling and dispersed parties of the Austrian army.

Frederic, apprehensive that this army, which now amounted to above 40,000 men, and was continually upon the increase, might not only disturb his operations before Prague, but likewise, by some manœuvre, give the Austrians an opportunity to slip out of that place, judged it necessary to check its farther progress, and prevent its becoming too formidable. For this purpose he detached the prince of Bevern, with about 25,000 men, to attack the Austrian army.

Cautious, subtle, and penetrating to a degree, Daun was too prudent to risk an action in his then circumstances, which, if attended with a defeat, would have put the finishing hand to the ruin of the empress-queen. Besides, he considered his troops as dispirited, sunk with disgrace, and overcome with fatigue. He considered, that such an army was by no means fit to cope with one flushed with success, confident of victory, and fighting under the eye of their sovereign; he therefore retired as the Prussians advanced, encamped at Kolin, and fortified himself strongly, where he was daily joined by numbers of recruits sent to his army. His situation was such, that he could not possibly be attacked but at an evident disadvantage; and by this means he divided the Prussian forces, one half of whom was drawn off from Prague, in order to watch his designs. Here he harassed the enemy, by cutting off their convoys; and restored, by degrees, ardour and confidence to his troops. He was no stranger to the enterprising disposition of the Prussian monarch, and the discipline and bravery of his army, and wisely provided against every contingency. His situation, he was sensible, would prove irksome and embarassing to the enemy, and therefore he improved it to the best advantage.

His Prussian majesty, finding that the count's army still increased, and that it might soon be in a condition to raise the siege, the place being still defended with the utmost bravery, resolved to dislodge the Austrians from their strong post at Kolin, with one part of his army, while the other should continue the blockade at Prague. Marshal Keith endeavoured, with all the reasons he could urge, to dissuade the king from so hazardous an attempt, advising rather to raise the siege entirely, and attack the count with the whole united Prussian force, or wait until he should get possession of the city, or the Austrians quit their advantageous post. By following either of these measures, a certain advantage would accrue. By the first, he might very probably defeat the count; and, by keeping within his lines, the Austrian general might perhaps attempt to raise the siege, by which means he must lose his advantageous situation, and his majesty might then meet him upon equal terms.—But, notwithstanding this prudent advice, the king persisted in his resolution, and, on the 13th of June, left the camp before Prague, attended by a few battalions and squadrons, and joined the prince of Bevern at Milkowitz, not doubting but that the reputation of his late victories would strike a terror into the enemy's troops, and that in consequence they would become an easy conquest. The army of count Daun now amounted to 60,000, deeply entrenched, with a fine and numerous train of artillery. The bottoms of the hills were secured by difficult defiles, redoubts, and batteries, erected on the most advantageous posts, and every accessible part of the camp fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon.—The personal bravery of the king of Prussia, and his confidence in his troops, were never more conspicuous than on this occasion. With a body of horse and foot, not exceeding 32,000, he undertook to dislodge an army of 60,000, with all the advantages of

situation and entrenchments above mentioned.

The king's army, on the 18th of June, came in sight of the Austrian camp, which he found fortified with the heavy cannon of Olmutz, and reinforced with several parties of troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined them during his march from Prague. The Austrians were drawn up in three lines, on the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John Baptist. Notwithstanding the difficulties the king's troops had to encounter, they marched up to the attack with the most amazing firmness and intrepidity, amidst an incessant fire from the enemy's batteries, which swept away multitudes. The action began about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the Prussian infantry drove the Austrians from two eminences secured with heavy cannon; but, immediately after, in attacking a third eminence, they were taken in flank by grape-shot poured from the enemy's batteries, and, after a most horrid slaughter, thrown into disorder. The king, animating his troops by his presence, soon rallied them, and they returned to the charge, but without effect. They were a second time repulsed. Prince Ferdinand did every thing in the power of a great general, to retrieve the honour of the day, but to no purpose. Seven times did he lead the infantry on to the attack, and as often were they beat back.—Every manœuvre was put in practice to gain a settlement in the Austrian camp, and all were attended with the same want of success. The Austrian general, in all his operations, cautious, penetrating, and decisive, was every where present, and neglected none of those nicer strokes on which the fate of a day frequently depends. Intimately acquainted with the intrepid bravery and skilful conduct of his Prussian majesty, he exposed himself in every perilous situation, in order to infuse courage into his troops, who every where caught the fire of emulation from their general, and behaved with the utmost resolution.

When the Prussian infantry had thus been repeatedly drove back, a most furious attack was made by the cavalry, headed by his majesty in person, upon the enemy's left wing, who received them with amazing fortitude, and soon threw them into confusion.—At last, when the king saw no possibility of changing the fortune of the day, but loss following loss, and misfortune succeeding misfortune, he drew off the remains of his army in such good order as to prevent a pursuit, and likewise to protect his artillery and baggage from falling a prey to the enemy, and retreated to Nimberg.

Leaving the command of this shattered army with the prince of Bevern, although his majesty had been upon horseback the whole day, without taking any repose, he set off immediately for the camp before Prague, where he arrived next morning, bringing the first news of his own defeat.—He immediately gave orders for raising the siege, which was executed with so much secrecy and dispatch, that all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage were sent off, and the army on their march, before the garrison knew any thing of the battle. In this action, the loss on both sides was very considerable. The killed and wounded, on the side of the Prussians, amounted to between 8000 and 9000 men. Count Daun received two slight wounds, and had a horse shot under him. As soon as the garrison of Prague was informed of the retreat of the Prussians, a considerable body of Austrians, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine, sallied out in pursuit; but, when they came up with their rear, they found it too well covered to hazard an attack, and therefore returned to Prague, leaving the Prussian army to pursue its route unmolested.

Thus ended the battle of Kolin, and siege of Prague; which, if we advert to consequences, may be reckoned the severest check his Prussian majesty received during the war. —By the loss of this battle, he found himself under the necessity of evacuating Bohemia, the conquest of which kingdom he was upon the eve of accomplishing. His army too, besides the loss sustained in killed and wounded, suffered greatly by sickness and desertion; and the Austrians, from their late success, and consequent junction, were become too powerful for further opposition. He was therefore obliged to take refuge in Saxony, until an opportunity should offer of retrieving his misfortunes, which, great as they were, he bore with a heroism only natural to the most exalted minds.

The king of Prussia has laid himself open to the imputation of rashness, and want of foresight, in the affair at Kolin. His principal

error seems to have been, too much confidence in his own abilities, and too much contempt for those of his enemies. The necessity of his affairs sometimes prompted him to attempt things much above the means he had to accomplish them; and therefore no wonder that many of his projects, though in appearance plausible, wanted solidity, and consequently have not always been attended with success.—The conduct of Daun in this affair was perfectly uniform, and founded upon reasonable principles. His motions were always changed according to the circumstances; now slow and dilatory, now vigorous and active; and he permitted no blunder of the enemy to pass, of which he did not take advantage.

I HAVE been thus particular in the detail of the singular circumstances attending the campaign of 1757, in Bohemia, because I have been enabled to describe the circumstances, as they occurred, chiefly in the language of an eye-witness, and because the events of the year are peculiarly characteristic of the weakness and the talents, the courage and the rashness, the faults and the virtues of the king of Prussia.

THE French had this year sent two armies into the field; one under Soubize, of 25,000 men, who, after having taken possession of Cleves, Menrs, and Gueldres, crossed the Rhine, and joined the army of the empire; another, under d'Etrees, of 30,000 men, seized on Embden, and whatever else belonged to Prussia in East Friezland, and marched through Westphalia into Hanover, where the duke of Cumberland opposed them with 40,000 men, He fell back gradually as they advanced: at length he made a feeble attempt to repulse them at Hammelen, where it was thought that their superiority would be the least dangerous. Being forced from the field of battle, he retreated towards Stade, a situation which allowed him as little opportunity to retreat, as the number of his forces to advance, so that he was obliged to come to a capitulation, by which the only allies of Prussia that could give any effectual resistance laid down their arms, and were only made prisoners of war. This unfortunate event occurred at Hastenbak, where it was hoped the enemy would have the least opportunity of coming to general action. From the circumstances we have mentioned, they were therefore compelled to sign a capitulation, distinguished by the name of the treaty of Closter-Steven, by which the whole Hanoverian army, under the duke's command, were sent into quarters of cantonment, as prisoners of war on parole. Thus ended the operations of the army of observation.

PROUD of his rank, highly susceptible of flattery, and, though utterly destitute of education, entertaining an exalted opinion of his own acquisitions and abilities, the duke of Cumberland despised the salutary advice of his subordinate generals, and at the commencement of this campaign suffered the French to take every advantage, while he remained in his camp irresolute and inactive. Permitting the French army to pass the Weser was his first error; and instead of retiring by the way of Haberstadt to Magdenburgh, where, after a march of 100 miles, his army would have been in a place of safety, he marched 150 miles, successively retreating from Hamelen to Nienberg, Hoyd, Rothenberg, Selsingen, and finally to Stade. His operations in Germany being now at an end, he set off for England, where he arrived about the middle of October, and soon after resigned all his military offices, retiring, like another Cincinnatus, from the hurry and bustle of war, if not with equal glory, with a better fortune, and a better farm.

SUCH a multitude of enemies now threatened the king of Prussia on all sides, that to extricate himself from his present desperate situation, seemed almost beyond the power of human wisdom or valour. A numerous body of Austrians, having penetrated into Silesia, laid it under contribution, and besieged Schweidnitz, the key of that duchy, the original cause of the war. Twenty-two thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, captured the towns of Anclaim and Demmain, and exacted heavy contributions. Richlieu, who now commanded the grand army of France, being freed from all opposition on the side of Hanover, by the treaty of Closter-Steven, turned his arms against Haberstadt and the old marche of Brandenburg, where, after he had chastised the whole country by severe exactions, he plundered the towns. The army of the empire, reinforced by one under Soubize, of 25,000 men, was in full march for Saxony, a circumstance which enabled marshal Daun

to employ his whole force in the reduction of Silesia. General Haddick, who with the Austrians under him had penetrated to Lusatia, and taken Zittau, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before Berlin, obliged it to pay a large sum, to prevent the city from being plundered. The Russians, after a long delay, entered Ducal Prussia, and committed horrible cruelties and devastations. Lehwald, the Prussian general, was ordered to engage them at any hazard: with 30,000 men he attacked them, though double in number, and strongly entrenched in a very advantageous situation; and, though he was repulsed, he killed five times as many of the enemy as he lost of his own men, remaining more formidable after his defeat, than the Russians after their victory. They kept their post, however, and did not allow the king to derive any assistance from his army in that quarter; so that he was obliged, with what forces he had, to attack and to repel the enemy. Like a lion hemmed in on every side, he advanced sometimes against one army, and sometimes against another. His enemies fled before him; but while he pursued the fugitives, fresh troops pressed upon his rear: so that he was continually harassed and distressed, and regarded as verging to that destruction, which, a few months before, had menaced the house of Austria. The fatigues to which he was exposed, and the anxiety which preyed upon his mind, had reduced him to a skeleton; he was almost always on horseback, he often lay on the bare ground, and suffered greater distress than the meanest of his soldiers, who were now greatly reduced in numbers; since neither recruits, money, nor provisions could be procured, as he lay under the ban of the empire, and had lost the greater part of his dominions.

Notwithstanding this deplorable situation of his affairs, hope never deserted him; depending on his own conduct, and the courage and fidelity of his troops, he determined to strike a decisive blow, as soon as the winter came in, when it would be impossible for a discomfited army to reappear in the field. For this reason he allowed the combined armies of France and the emperor to advance into Saxony, and to threaten the siege of Leipsic, before he moved against them. At his approach they retreated; but being reinforced by numbers, marched against him, and he retreated in his turn. At length, after various movements, he resolved to call in his scattered detachments, and to give them battle. The enemy, though amounting to 50,000, retired with precipitation beyond the Saale, a river since distinguished by the retreat of Napoleon from Leipsic along its course; but he pursued them closely, with fewer than 25,000 men, and reduced them to the necessity of fighting. His troops called for the signal of battle. The French cavalry advanced with great spirit; but being repulsed, they gained an eminence, on which they repelled the attacks of the Prussians with vigour. At length they were totally routed, and their disaster dismayed the infantry, who made but a feeble resistance. The king, exposed to the hottest fire, led on his troops, who killed 3000 on the spot, took 6000, and dispersed the rest. They were seized with a panic; and night alone saved from entire destruction an army, that in the morning was so great and formidable.

While the Prussian arms were thus gloriously employed in Saxony, the Austrians were not idle in Silesia. Having reduced Schweidnitz, and made the garrison, consisting of 4000 men, prisoners of war, they joined their whole force, and attacked the prince of Bevern, who was posted with his army in a strongly entrenched camp, to cover Breslaw. The Prussians sustained their repeated attacks with singular intrepidity, and slaughtered prodigious numbers; but when one wing of their army had actually quitted the field, and the other was meditating a retreat, the Prussian general, by some unaccountable fatality, adopted the same resolution, and retired behind the Oder. Breslaw, therefore, with all its treasures and military stores, fell into the hands of the Austrians. The king was, in the mean time, hastening by rapid marches to the defence of Silesia; with those troops which he had collected from a hundred miles distance, to fight a superior army at Rosbach, he was traversing a country of 200 miles in extent, in order to fight an army still more formidable; proceeding from hardships to still greater hardships, and from dangers to dangers still more imminent. In his march there occurred an accident, which, while it added to the strength of his army, seemed to be an omen of success.

The escort which conducted the garrison of Schweidnitz to a place of safety, was but weak: the captives, hearing on their march of the victory of Rosbach, rose unanimously upon them, and, seizing their arms, directed their march, by the guidance of the same good fortune which enabled them to regain their liberty, to the king of Prussia's army. The Austrians, confiding in their numbers, left the Prince of Bevern's entrenched camp, and marched in search of the Prussians, who were no less eager for an engagement. They met at the village of Leuthen, and, though the Austrians, under count Daun, were twice as numerous as their enemies, and had felled many trees in the causeways which fronted their lines, the Prussians surmounted every obstacle, and put them to a total rout. Six thousand Austrians were left on the field, 15,000 were taken, and 200 cannon were left in the possession of the victors. Breslaw soon after surrendered, and the garrison, amounting to 13,000 men, were made prisoners of war. In consequence of these victories, nothing remained to the empress-queen, in all Silesia, except the foloru garrison of Schweidnitz. The Russians, intimidated by the king of Prussia's victories, and unable to procure subsistence in a country which they had desolated, retreated from Prussia, and left Lehwald at liberty to turn his arms against the Swedes, who performed nothing worthy of their antient glory. He stripped them of all their territories in Pomerania, except Stralsund, and subjected them to contribution. This succession of unexpected victory encouraged his only ally, the king of Great Britain, to resent the oppression of the French, in his electoral dominions, who, under the command of d'Etrees, committed every act of avarice and atrocity. Every article of the treaty of Closter-Steven was violated; while the gallant Hanoverians, by their regard to that treaty, were prevented from indulging their spirit of resistance, notwithstanding the enormous exactions of the French general, and the rapine and licentiousness of the soldiery. It was not till an attempt was made to deprive them of their arms, and thus to render them incapable of all resistance, that they openly defied the power of their invaders, and placing themselves beneath the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, chastised and defeated the enemy. They took the town and castle of Harburg, by that event circumscribing the quarters of the French while his own were extended. Being joined by a body of Prussian horse, they began their operations about the middle of February, and compelled the enemy to retire before them. The French troops were now commanded by Clermont, the third general in the course of one campaign. He saw that it was in vain to collect his forces, or to oppose the Hanoverians in the field, while his troops were destitute of clothes, of discipline, of health; while the officers disgraced their rank, and the soldiers neglected their obedience; while his hospitals were full, and his magazines empty. He therefore determined to evacuate Germany, as the only probable means of preserving the remains of an army, once so formidable and so numerous. In the execution of this plan he found much difficulty. The enemy hung upon his rear; the hussars and light troops continually harassed and intercepted his parties; while no other modes of retaliation were within the reach of the French, than inhuman cruelties and brutalities exercised against the unarmed inhabitants. The only place where they made any considerable resistance was at Minden, of which the garrison, consisting of 4000 men, were made prisoners of war. Such were the courage, the fortitude, and the talent of the king of Prussia, that they retrieved, not only his own disasters, but those of his allies; and to his example England was partly indebted for that spirit of enterprise, and that immoveable self-confidence, which rendered her arms triumphant in every quarter of the globe.

It still remained, however, to the completion of the recovery of Silesia, that the Austrians should be dispossessed of the fortress of Schweidnitz. Frederic, therefore, prepared for the siege, in the midst of so severe a season, that some hundreds of the centinels dropped dead on their posts, while the army was employed in the blockade. How rarely are the courage and the genius of the warrior combined with the virtue of humanity? The most splendid achievements lose their lustre, when accompanied by such acts of deliberate and heartless inhumanity.

CHAPTER XIV.

GEORGE II.

[1757 to 1759.]

Expedition to Rochfort—Capture of the Isle of Aix—Failure of the Enterprise—Trial of Sir John Mordaunt—Naval Exploits—Attempt on Louisburg—Its Failure—Disasters in America—Capture by the French of Fort William Henry—Successes in the East Indies—Recapture of Calcutta—Treaty with Serajah Doulah—Surrender of Chandanagore—Defeat of Serajah Doulah—His Assassination—Attack upon St. Maloe's—Capture of Cherburg—The English defeated at St. Cas—Fall of Louisburg—Defeat of the English at Ticonderaga—Naval Exploits—Proceedings of Ferdinand—Campaign of the King of Prussia.

THE French had at this time, in a manner, evacuated their own country, to fall upon Germany with their whole force. Exhausted of troops, the demands of service greatly exceeded the few that were left; and so vigorous an attention to the prosecution of the war on the continent, had diverted the attention of the government from maritime affairs. The English ministry, aware of these circumstances, projected an expedition, to which the situation of France was peculiarly favourable. To make a diversion in favour of the king of Prussia, and at the same time to give an effectual blow to the marine of France, were the objects of this enterprise. To effect this purpose, an attack upon one of her chief arsenals was determined; and private intelligence directed the views of the minister to Rochfort, a place little inferior to Brest in docks, yards, and magazines of naval stores. The dispatch required in an expedition of this nature was obvious, and Mr. Pitt used every endeavour to accelerate the sailing of the fleet; but such was the negligence of the contractors, that though the troops and ships of war were ready early in the month of August, they did not sail from Spithead till the 8th of September. This formidable armament consisted of sixteen ships of the line, seven frigates, two bomb-ketches, two fire ships, and fifty-five transports, on board of which were ten regiments of foot, two regiments of marines, and a formidable train of artillery. Sir Edward Hawke, with admirals Knowles and Broderic, commanded the fleet; and sir John Mordaunt, with generals Conway and Cornwallis, commanded the army.

THE destination of the armament was known only to the ministers and to the admiral. On the 23rd of September, about eight in the morning, the van of the fleet stood towards the isle of Aix, which lies in the mouth of the river leading up to Rochfort: the rest of the ships anchoring at two leagues distant from the island, captain Howe, in the Magnanime, led the van. About noon, the French fired at him from one of the forts, but did little execution. He continued his course with the greatest composure, without firing a single gun; till, having gained the length of the fort, he bore down, and dropped his anchors as close to the wall as the ships could come. He then began to return their salutations, and his fire became incessant. The fort, unable to withstand so dreadful a cannonade, surrendered in less than an hour, and part of the land forces were put on shore to take possession of the island.

THIS first conquest, however unimportant, gave animation and confidence to the whole fleet; and had the troops been landed that night, or in the morning, there is every reason to believe the enterprise would have succeeded

in all its bearings. But, as if it had been intended to give the enemy time to recover from their confusion, and collect their forces, eight days were suffered to elapse, in holding councils of war, and making soundings along the shore.

The day after the surrender of the isle of Aix, sir Edward Hawke sent admiral Broderic, with three skilful captains, to reconnoitre the coast, and to fix upon a proper place for landing the troops which were intended to act against Rochfort. They reported, that there were two places at which the troops might be conveniently landed, and that there was a small fort at one of these places, which, according to the opinion of colonel Wolfe, might be easily silenced by a single ship. In consequence of these reports, the commander-in-chief seemed determined to proceed; but after much deliberation, and many fruitless discussions, the land officers, in a council of war, determined to return to England, having previously received a letter from sir Edward Hawke, declaring that he would set sail, unless the general officers should have further military operations to propose, of sufficient consequence to justify the detention of the squadron under his command. Their first resolution was changed, on the receipt of this letter, and in another council of war, composed of the same persons with the former, they unanimously resolved, that it *was* advisable to land the troops.

On the 28th of September, orders were therefore issued, that the troops should be ready to disembark from the transports at midnight. The difficulties attending these orders were obvious to the most unobserving soldier in the fleet. The distance of the ships was great, from the destined place of landing, and two distinct encampments were reported to be observed at a little distance from the shore. The courage, however, and enthusiasm of the seamen were so conspicuous, that the boats were filled before the time appointed. The night was cold and boisterous, and the boats, crowded with men, remained beating against the sides of the vessels for the space of four hours; at the expiration of which time they were ordered to return to their respective ships. The two following days were spent in blowing up the fortifications in the isle of Aix, and on the 1st of October the fleet, with the army on board, made the best of its way home, where they all arrived in safety on the 6th of the same month. The just expectations of the nation, from an armament so formidable, terminated in the most bitter disappointment. Sir John Mordaunt was brought to a court-martial, by which, from the uncertainty of the evidence against him, he was acquitted. But the public were far from satisfied. The contrast between the lenity of this sentence, and that of the unfortunate Byng, excited universal discontent; and, in the tumult of popular dissatisfaction, the failure of the expedition was even attributed to the fears of his Britannic majesty, lest the measures of his new and obnoxious ministry should be so successful, as to render their retention in power indispensible to the administration of government.

In the midst of these misfortunes and disappointments, some consolation still remained to the British nation, in the exploits performed by her naval heroes, and in the bravery and wisdom of her commanders in the East Indies. Captain Forest, having been detached, with three frigates, from admiral Coates's fleet, encountered, off cape François in the West Indies, four French men of war, and, after a hard-fought action of above two hours, forced them to take refuge in their harbour; after which he captured nine St. Domingo merchantmen, with a single ship. Several exploits were performed by the English privateers in the narrow seas. Captain Gilchrist distinguished himself by a gallant action with the Emeraude, which he captured; but the most singular engagement was that of captain Death, in the Terrible of 26 guns, with the Vengeance of 36. The latter having retaken a large French Domingo ship, which Death had captured, a battle ensued between the Terrible and the Vengeance, assisted by her prize, which was fought with desperate fury, till the English captain and nearly all his officers were slain. The enemy then boarded the Terrible, and for a crew they found 26 men alive, 16 of whom were disabled, and the other 10 wounded.

The consequences of the ill-conducted councils of the old ministry, still continued to spread their baneful influence over the British operations in America. Want of unanimity in our measures at home, had produced carelessness and inactivity in our commanders abroad. The spirit of party discord had pervaded the camp as well as

the cabinet. Our commanders knew not to whom they should be accountable for their neglect of duty, or from whom they were to receive the reward of their services; and were consequently deficient in that firmness of purpose, and boldness of enterprise, without which the most splendid talents and the best intentions are inefficient.

An enterprise, which had been planned against Crown Point, was superseded by another, for the reduction of Louisburg in Cape Breton. Lord Loudon had collected a body of 6000 troops, with which he embarked at New York on the 19th of June, and arrived at Halifax on the 29th. Admiral Holbourne did not reach that rendezvous before the 9th of July. So much time having been lost, it was naturally imagined that the commanders would proceed immediately to action; but, as if delay had formed an essential part of their instructions, nearly a month was consumed at Halifax, in exercising the troops, and accustoming them to various manœuvres of attack and defence. When this formidable armament was ready to proceed to its place of destination, a circumstance occurred, which rendered the enterprise abortive. A packet, supposed to be sent out by stratagem, to deceive the English commanders, threw itself in the way of the English fleet, and was taken, after a chase of many hours, with all her dispatches. By the letters contained in this pretended packet, the naval strength at Louisburgh was stated at seventeen ships of the line and three frigates; and the land forces at 6000 Europeans, 3000 natives, and 300 Indians. It was likewise observed, that the place was well supplied with military stores, and that the people were desirous of nothing more earnestly than to be attacked. This intelligence immediately suspended the preparations against Louisburgh, and in a council of war, it was determined for the present to abandon the expedition. The commanders were determined to trust nothing to fortune or resolution. Every circumstance of difficulty or danger was weighed in the scale of rigid prudence, and nothing therefore was accomplished. Lord Loudon, with the land forces, returned to New York; and the admiral continued for some time cruising off Cape Breton, in expectation of drawing the French fleet to an engagement, or, if that was found impossible, to block up the harbour of Louisburgh. In both these expectations he was disappointed. The French, whose force was greatly inferior to his, were too prudent to attack him; and on the 25th of September a violent storm arose, which 1757. dispersed and scattered his fleet, one ship being lost, eleven dismasted, and the rest very much damaged. Leaving eight men of war to protect the trade, watch Louisburgh, and annoy the enemy, he returned to England.

The proceedings in America, during the remainder of the year, were a series of disgraces and disappointments. By taking Oswego the French became undisputed masters of the lakes, and the English were unable to prevent them from collecting from all parts, and compelling them to act in their favour. Instead of endeavouring to prevent this destructive alliance, we abandoned to the mercy of the enemy all the country of the five nations, the only body of Indians who preserved towards us even the appearance of friendship. Our forts were demolished, our frontier invaded, by the French and their savage allies, who destroyed all the settlements on the Mohawk's river, and the German flats, and at length commenced the siege of fort William Henry, on the southern edge of lake George. In this fortress was a garrison of 2500 men, and general Webb, with about 4000 men, was posted in its vicinity. The northern provinces having been exhausted of troops, for the expedition against Louisburgh, the frontiers were left exposed to the designs of the French, who prepared to take advantage of their absence. On this occasion the activity and vigilance of M. Montcalm were eminently conspicuous. No sooner was it known that the troops were embarked for Halifax, than he assembled an army of 8000 men, including Canadians, and Indians drawn from Crown Point, Ticonderaga, and the adjacent posts. The assembling of these forces was not conducted with so much secrecy, but that an early account of it was transmitted to general Webb. That commander gave no credit to the report, believing it impossible that the French could collect a force, sufficient to dispute the possession of the fort with him and the garrison. His incredulity was attended with the most fatal effects No care was taken to collect the militia; or to render effectual his actual means of defence. On the 2nd of August, Montcalm

appeared on the lake, which so intimidated Webb, that he marched away early the next morning, leaving the defence of the fort to colonels Young and Monro.

Montcalm, informed of Webb's retreat, summoned the garrison to surrender; but was given to understand from colonel Monro, that the fort would be defended to the last extremity. The garrison behaved with skill and courage, and resisted for four days all the efforts of the enemy; but their cannon and mortars having burst, in consequence of previous neglect; being left without any prospect of succour; and a letter from general Webb, exhorting them to surrender, being intercepted by M. Montcalm, and sent into the fort, they capitulated on the 9th of August. They engaged not to serve against the French for eighteen months, and obtained the favour of marching out of the fort with their arms and baggage. The savages accompanying the French army paid so little regard to the terms of capitulation, that they plundered the English soldiers as they marched out, scalped the Indians and blacks who had been in the garrison, and practised many other inhumanities, from which the French pretended to restrain them, but without effect. They demolished the fort, and carried off all that could be conveyed: thus terminating a disgraceful and inglorious campaign, in which an army of 20,000 men, exclusive of provincials, provided with every requisite of successful warfare, was permitted to loiter away a year in total inactivity; while the French, with inferior numbers, succeeded in every enterprise which they were animated to attempt by the fatuity of their enemies.

It was in the East that success began first to dawn upon the British arms. No sooner did intelligence of the fatal disaster at Calcutta arrive at Madras, than admiral Watson, with colonel Clive and several regiments of infantry, sailed to take revenge for the cruelties practised on their countrymen by the nabob. After a tedious voyage, he arrived at the port of Belasore, in the kingdom of Bengal, on the 5th of December. Entering the Ganges, he proceeded to attack the fort of Busbudgia, which opened a passage to Calcutta, the scene of the deplorable sufferings of so many Britons. After a short resistance, he made himself master of the fort, the soldiers and sailors vieing with each other in their determination to revenge the death of their countrymen, and to restore the honour of England. Proceeding up the Hughly branch in the beginning of January, the admiral anchored before Calcutta; and after a faint resistance from the Indian garrison, and a few discharges of artillery, accompanied by an attack from the troops under Clive and Coote, the fortress was reduced. Advancing up the river, they with equal ease made themselves masters of the town and fortress of Hughly, of which the acquisition was rendered more valuable, by the immense quantity of stores, ammunition, and provisions, which had there been deposited by the nabob.

The nabob was now convinced of the necessity of providing a more respectable force to oppose the progress of the British arms, than the feeble garrisons of inexperienced Indians. Aided by French officers, engineers, and gunners, he assembled an army of 1000 horse and 15,000 foot. With this numerous body he took the route of Calcutta, and on the 2nd of February passed the English camp, at the distance of a mile, and pitched his tents on an advantageous piece of ground near Calcutta. Notwithstanding his great superiority of numbers, the British had too frequently experienced the imbecility and cowardice of an Indian army, to hesitate respecting the policy of an immediate conflict. A detachment of 600 sailors was draughted from the several ships, to join colonel Clive, with the purpose of driving the nabob from his camp. On the 5th of February, about five in the morning, the British army advanced towards the enemy, and notwithstanding his superiority of numbers, defeated him with great slaughter; and compelled him to accede to a treaty, in which he agreed to restore the company's factories; he permitted the English to fortify Calcutta in whatsoever manner they should think expedient; allowed them to coin gold and silver in a mint of their own; exempted all merchandize, passing with their passports, from tax, fee, or imposition; acceded to the possession of thirty-eight villages, of which a grant had been obtained by the emperor in 1717, and confirmed all the privileges which had been granted to them by former emperors, since their arrival in the province.

The English commanders were well aware that nothing would effectually enforce the performance of this treaty or prevent Serajah

Doulah from seizing the first opportunity of affording succours to the French, but the conviction that they were unable to contend with the power and courage of the English; they committed to Mr. Watts full powers, as an agent at his court of Muxadavad, and proceeded to invest Chandernagore. The fortress was garrisoned by 600 Europeans and 300 sepoys. But the British forces, now strengthened by three ships under admiral Pococke, carried on their operations with so much spirit, that the governor was compelled to surrender, after a siege of seven days. The perfidy of Serajah Doulah was turned against himself. Being apprised by Watts, that several of the chief men in his court and army were disposed to revolt, the British general employed that agent to intrigue with Meer Jaffier, the nabob's general, and by his intervention and that of Omichund, whom he made the dupe of his artifice, he concluded a treaty with the traitor, by which he engaged to assist with all their forces in raising him to the nabobship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of his devoting himself to the service of the company, and joining strenuously in the wars with Serajah Doulah and his allies.

The admiral, therefore, engaged to garrison Chandernagore with his seamen, while colonel Clive took the field with an army of 1000 Europeans and 2000 Indians, besides 50 seamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. He advanced towards Plassey, where the nabob's army, consisting of 50,000 foot and 18,000 horse, with 50 pieces of artillery, was posted to guard the passage along the Hughly to Muxadavad. However lightly the British commander might estimate the Indian troops, it appeared rash and desperate to march up to the mouths of so numerous an artillery, which was placed in a commanding situation, and under the direction of French gunners. A fortunate circumstance relieved him from this embarrassment. A heavy shower of rain induced the enemy to draw their cannon for shelter into the camp. Clive immediately availed himself of this circumstance, and placed a detachment in such a position as to prevent them from being again brought into action. Three well directed attacks were made upon the enemy's trenches, all of which were attended by success; the nabob's army was completely routed, and forty-two pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss was inconsiderable.

Such was the facility with which the most important conquests were obtained over a weak, effeminate, and unwarlike people. The customs, habits, and opinions of the Asiatics, all tend to enfeeble the body, and debilitate the mind. Let us conceive a numerous army led on to battle, in long silken garments, with no other courage than what they possess from the inspiration of opium, with the same views whether defeated or victorious; their general mounted on an elephant, and consequently a more conspicuous object of aim; their artillery drawn by oxen, impatient and furious on the slightest wound.—If we reflect on all these circumstances, we shall not be surprised at their most numerous armies being defeated by a handful of European troops, hardened by discipline, and animated by honour.

Meer Murdeen, the general in whom the Serajah placed the greatest confidence, being among the slain, he adopted the pusillanimous and desperate resolution of retreating towards his capital. Being pursued and harassed by the English, he made his escape, with 2000 horsemen, to the city. Immediately on the appearance of victory in favour of the English, Meer Jaffier Ali Kawn, and the other conspirators, declared themselves openly against their defeated sovereign, and hastened to secure Muxadavad, whither they were soon followed by the British army. In a few days, Jaffier was acknowledged by the English as nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Serajah Doulah, amidst all the insignia of Asiatic luxury, surrounded by eunuchs and courtezans, was filled with terror at the approach of the confederate army. Destitute of resources, he attempted to escape in a boat, but was betrayed and brought back to Muxadavad. Presenting himself before Meer Jaffier, who had already taken possession of his palace, he prostrated himself before the traitor, who had owed his advancement to the patronage of Serajah and of his uncle Allaverde, and with tears implored his life. When he was withdrawn, Meer Jaffier affected to hold a council respecting his fate. His doom was not pronounced; but a tyrant's will, on such occasions, is easily conjectured, and is most acceptably executed by those who, penetrating the veil of clemency, by which he would appear to shade his cruelty, anticipate his

orders. The unfortunate Serajah Doulah fell by the hands of a band of ruffians, in one of the apartments of the palace.

The advantages derived from this revolution in Bengal were great and extensive. The French were prohibited from settling in the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; the company's territories were greatly enlarged; their privileges were confirmed; two millions sterling were granted, as an indemnification to the sufferers at Calcutta; a lease was granted to the company of the salt-petre at Patna; and the army and navy were rewarded with a present of £625,000, besides immense riches in jewels bestowed on the officers. The public exultation at these advantages was, in some degree, repressed by the death of admiral Watson, who fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate, after having established a lasting reputation for his wisdom, his courage, and his humanity.

During these transactions in Bengal, hostilities had been re-commenced in the southern provinces, and had been carried on with various success. Monsieur de Bussy, availing himself of the diversion of the British forces in Bengal, made himself master of several factories in the province of Rajah Mundrum, on the Coromandel coast. On the other hand, the presidency of Madras, being afraid lest their enemy should establish himself in Madura, where he was negotiating with the Jemautdars, dispatched captain Calliaud, with the troops which he commanded at Tritchinopoly, to attempt its reduction. That officer, after several ineffectual attempts to reduce it by force, obtained it by capitulation. In the mean time, the French force, under Monsieur d'Anteuil, had been defeated by Calliaud, in an attack on Tritchinopoly; and the English detachments under the respective commands of colonels Ford and Aldercorn, were foiled in their attempts on the fortresses of Nellore and Wandewash.

So deep and so general was the consternation excited by the failure of the expedition against Rochfort, that even the ministry had almost yielded to despair of the future progress of the war, and had nearly determined to leave the king of Prussia to his fate. It was supposed that no military efforts could save him, and that the only hope remaining was to make the best terms possible with his victorious enemies. The king of Great Britain was actually meditating a negotiation of this nature, when his distressed ally expostulated with him to the following purpose: "Is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a slight reverse of fortune? Are our affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? Consider the step you have made me undertake, and remember you are the cause of all my misfortunes. I should never have abandoned my former alliances, but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty concluded between us; but I entreat that you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe." In this terrible situation, the ministry of Britain determined, from motives of generosity rather than of interest, to support his declining cause; and success, which had so long forsaken her arms, began to return with redoubled splendor.

At the close of the last year, the parliament having agreed to the vigorous prosecution of the war, the unprecedented sum of £10,486,457 was granted for the expences of the state. An augmentation was voted of the troops; the national militia was called into the field, while the regular troops were sent abroad; an adequate sum was voted for the purpose of relieving the distresses of Hanover, and a fresh treaty, renewable as occasion might require, was concluded with the king of Prussia. 1758.

Our exertions in the cause of that monarch did not relax the vigour of our operations in other quarters. On the 1st of June, two squadrons sailed from Portsmouth. The greater, under lord Anson, bore away for the bay of Biscay, in order to spread an alarm, and to watch the French fleet in the harbour of Brest; the less, under commodore Howe, arrived with the transports near St. Maloe's, where the troops were landed without opposition. The want of artillery, and the trifling number of the forces, rendered the reduction of the town impracticable, though it was but indifferently fortified. Several magazines, however, and a hundred sail of ships were burnt. The forces being safely re-embarked, made an attempt to land near Cherburg; but the violence of the wind, the want of provisions, and the sickness of the soldiers,

determined the commanders to return to a British port, and the fleet arrived at St. Helen's, on the 1st of June.

The duke of Marlborough, grandson to the celebrated hero, having been ordered to command the British forces, which had been sent to Germany to reinforce prince Ferdinand. Lieutenant-general Bligh was appointed to command the army of invasion, which was encamped on the Isle of Wight, but did not amount to more than 6000 men. The armament, so much reduced in its strength and numbers, sailed from St. Helen's on the 1st of August, and on the 6th came to an anchor before Cherburg, into which a few bombs were thrown during the night. Early in the morning the fleet was moored two leagues west of the town, where it was resolved to land the troops. The enemy had executed several entrenchments, and planted a few batteries along the coast, and there appeared about 2000 regular troops besides militia, who threatened to oppose the landing of the British forces. On the 7th, at two in the afternoon, the grenadiers and guards, commanded by general Drury, landed without opposition under an incessant fire from the fleet. Forming his troops on the beach, he marched immediately towards the enemy. He received their fire, and then attacked them with so much resolution, that they soon fled with considerable loss and in the utmost confusion. The remainder of the forces being landed, general Bligh encamped at the village of Erville. In the morning the army proceeded towards Cherburg, in two columns, which they entered without opposition. The inhabitants, confiding in a promise of protection from the general, received their hostile visitors with politeness and hospitality. But their confidence was abused; the soldiers indulged in rapacious pillage; and it was not till after the perpetration of many outrages, that they were restrained by the authority of the general, who now proceeded, according to his instructions, to demolish the harbour and basin, while the light-horse scoured the country, and had frequent encounters with the enemy.

Having taken hostages for the contributions levied on the town, the troops evacuated Cherburg, and re-embarked without any interruption. The fleet weighed anchor on the 18th of August, and steered for St. Maloe's, but were obliged by contrary winds to run for the English coast, and it was the 4th of September before it came to an anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, about two leagues west of St. Maloe's. The troops were immediately landed, with no other misfortune than the upsetting of one of the boats; and four companies of grenadiers, under the command of sir William Boothby, were detached to destroy the shipping in the harbour of Briac, a place near St. Maloe's. The bay of St. Lunaire, where the commodore's fleet rode, was so rocky and dangerous, that he found it expedient to move up to the bay of St. Cas, three leagues to the westward. The fleet being thus separated from the army, the latter was obliged to follow; but as no attack was apprehended, a resolution was adopted, to penetrate farther into the country. They soon discovered that their conclusions were fallacious. The duke d'Aiguillion, with twelve battalions and six squadrons, supported by two regiments of militia, arrived unexpectedly within six miles of the main body. This circumstance, however, produced no effect on the general's conduct. The army proceeded slowly in a single column toward St. Cas; and the march of three miles to that position was distinguished by circumstances and incidents more puzzling and unaccountable than that of Hannibal over the Alps. When the head of the column had attained the heights which environ the bay of St. Cas, about half a mile from the sea, they had orders to halt, and the regiments formed the line as they advanced in succession; but before the grenadiers in the rear reached the ground, the youngest brigade was ordered to march down to the beach. In the mean time, the frigates which were intended to cover the embarkation, and the boats, gradually approached the land. The grenadiers marched deliberately down to the beach, and there rested on their arms, while the battalions were conveyed to their transports in the flat-bottomed boats. The enemy continued to advance, and their artillery began to play upon the boats with great effect. Our troops assuming a bold countenance, (the only resource left,) re-advanced up to the hill to meet the enemy. They sustained the attack with a bravery worthy of better fortune, and did not retreat to the boats till their ammunition was entirely expended. Unhappily the boats then on shore were insufficient to receive half the number of

men, who now crowded to the beach; and they were immediately so much overloaded, that most of them were aground. In this dreadful condition, exposed to the fire of a numerous army, they sustained a destructive carnage. Many of them rushed into the water, and in that element met their fate. General Drury, the second in command, was drowned. Sir John Armitage, a volunteer, was shot through the head. Several officers of distinction fell. At length, commodore Howe ordered himself to be rowed on shore, and took in tow one of the flat-bottomed boats. Animated by his example, the rest of the fleet imitated his conduct, and about 700 men were brought on board. Of the remaining 700, many were shot and drowned, but the greater number were made prisoners. The failure of this attempt, which was justly attributed to the unnecessary advance of the English general into the country, and to the communication of his nocturnal motions by beat of drum, excited a degree of despondency in the minds of the English people, more than proportionate to the misfortune actually sustained. The French forgot the alarm and the disgrace of continual insult upon their own shores, in the exultation of temporary triumph; and the misplaced rejoicing, and unjustified despair, of both nations, were converted into opposite feelings by the next arrival of intelligence from America.

An enterprise had been projected against Louisburg, and confided to admiral Boscawen, who had a fleet of 23 ships of the line under his command, with 12,000 land forces, commanded by general Amherst, brigadier-general Wolfe, and other officers of distinction. The governor, Drucour, having long expected this attack, had strengthened his fortifications by a breast-work, which was lined with 3000 men, in front of which were trees thrown across; and had raised batteries wherever a landing was deemed possible. The harbour was guarded by six ships of the line and five frigates, three of which were sunk across its entrance, to render it inaccessible. A violent surf, which the wind raised on the shore, added much to the difficulty of landing. These obstacles, from which the enemy hoped to derive security, only served to display the dauntless valour of British troops, when commanded by officers to whom they are attached. General Wolfe, leading the way at the head of his division, leaped from his boat into the water, amidst a heavy fire from the artillery, and drove the enemy from their batteries. These being followed by the other two divisions, the place was regularly invested. So gallant was the defence made by Drucour and his garrison, that the siege had been carried on for six weeks before any regular impression was made. The enemy did considerable execution by their sallies. When all the ships in the harbour were destroyed, except the Prudent and the Bienfaisent, captain Laforey was sent, with a body of seamen, to set them on fire, and executed his commission with coolness and intrepidity. On the ensuing day, the governor, at the earnest entreaty of the townsmen, submitted to a capitulation, by which the garrison were made prisoners of war. Thus was his Britannic majesty, by the singular merit of his forces, put in possession of Louisburg and Cape Breton, the loss of which was severely felt by the French court, not only on account of its intrinsic value, but for its importance to the preservation of Canada.

The operations in America were not confined to the siege of Louisburg. It was judged necessary to expel the French from Ticonderago, their most impregnable pass on the continent of America, and Crown Point, which commands Ticonderago. General Abercrombie, who had succeeded lord Loudon as commander-in-chief of the forces in America, embarked, July the 6th, on lake George, with about 16,000 troops, regulars and provincials, aided by a numerous and well-provided artillery, and on the following day effected his landing without opposition. The tract of country, over which he was about to pass, had never been trodden by any human beings, but the savage and thinly scattered natives. The British troops had no direction for their march but the quarters of the heavens, and even these were intercepted by the darkness of the woods through which they were obliged to pass. The officers and men of the contending parties lost their way; and their advanced guards accidentally fell in with each other. A skirmish ensued, in which 300 French were killed, and 148 taken prisoners. But this rencontre cost the English dear, for on that day they lost the gallant lord Howe.

The British army, which had marched in

four columns, appeared before Ticonderago on the 28th of July. The fort is situated on an isthmus, between lake George and a cut which communicates with lake Champlain. The French, having been apprised of this expedition, had omitted nothing that might render the pass impregnable. It was accessible only in front, where a large morass was to be passed, of which the vacuities were supplied by a fortification ten feet high, well provided with cannon, and lined by about 10,000 men.

The engineer reconnoitred the ground, according to general Abercrombie's order, and reported that he thought the entrenchments practicable by musquetry alone. On this unfortunate representation it was determined not to await the arrival of the artillery, which, on account of the badness of the ground, could not be immediately brought up. The attack was made with the vigour and intrepidity natural to British troops; and they performed every thing but impossibilities. The pass was defended by immense trees, felled with their leaves towards the assailants, so as at once to conceal and to protect the enemy. They marched up to the attack with undaunted resolution, and sustained with great intrepidity a most destructive fire. The enemy, secure in their entrenchments, deliberately directed their fire, and the carnage of the British troops was horrible. The general perceived, when too late, that it was vain to persist. In order to save the remains of his army, he ordered a retreat. Two thousand men were missing. With a forbearance equal to his former rashness, the general, when joined by his artillery, refrained from resuming the attack, and gained on the same evening his former camp to the south of lake George.

To compensate in some measure for this disgraceful overthrow, colonel Bradstreet was sent, with 3000 provincials, against fort Frontenac. After a long and tedious march, the colonel arrived at Oswego, embarked for lake Ontario, and on the 25th of August appeared before fort Frontenac, which adjoins the communication between that lake and the river St. Lawrence. The fort was taken without loss, after a weak resistance, with nine armed sloops, and large quantities of provisions, which had been amassed for the use of the French colonies. General Forbes was equally successful in the reduction of fort du Quesne, which with great propriety received the name of Pittsburg. In Africa our arms were equally triumphant. Commodore Keppel, assisted by colonel Worge, captured Goree and other French settlements on the river Senegal, by which we became masters of the gum trade, and other valuable branches of commerce. In the Mediterranean, the squadron of admiral Osborne gave a violent blow to the enemy's marine. He had been for some time watching the Toulon fleet, and on the 28th of February he fell in with Monsieur du Quesne in the Foudroyant of 80 guns, attended by the Orphée of 64 guns, the Oristamme of 50, and the Pleiade of 24, as they were sailing from that port, to reinforce a French squadron at Carthagena. Osborne, observing that they dispersed and steered different courses, dispatched several ships in pursuit of them. Of these, captain Storr in the Revenge captured the Orphée. The Foudroyant was taken by captain Gardiner's ship, the Monmouth, of 64 guns, after a desperate engagement, in which that officer was slain, and the Oristamme was driven on shore. As captain Tyrrel was cruising with the Buckingham of 64 guns, and the Weasel frigate, he descried a fleet of nineteen merchantmen, under the convoy of the Florissant of 74 guns and two frigates. Disregarding the disparity of force, he gave them chace, and brought them to an action, which was fought with desperate fury till night came on; when the Florissant escaped under cover of the darkness, and with difficulty reached Martinique.

The councils of France were at this period not only divided, but imbecile and wavering. All reciprocal confidence had been lost between her court and parliaments, and the ablest of her ministers had with indignation retired from public business. The slightest testimony of condescension, however, on the part of their king, inspired the French people with joy and confidence; and even the losses they had suffered excited them to redoubled vigour and activity, with the hope of repairing them. The duke of Belleisle, already distinguished by his political wisdom and his military exploits, was pointed out by the public voice, as the only minister who could retrieve the national disgrace, and he was accordingly placed at the head of the war department, to the general satisfaction of all ranks of society

The extensive and vigorous operations so successfully conducted beneath the auspices of the English ministry, did not prevent them from sending an adequate force to oppose the French armies in Germany. Prince Ferdinand, in order to compel the prince of Soubize to abandon an enterprise projected against the prince of Hesse-Cassel, crossed the Rhine in the presence of the French army. Astonished at the boldness of this passage, they retired towards Meurs, and at length made a stand at Crevelt, with their right towards the village of Vischelon, and their left towards Anrath; Crevelt lying in the front of their right. Notwithstanding the strength of this position, they were entirely defeated, with the loss of 7000 men; but, being on their own frontiers, were speedily and strongly reinforced, so that they were soon in a condition, not only to resist the Hanoverians, but to reinforce their army beyond the river. The prince, however, willing to improve his advantage to the utmost, appeared with a detachment before Dusseldorf, and by a severe bombardment compelled it to capitulate. This acquisition multiplied his posts and communications, and rendered the prosecution of his original plan more easy. But while he continued to act with as much spirit as his situation would permit, he received intelligence that the united forces of Soubize and Broglio had defeated the Hessians near Sangershausen. The only resource now left him was to fight the enemy, or to repass the Rhine. The former was impracticable, without great and obvious danger, as they industriously avoided a battle; and the latter was an enterprise of considerable difficulty, as the heavy rains had made the road almost impassable, and had swelled the river to such a degree, that the bridge at Rees was useless.

Monsieur de Chevert, the most active and intelligent of all the French generals, had formed a plan, which, had it succeeded, would have reduced the allies to a state of the utmost perplexity. Baron Imhof was posted at Meer, in order to cover the bridge of Rees, to secure a considerable magazine, and to keep open a communication between the main army and the English reinforcements which were approaching, under the duke of Marlborough. Chevert determined, if possible, to dislodge Imhof, to burn the bridge, to make himself master of the magazine, and to render the junction of the English troops with the Hanoverians impracticable. Imhof, apprised of his designs, aware that it would be vain to expect reinforcements from prince Ferdinand, and that the enemy, by turning his camp, might become master of Meers, 1759. formed a resolution worthy of a consummate officer, and marching out of his entrenchments with only 3000 men, resolved to attack the enemy by surprise. Fortune proved favourable to his daring enterprise. As the enemy were marching into difficult ground, he ordered a small party posted in a coppice to fall upon their left, which he observed to be uncovered. The fire of this detachment was the signal for the rest to advance, and attack with fixed bayonets. An assault so spirited and unexpected impressed the French with a panic, from which all the efforts of their officers could not recover them. They gave way in less than half an hour, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead, and took refuge under the cannon of Wesel.

This signal advantage, over great superiority of numbers, was not more gallantly obtained than skilfully improved. Imhof immediately joined the English, and led them towards the main army, which prince Ferdinand conducted back into Westphalia, with as little difficulty and obstruction as he had left it in the spring.

The operations on both sides now languished for a considerable time. Prince Ferdinand acted entirely on the defensive. The grand army, under M. de Contades, found it impossible to disturb the admirable disposition of his army along the Lippe; and the prince of Yssenburg, with the few forces he had under him, maintained his posts upon the Weser; so that the French had hitherto made little progress against Hesse or Hanover. Sensible that an attack upon the whole body of the allies would prove a dangerous attempt, the French resolved to strengthen the army of the prince de Soubize, so as to enable him to dislodge the prince of Yssenburg from the Weser, and to open a passage into the Landgraviate. Prince Ferdinand was aware of their intention, and sent a detachment to the assistance of the prince under the command of general Oberg; but even after these troops had joined him, all the force of the allies remaining in Hesse did not exceed 15,000 men. They were attacked on the 30th

of September, at Lanwerenhagen, by the prince de Soubize, at the head of 30,000 men, and were defeated and driven to take shelter in some strong grounds, covered with woods. Prince Ferdinand flew to their relief at so critical a moment, that the prince of Yssenburg was enabled to join him at Rheda. This movement, however, necessarily exposed the electorate to the incursions of the enemy, whose late troops penetrated even to the gates of Hanover.

The British forces had few opportunities of signalizing themselves in the course of this campaign; but they suffered greatly by the severity of the climate and the season, and their commander, the duke of Marlborough, died of a dysentery at Munster. By his death the command of the troops devolved on lord George Sackville.

The affairs of his Prussian majesty were never in a more critical situation than at present. The Russians had penetrated into the New Marche of Brandenburg, where they were besieging Custrin, and a few days would have led them to the defenceless gates of Berlin. The Swedes had gained ground upon the Prussian generals, Wedel and Manteufel, in Pomerania; and the army of the empire, with a body of Austrians, under general Haddick, were not only possessed of many strong posts on the frontiers of Misnia, but began to circumscribe the quarters of prince Henry of Prussia, who lay at Diepoldswald, with about 20,000 men. Marshal Daun, neglecting all other objects, was intent upon recovering Saxony from the Prussians. Through his natural caution, he had several times altered the plan of his operations; sometimes pointing them towards pursuing the king of Prussia into Silesia, sometimes against Berlin; but at last, leaving the generals Harsch and de Ville on the southern frontiers of Silesia, to amuse the Prussians, he began his march, through Zittau, Gorlitz, and Bautzen, towards Dresden. By crossing at Meissen, he might have cut off all communication between Dresden and Leipsic; and by attacking prince Henry, who was now encamped at Secdelitz, he might have put him between two fires, that of his own army, and that of the army of the empire. But the vigilance of prince Henry, who secured a communication with his brother, and took care to keep Dresden at his back, frustrated, for that time, all the schemes of that cautious general.

1758.

In the mean time, his Prussian majesty, notwithstanding all the interruption given him by the Austrians, marched by Wisoca, Politz, and Landshut; and on the 20th of August he reached Francfort on the Oder. Here he joined the troops under count Dohna. The Russians had, ever since the 15th, been throwing bombs and red-hot balls into Custrin, by which the place was set on fire, and the inhabitants reduced to the most deplorable state that imagination can form; and to complete their misfortune, their principal magazine had blown up.

Frederic hastened to avenge himself on those destroyers of his dominions. On the 23rd, he passed the Oder with his whole army, about twenty miles to the north-east of Custrin. The Russians, on his approach, marched from before Custrin, and took post between the villages of Zwickau and Zorndorf. The king had now to cope with an enemy, with whom he had never been personally engaged before. The greatest generals have their failings; and that of his Prussian majesty was, perhaps, a too great disregard for his enemies. He considered the Russians as barbarians, without reflecting, that they were barbarians who never knew how to yield; and that they were commanded by officers of experience, who knew how to turn that barbarism, which he affected to despise, into steady courage and military discipline, so as to baffle all the efforts of more active valour.

His Prussian majesty at first attempted to put in practice one of those military motions, in which he had been often successful, by turning the left flank of the enemy, and attacking them in the rear. The Russians, foreseeing his design, had thrown themselves into a kind of hollow square, which presented him every way with a front fortified with artillery and *chevaux de frize*. It was therefore necessary for the king to attack them with his artillery. The cannonading began at nine in the morning, with a dreadful discharge of great and small artillery, in which the Prussians were greatly superior, and which did amazing execution upon the Russians, who stood as if they had been invulnerable, and supplied every vacancy in their ranks with unparalleled readiness and alacrity

This behaviour was new to the Prussians, who, seeing the enemy, in a manner, court death, made a pause; which the first line of the Russians, having exhausted their shot, improved into a panic, by breaking in upon them with their swords and bayonets, and which forced the hitherto impenetrable body of the Prussians to recoil. This change in the fortune of the day, effected by their broken and defeated battalions, was so unexpected by the Russian generals, that they made no disposition for supporting their infantry with their cavalry. Had this been done, this day had probably been the last of the Prussian greatness.

FREDERIC, whose presence of mind never failed him, was not so negligent. He instantly brought the whole of his cavalry, under general Secdelitz, to the centre, and they made head against the fatigued Muscovites, while the Prussian infantry, recovering from their disorder, and stung with what had happened under the eye of their sovereign, formed behind them, and made so dreadful a charge upon the unsupported Russian battalions, that they recovered the field. When the Russians are beat, they never fly; but they grow stupid, unless they are under the command of generals, in whom they have great confidence. At present they were under no command; and, unable to advance farther, they remained where they were, plundering their own baggage, and drinking brandy wherever they could find it. To increase their confusion, the wind blew the dust and smoke directly in their faces, while their cool enemies, by their king's directions, improved every advantage. It was now no longer a battle, but a horrid and undistinguishing carnage. Still the Russians, amidst this inconceivable slaughter, kept their ground. At last their cavalry, as yet unbroken, fell upon the left wing of the Prussians, now fatigued with conquest and carnage, and favoured the broken infantry so far, as to give them an opportunity of forming anew, and marching to a more advantageous ground. The loss of the Russians in this battle amounted to 21,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; amongst whom were 939 officers. Ten thousand were killed upon the spot, and the wounds of above 6000 more proved mortal. The Prussians did not lose above 2000 men in the whole; and the Russian military chest and a noble train of artillery fell into their hands.

THE Russian generals, having collected the broken remains of their army, gave orders for a retreat, and they marched to Landsberg on the frontiers of Poland, while their general-in-chief, Fermor, requested the king of Prussia for leave to bury the dead.

THIS victory, glorious and complete as it was, gave no relief to his Prussian majesty. Laurels and thorns grew on every side of him. He made dispositions for improving his victory; but danger called him towards Saxony, where marshal Daun, whom, it seems, nature did not fit for offensive measures in the field, unless he was called to them by necessity, or invited by a certainty of success, was encamped at Stolpen, to the eastward of the Elbe. This situation, in which there was more safety than glory, served, however, to cover the operations of the Austrian arms, under the generals Harsch, de Ville, and Laudohn.

THE resolutions of the Imperial court, in all matters of war, are taken with the utmost secrecy; and every minister and Aulic counsellor there, is either a general or a judge of generals. It was therefore difficult to pronounce, whether Daun's, not proceeding to offensive operations, in the absence of his Prussian majesty, against prince Henry in Saxony, over whom he had so great a superiority, did not proceed from the selfishness of the court of Vienna. They had promised the king of Poland, and all their allies, that the recovery of Saxony should be the chief, if not the only object of the campaign; but it is presumed, they would have been much better pleased to have recovered Silesia.

WHILE Daun overawed prince Henry, and his Prussian majesty was employing his army against the Russians, Laudohn lay upon the borders of Brandenburg, with the apparent intention of drawing the Prussian troops to the northern; while Harsch and de Ville acted in the southern parts of that province. The strong fortress of Sonnestein, in the neighbourhood of Dresden, which had long overawed Daun, surrendered in a very unaccountable manner, to the Austrian general, Macquire, on the 5th of September. Upon this, Daun proposed to execute the plan he had formed in the beginning of the campaign; that of passing the Elbe, and putting prince Henry

between his fire and that of the army of the empire, and thereby cutting off the communication between the prince and Dresden. But his Prussian majesty was by this time on the borders of Saxony. The terror of his approach obliged Laudohn to forego his advantages in the Lower Lusatia, and to fall back upon Daun, who was so far from executing his grand plan, that he retired to Zittau, so as to have Bohemia at his back; while the army of the empire remained inactive in the strong post of Pirna, which they had seized.

THOSE glorious successes of the Prussian monarch, who in the space of fifteen days had defeated a superior body of his enemies, in one extremity of his dominions; and baffled, without fighting, another superior body, in another extremity, gave him respite rather than security. The Swedes, on hearing of his victory at Zorndorf, had retired in disorder; but they still kept their arms in their hands, without evacuating his dominions. The Russians had still a strong footing in the most populous parts of his territories; and he had no superiority in Saxony, but that of generalship and reputation. In short, his affairs were still in a most critical situation; and the least error or neglect threatened still to plunge him into an abyss of calamity and misfortune.

DAUN still kept possession of his almost impregnable camp at Stolpen; and the Prussian monarch had taken post at Bautzen, a situation by which he was enabled to act as he pleased, on the side either of Misnia or Lusatia, his right wing extending to Holtzkirchen. By this position of the two armies, it appeared, that the marshal intended to cut off the king's communication with Silesia, and the king to cut off that of the marshal with Bohemia. The situation of his majesty, was, however, upon the whole, the most advantageous of the two. A battle seemed inevitable; and it was evident, from the situation of both armies, that the aggressor would have the disadvantage. It will, perhaps, be ever a secret, by what means Daun came to have intelligence that the Prussians were more carelessly encamped, and more remiss in their quarters, than usual. He had before concerted measures with the prince of Deux-Ponts, who commanded the army of the empire, for a general battle; and in the dead of the night, on the 14th of October, he ordered his army to decamp in three columns, and to march by different ways, with the utmost silence, so as all the three divisions should meet together near the Prussian camp, at five in the morning.

DAUN's orders were obeyed with astonishing secrecy and precision. The divisions, in falling in with one another, formed a regular line of battle, and almost instantaneously attacked the Prussian camp towards Holtzkirchen, where it was weakest. Considering the bravery and discipline of Daun's army, and the advantages under which this attack was made, it is astonishing that a single battalion of the Prussians should escape. Not a shot was fired by any of the Prussian outguards; and their enemies were in the midst of their encampment, while they imagined them to be lying at Stolpen.

FIELD-MARSHAL Keith had the day before pointed out some weaknesses in the Prussian encampment, and had even remonstrated to his majesty on that occasion. He was the first general officer who got upon horseback, and gave the alarm to his quarter; and to his vigilance and activity was it owing, that the whole army was not cut off; for the small party under him gained time for their fellow-soldiers to put themselves under arms. The marshal, however, was killed on the spot, by two musket-balls; and the head of prince Francis of Brunswick was carried off by a cannon-ball, as he was mounting his horse. The death of those two great officers, the next in command, as in merit, to the king himself, seemed to portend the entire loss of the army; but his majesty had by this time assembled some troops, and in person gave play to the Austrians, till others were formed. Frederic, perhaps, had never so difficult a part to act. The contest was not now for victory, far less for glory, but for safety. He flew from post to post, with that inconceivable presence of mind and rapidity, which so strongly mark his character. As his right wing was in greatest danger, he reinforced it with some battalions from the left; and endeavoured to recover the important post of Holtzkirchen, from which his troops had been driven in the beginning of the attack.

THIS reinforcement enabled him, after four bloody charges, to retake that post; but the Austrians, who well knew its importance,

recovered it with an amazing slaughter. General Retzow, who commanded the left wing of the Prussians, with great difficulty repulsed the enemy from that quarter. At last his majesty, after maintaining the fight for five hours, and losing, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 7000 of his best men, ordered a retreat behind his artillery, which was placed in the middle of his camp; and which, with the help of his cavalry, put a stop to all pursuit from the Austrians, whose loss in killed and wounded amounted to above 5000. All the further consequences of this bloody action were, that his Prussian majesty still kept possession of Bautzen, but extended his right wing towards Wussenburg. The occasion of this unfortunate disaster cannot, till this day, be accounted for. Certain it is, that his Prussian majesty's extricating himself from such a dreadful dilemma, conveys a more exalted idea of his military talents, than the most splendid of his victories.

THE Russians had been so severely handled at Zorndorf, that they remained in the camp near Landsberg, without making any motion, till the 21st of September, when they began their march towards Pomerania, and there laid siege to the town of Colberg. This place, though inconsiderable in itself, was of infinite importance to the Russians, by its being a sea-port, from whence they might receive provisions and reinforcements, without being exposed to the danger of starving Brandenburg, or to marches insupportably long and laborious. Hitherto his Britannic majesty had ordered his minister at the court of Petersburg, to omit nothing that the czarina could reasonably expect or desire, to buy off her inveterate enmity towards Prussia; and he was not without hopes of success. But the siege of Colberg proved, to all Europe, not only that she was immoveable in her purpose, but that the empress-queen was determined to sacrifice the safety of Germany, and even of her own dominions, to her resentment; since nothing had, at all times, been deemed more impolitic, in the Germanic system, than to suffer the Russians to get footing by sea in the empire. It was now more than suspected, that her Russian majesty had far greater views than that of assisting her sister-empress; and that she intended to take and to hold. Colberg, though poorly garrisoned, and still more weakly fortified, held out under major Heydon, its governor, for twenty-six days, against an army of 15,000 besiegers, who were at last shamefully obliged to quit their enterprise; but they revenged their disgrace by perpetrating, wherever they went, the most unheard-of inhumanities upon the defenceless inhabitants; for the several stages of their marches were marked by fire and desolation.

THE insincerity of the court of Vienna appeared now more glaring than ever. Daun, instead of pushing the advantages he had gained at Holtzkirchen, by attempting the relief of Saxony, through his inactivity, and the few motions he made, plainly evinced, that all he intended was to cover the operations of the Austrian generals in Silesia, where they had already besieged Neiss, a city twenty miles south-west of Breslau, and lying near the confines of the Austrian Silesia. The point was embarrassing to his Prussian majesty, whether he should hazard a battle, leave Saxony exposed, or march to Silesia. He was not long in determining. Having received large reinforcements from his brother's army, he left his camp at Dobreschutz, the night of the 24th of October, and, without opposition from the enemy, reached the plain of Gorlitz; where he defeated a party of Austrians, who wanted to fortify themselves there. This march eased him of all apprehensions from Daun's army; and, in fact, blasted all the laurels the latter had acquired at Holtzkirchen.

DAUN, ashamed to be thus outwitted, sent Laudohn to harass his Prussian majesty, with 24,000 men, and strong reinforcements to the generals Harsch and de Ville, who had not only besieged Neiss, but blockaded Cosel. Frederic, notwithstanding all these impediments, continued his march; and Daun, seeing that he could not prevent the relief of Silesia, on the 6th of November passed the Elbe at Pirna, and advanced towards Dresden, from which the Prussian army, weakened by the detachments the king had drawn from it, had been obliged to retire to the westward. Before Daun, however, could cut off their communication with that city, as the army of the empire had cut it off from Leipsic, they threw themselves into Dresden all at once. Thus, notwithstanding the advanced season, three great sieges were undertaken in Saxony; that of Dresden by Daun, that of Leipsic by the Imperial army, and that of Torgau by detachments from both.

Frederic was now approaching towards Neiss, the garrison of which had defended themselves with incomparable bravery, ever since the 4th of August. On the 1st of November, he obliged the Austrians to raise that siege and the blockade of Cosel, and to fall back upon Bohemia and the Austrian Silesia. He now hastened to the relief of Saxony, where Daun had besieged Dresden with 60,000 men. Count Dohna and general Wedel, who had rid themselves of the Swedes in Pomerania, defended Torgau, and had driven the Austrians from it as far as Eulenburg.

Count Schmettau commanded in Dresden, with an army of 12,000 men. The electors of Saxony had long been the patrons of ingenious arts and manufactures. Their subjects had rivalled the antients, in many curious works of the chisel, the furnace, the laboratory, the needle, the loom, and the pencil; and they had greatly exceeded the Easterns, even the Chinese themselves, in their boasted productions of porcelain. The soil of the country, and the genius of the inhabitants, were wonderfully well adapted to the improvement of every manual art; and a long series of internal tranquillity, while the flames of war raged around, had rendered Saxony the paradise of Germany. Even the expences of its court, the most luxurious of any in Europe, contributed to enrich the inhabitants, who gave specimens of their wealth in the magnificence of their buildings. The suburbs of Dresden, where the nobility, merchants, and manufacturers reside, formed in themselves a most superb city, and greatly superior to that which lies within the walls. Unfortunately the builders of the houses had not reflected, that it was possible, some time or other, that Dresden might be besieged; for the platforms of the suburbs looked down upon the battlements of the city.

Schmettau was sensible of the advantage this circumstance presented to Daun, and that the suburbs were untenable. He therefore gave Daun his option, either to see them in flames, or desist from his operations. The Austrian general threatened him with the consequences of so barbarous a proceeding, and so contrary to the rules of war. Schmettau justified himself by necessity, which supersedes all other considerations; and by the duty he owed to his master, to whom alone he was accountable. Daun threatened to make him personally answerable to himself. Upon which Schmettau replied, that he would not only burn the suburbs, but, if the city was attacked, he would defend it street by street, and at last take refuge in the castle, where the royal family resided, and defend that likewise. This answer, being made public, brought the magistrates and principal inhabitants on their knees before the Prussian governor; and the royal family implored him, with all the moving eloquence of distress, to change his resolution, which, if executed, would leave them destitute of a habitation. Schmettau's answer was, that Daun, and not he, could grant their request; and instantly ordered the houses of the suburbs to be filled with combustible materials, and at three in the morning, November the 10th, they were fired; and the houses in which they had been deposited were reduced to ashes.

Though no arguments can justify this horrid transaction, far less reconcile it to the dictates of common humanity; yet if we admit the casuistical reasonings of politicians, and allow the necessity of war, it must be acknowledged, that Schmettau did no more than what he was compelled to. His conduct likewise admits of many alleviations. He communicated to the magistrates and inhabitants the time and manner in which he was to proceed, assisted them in removing their goods, consulted with them upon the most favourable way of executing his disagreeable orders, which was done so gently, that not above 250 houses were consumed. All these circumstances appeared afterwards from authentic evidences, judicially given by the magistrates of Dresden, and the parties themselves, who were the chief sufferers, and which were published by his Prussian majesty's command, to refute the exaggerated representations of the court of Vienna, and its allies, on this occasion.

It was in vain for Daun, while the flames were thus raging, to renew his threats, as he did, against Schmettau. Perhaps they proceeded not so much from concern for the sufferers, as from his conviction that he would now find it extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to take the city. He accordingly, upon the approach of his Prussian majesty, decamped from before Dresden on

the 17th of November; and the king, on the 20th, after joining his troops under count Dohna and general Wedel, made a kind of triumphal entry into that city.—Thus, by the valour and activity of the Prussian monarch, his generals, and officers, six sieges were raised almost at the same time; namely, those of Colberg, Neiss, Cosel, Torgau, Leipsic, and Dresden.

The Austrians retired to winter-quarters, and disposed their forces so as to form a chain of amazing length, from the frontiers of Moravia, passing through Bohemia, all along the skirts of Silesia, and the borders of Saxony; where they were joined by the army of the empire, which continued the chain through Thuringia and Franconia; where it was united to the quarters of the prince de Soubize. The king of Prussia, in order to break this extensive chain, sent some bodies of his troops into Thuringia, where they dispossessed the army of the empire of several of their posts.

Though the events of this campaign were not so splendid and brilliant as the last; yet we shall find, on examination, that the conduct of the different commanders was more artful and refined, their movements more judicious, and their marches were performed with more celerity and vigour. The vicissitudes of fortune, which his Prussian majesty experienced, are remarkable; and the fortitude and skill with which he stemmed the torrent of adversity, and rose superior to his evil fortune, are altogether without example. We should have been happy to have had an opportunity of extolling his moderation, as well as his courage; but, in this particular, impartiality obliges us to condemn his conduct. Exasperated at the persecuting spirit of his enemies, the dangers and labours he had undergone, the blood and treasure he had expended, and the incessant toils to which he was daily exposed, but above all at the exhausted state of his finances, he retaliated upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony; and persecuted a suffering and unoffending people, in the spirit of revenge against the injustice and rapacity of their rulers.

CHAPTER XV.

GEORGE II.

[1759.]

Unanimity of the Parliament—National Exultation—Movements of Prince Ferdinand—Battle of Minden—Conduct of Lord George Sackville—Transactions in the East Indies—Enterprise of Lally—His Disasters—Naval Operations in the Indian Seas—Prince Henry's Expedition into Bohemia—Prussians defeated at Meissen—Expedition against Martinique—General Amherst takes possession of Ticonderago and Crown Point—Battle of Niagara.

THE successes of the English arms, the valour of our naval and military commanders, and the activity and vigour of the ministers, had changed the despondency, which had so long depressed the spirits of the community, into one general feeling of exultation and confidence. The addresses of the two houses of parliament contained the

most animated assurances of their willingness to concur in the effectual prosecution of the war; £3,120,000 were granted for the pay of 60,000 seamen and marines, £1,256,131 for the pay of 52,343 land forces, in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, £1,238,177 for the expence incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, £60,000 for enabling his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Hesse, and £670,000 for the payment of the Prussian subsidy. These, with various other sums appropriated to different purposes of state, and one million for enabling the king to defray any extraordinary expence of the war, during the current year, amounted collectively to £12,761,310.

The allied troops under prince Ferdinand, strengthened by additional reinforcements from Britain, and augmented by German recruits, were supplied with every convenience and necessary required by active warfare. They were in some measure deprived of these advantages, by the injustice of the French in seizing Francfort, a neutral city. By this proceeding, the French army secured the course of the Maine and the Rhine, and could without difficulty or danger receive every kind of reinforcement and supply. Sensible of their advantageous situation, the great object of prince Ferdinand was to drive the French from Francfort. Having therefore assembled all his forces, to the amount of 40,000, he
1759. came in sight of the enemy on the 13th of April, whom he found strongly encamped around the village of Bergen, between Francfort and Hanau. The attacking a superior force, thus situated, did not deter the allied general from his enterprise. Having detached 12,000 men, for the defence of his Hanoverian frontier, he marched with 30,000 men towards Francfort. The grenadiers, supported by some battalions under prince Yssenburg, made an attack on the village of Bergen, which covered Broglio's right wing; where eight German battalions were posted, and seven brigades of French troops; but were repulsed, and the prince of Yssenburg was slain. The good conduct and military knowledge of prince Ferdinand were eminently displayed in this engagement. Finding that little impression was made upon the French posts, and that his own troops suffered greatly, it became his chief consideration, how to retreat with honour in the sight of a superior army. Night was the only means to cover such a retreat, and the day was not yet far spent. In this embarrassment, his royal highness made such movements as indicated a resolution to renew the battle with redoubled vigour. By this means the French were amused during the remaining part of the day, and night secured to the allies an easy, safe, and regular retreat to Windeken. He was compelled to remain for some time on the defensive near the banks of the Weser, while the French retained possession of Francfort; and their armies effected their desired junction at Corbach in Hesse-Cassel, where they were amply supplied with provisions.

The French army, elated by their success at Bergen, advanced with great rapidity; and prince Ferdinand, finding himself inferior to the united forces of the enemy, retired as they advanced, after having left strong garrisons in Lipstadt, Retburg, Munster, and Minden. The progress of the French arms was but little retarded by these obstacles. Retburg was surprised, Lipstadt blockaded, and Minden taken by assault. General d'Armientieres made himself master of Wesel; where the garrison of 4000 men were made prisoners of war. The progress of the French was so rapid, that the conquest of Hanover was regarded as inevitable. The archives, and most valuable effects of the electorate, were sent to Stade; and the disposition of the French army near Minden, was such as encouraged them to boast and to believe, that the allied army under Ferdinand would lay down its arms without a stroke.

The French army was strongly posted near Minden; the main body being on the west of the Weser, and Broglio's division on the east. Ferdinand was encamped at Petershagen, about nine miles from the French. A battle was the only means of preventing the enemy from taking up their winter-quarters in Hanover; and to attack them in their present situation was impracticable. Stratagem was necessary to supply the place of strength, and it must be admitted, that the operations of Ferdinand were masterly. On the 28th of July, he detached the hereditary prince of Brunswick, with 6000 men, to take a circuit round the enemy's left flank, and to cut off their communication with Paderborn. On the 29th, the prince forsook his camp on the Weser, and marched to the right; leaving

a strong body of troops, under general Wangenheim, intrenched on the borders of that river, and supported by a considerable artillery. The allied army was now divided into three bodies, and it was evident, that the defeat of any one of them must decide the fate of the other two. The French generals were completely deceived by this arrangement. Nothing appeared more easy than to defeat the body under Wangenheim, by which Ferdinand must be cut off from all communication with the Weser, and be therefore compelled to surrender at discretion. This was deemed the more practicable, as Ferdinand, with the division under his command, was then supposed to be at Hillen, a village at a considerable distance, by which position the enemy were in hopes of cutting off his communication with Wangenheim's corps. Early on the 1st of August, the French left their advantageous post near Minden, and advanced in eight columns to attack the allied army. Broglio came to the west of the Weser, and crossed the Werra, a small marshy river which falls into it above Minden. Their whole army was then arranged in three divisions, sixty squadrons of cavalry forming the centre. But when Broglio, who commanded the advanced guard, had attained the summit of an eminence, which had intercepted his view of the allies, he found to his surprise, the main army of his enemy confronting him; the prince, after he saw that his artifice had succeeded, having suddenly rejoined Wangenheim's division. The French generals now perceived the error into which they had been drawn, but it was too late to correct it; and they displayed a want of promptitude in making the attack, which gave the prince time to complete his movements. The battle was begun with a brisk firing of artillery on both sides, in which the count de Buckeburg, who commanded that of the allies, did great execution. Ferdinand then commanded his infantry in the centre to advance against the enemy's cavalry; a movement that was performed, with such wonderful intrepidity, by six regiments of British and two of Hanoverian troops, in defiance of a heavy cannonade and a furious charge of the French horse, who anticipated their attack, that they forced them at last to give way. Broglio, who had in the mean time been repulsed, in an attack on the left wing of the allies, then brought up his division to cover the retreat of the cavalry. This was the most critical moment of the battle. The prince dispatched general Winzingerode, his aide-de-camp, to lord George Sackville, who had succeeded the duke of Marlborough in the command of the British troops, and was at the head of the cavalry on the right, with orders for his lordship to advance, through the thin part of the wood on his left, to the rear of the infantry, and to support them in their pursuit. But instead of fulfilling this order with the exactness and promptitude which the emergency required, lord George appeared to misunderstand the route he was ordered to take, and instead of taking the road through the thin of the trees on the left, he prepared to move forwards in a direct line. His delay in about eight minutes occasioned another order, to a similar purport with the former. His lordship then drew his sword, gave the word of command, and moved a few paces forward; but was told by captain Ligonier that he was to march to the left. At this instant a third aide-de-camp came up to his lordship, and delivered an order that he should advance to the left with the British cavalry alone. His lordship replied, that the orders he received were contradictory. But the latter remarked, that they only differed in numbers, and that their destination was the same—to the left. Colonel Fitzroy, one of the aides-de-camp, offered to lead the column himself, through the wood on the left. After much altercation, and while the urgency of decision was extreme and obvious, his lordship, with a singular degree of coolness and inattention to the demands of the moment, resolved to leave his division, and to ride in quest of the prince, to have the order explained. But as he followed colonel Fitzroy to the prince through the woods, finding them less impassable than he had conceived, his lordship sent back captain Smith, one of his aides-de-camp, to bring up the British cavalry. His royal highness, convinced of the necessity of immediate support to the infantry, to complete the success and glory of the day, thought it expedient to send the same orders to the marquis of Granby, before lord George came up.

Lord Granby, who commanded the second line of cavalry, did not hesitate a moment. He took his route to the left; and, while lord George was taking the prince's orders, shewed

him the line of cavalry coming through the wood. His royal highness then gave his lordship final orders to form the cavalry on the heath, and to support the infantry, which lord George proceeded to put in execution, came up with his division, and placed himself at its head, after it had got through the wood, and conducted it to the rear of the infantry; but it was then too late for the purposes intended. Broglio was enabled by this delay to make his retreat in good order; the left wing and centre crossing the rivulet, and the right taking refuge under the cannon of Minden. Eight thousand of the enemy were killed or wounded, while the loss of the allies did not exceed 1000 men. On the same day, the detachment under the hereditary prince of Brunswick defeated a large body of the French, under the duke de Brisac, and compelled it to take refuge in Minden, by which event the enemy lost their advantageous position on the Weser, and were obliged to resign the glories of the campaign.

THE cause of the mutual misunderstanding between prince Ferdinand and lord George Sackville, (afterwards lord George Germain) has never been traced to any authentic source; but it is imagined, that the superior talent and the inquisitive spirit of the English general were by no means agreeable to his superior in command, whose cupidity was excited by the hope of obtaining certain pecuniary advantages, which the other was unwilling to permit. Lord George was immediately recalled, in April of the next year tried by a court martial, found guilty, and declared incapable of serving his majesty in any future command.

THE consequences of the battle of Minden were by no means correspondent with the valour of the allied troops, or the skill of the general. The French were obliged to retire towards Cassel, but it was the 11th of September before the inconsiderable castle of Marburg surrendered to the allies. Munster still remained in the hands of the enemy, and general Imhof, being detached by prince Ferdinand to besiege it, was frustrated in that design by d'Armentieres.

THE transactions of the war in the East Indies were chequered with various success. The French had sent a considerable reinforcement, under the command of general Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, whose enterprising spirit was well calculated to give effect to sudden efforts, but who wanted the judgment and composure of mind requisite to the command which he was about to assume, whose haughty and impetuous temper peculiarly disqualified him for the service of a commercial company, and whose avarice rendered him the object of equal jealousy and fear. A new armament was likewise fitted out under M. d'Aché, who commanded their marine.

ADMIRAL Pococke, on the death of admiral Watson, who had merited the esteem of the English company, by his eminent services and fidelity, succeeded to the command. On receiving intelligence of d'Aché's arrival, he immediately put to sea with his fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line, and finding his rival, who had nine ships under his command, off the Coromandel coast, he brought him to an action which continued two hours, and terminated in a decisive victory on the part of the English; the French having sustained more than double the loss of men, having retired from the scene of action, and one of their ships having been driven on shore and lost. Three of admiral Pococke's captains behaved, during this engagement, in a manner unworthy of their country. They had acquired, during their sojourn in India, immense riches, and were unwilling to hazard the loss of their treasures by too close and enterprising a contest with the enemy. 1759.

LALLY, in the mean time, had landed his troops at Pondicherry. Entering immediately on action, before his enemy had leisure to make preparation for resistance, he in three days reduced the fortress of Cuddalore. Advancing to the siege of St. David's, he made himself master of it, after seventeen days open trenches. The small fortress of Davi Cotta submitted to him without resistance; after which he returned victorious to Pondicherry. Encouraged by these successes, Lally would willingly have proceeded to the siege of Madras, while his men were flushed with victory. To provide himself with pecuniary supplies, the want of which was his grand obstacle, he demanded 72 lacks of rupees from the rajah of Tajore, by virtue of an agreement between that prince and the French governor, during the late war. On his refusal of compliance, Lally marched a

body of troops into Tanjore, and after plundering the opulent town of Nagore, invested the capital. He had been some weeks before the city, which was well defended by the garrison, aided by some English forces from Tritchinopoly, when the intelligence of a design, formed by the English, for an attack on Pondicherry, compelled him to return to its defence. This movement counteracted his enemy's purpose; but a misunderstanding subsisting between him, Monsieur de Bussy, who still commanded in the Deccan, and Moracin, who was stationed at Masulipatam, was of much prejudice to the service. Lally complained of the want of strenuous support from these officers, as well as from d'Aché. On the other hand, his recal of the troops from the Deccan and Masulipatam, to cooperate in the siege of Madras, which he invested in the month of December, was proved to be injudicious by the event; for the French forces were so reduced in the Deccan, that colonel Ford, with a detachment from Bengal, was enabled to dispossess the French of several fortresses in that country. On the 14th of December, Lally advanced, with his whole force, to the attack of Madras. A desperate sally was made by the English, under the command of colonel Draper, which, if it effected no other object, tended to dispirit the besiegers. The enemy's batteries played vigorously against the town, but the fire of the garrison was more skilfully directed. The French acted with a timidity and want of judgment, by no means conformable to their national character. It was in vain that Lally attempted to lead on his men to a breach that had been practicable for several days, it continued open for a fortnight, and no one dared to venture on the assault. To add to his embarassments, he was ill-supplied with provisions, in consequence of his misunderstanding with the government; and he learned that the garrison had received a reinforcement. Despairing of success, he raised the siege on the night of the 17th of February, leaving behind him thirty-six pieces of cannon, and retreated to the neighbourhood of Arcot.

THE English generals, availing themselves of the disasters of their enemy, entered upon active hostilities in every quarter. Lawrence, Draper, and their subordinate officers, taking the field with the forces which had so gallantly defended Madras, possessed themselves of Conjeverem and Chingelpet, two fortresses which commanded the adjoining country in the Carnatic. They were repulsed in an attempt on Wandewash; but before the close of the campaign, Mr. Pigot, seizing the opportunity afforded by the absence of Lally on an expedition to the south, dispatched colonel Coote, with a strong body of troops against it. That officer in a few days made himself master of the fortress, with the garrison of 900 men, and 40 pieces of artillery, and afterwards reduced Carangoly.

LALLY, alarmed at this unexpected success, determined to risque a general engagement, or to retake Wandewash, which he besieged with 2200 Europeans, and between 9000 and 10,000 sepoys. He prosecuted the siege with the utmost vigilance, but colonel Coote arrived with his army, consisting of 1700 Europeans and 3000 sepoys, at the moment when Lally was about to storm the breach he had made. A long and obstinate engagement ensued, in which the French sustained an entire defeat, with the loss of 1000 men, their cannon, and all the implements of the siege. The English lost no time in pursuing their victory; they marched directly to Chitiput, which they captured, and then laid siege to Arcot, which surrendered in an early part of the succeeding year. (1760)

THE uninterrupted success of the campaigns of 1758 and 1759, were, in a great measure, to be attributed to the ability and vigilance of admiral Pococke. D'Aché, whose fleet had been augmented to eleven ships of the line, ventured, after an absence of thirteen months, to return in September from the Isle of Mauritius, to dispute the sovereignty of the Indian seas. The English admiral, with nine ships, immediately sailed in quest of him, and brought him to an action. The battle which ensued was fought with much spirit for two hours, when the French fleet retired towards Pondicherry. Pococke, having repaired his masts and rigging, endeavoured to provoke d'Aché, as he was lying at the mouth of the harbour, to renew the conflict, but without effect; and the superiority of the English navy was still further confirmed by the arrival of admiral Cornish, with a squadron of four ships of war.

UNDER pretext of reinforcing their garrisons in Bengal, the Dutch equipped an armament

of seven ships, which was ordered to sail up the Ganges, and rendered their fort at Chinchura so formidable, as to exclude all other nations from the salt-petre trade, carried on there, and to monopolize the sale of that commodity. Colonel Clive complained to the nabob, and remonstrated with the Dutch commodore, and not receiving a satisfactory answer, dispatched a small squadron against him, which gained a decided advantage in an action near the mouths of the Ganges. Colonel Ford was sent with a military force against the fortress, and was so successful in his operations, that the Dutch directors were glad to avoid the farther prosecution of hostilities, by engaging to make reparation for the damages which the English merchants had sustained.

The armies under the direction of his Prussian majesty, proceeded in their operations with vigour. On the 23rd of February, his general, Wobersnow, marched into Poland with a strong body of troops, destroyed several vast magazines, belonging to the Russians, and returned without any loss into Silesia, on the 18th of April.

In the mean time, prince Henry commanded in Saxony; and his army entered Bohemia in two columns, with great success. General Hulsen, who commanded one of the columns, defeated a large body of Austrians at Pasberg, and made about 2000 prisoners, with the loss of only 70 men; while the other column penetrated as far as Loboschutz, under Lecmentz; and both returned to Saxony with hostages for the contributions they had exacted. Soon after this the prince entered Franconia by the way of Hott, and defeated a body of Austrians and Imperialists, under general Macquire. The bishoprics of Bamberg and Wurtzburg were laid under contribution. In taking possession of Bamberg, the Prussians were guilty of some unjustifiable irregularities, which were productive of loud complaints, and, in due time, of a severe retaliation. During prince Henry's absence in Franconia, a body of Austrians had penetrated into Saxony.

The Russians were too formidable to be attacked by count Dohna, who contented himself with observing their motions, and harassing their march. The king of Prussia thought this conduct too timid and cautious, considering the emergency of affairs; he therefore gave that general leave to retire for the benefit of his health, and conferred his command upon general Wedel, with positive orders to attack the Russians. He marched against them in two columns, and on the 23rd of July attacked them at Zullick; where, after a bloody and obstinate engagement, he was repulsed with great loss. General Wobersnow was killed, and general Mantcuffel wounded; the Prussians passed the Oder without molestation; and the Russians, in a few days, made themselves masters of Francfort.

The king of Prussia and count Daun had been, for some time, employed in observing each other's motions; but the attention of the former was chiefly directed against the Russians, whose progress was now become very alarming. Receiving intimation of Wedel's defeat, he marched with 10,000 of his best troops, in order to take upon him the command of Wedel's army, and to drive this formidable enemy from his dominions. The remainder of his forces were strongly encamped under prince Henry, who had joined him previous to this event.

Daun was not ignorant of the king's intentions; and knowing that the Russians were very defective in regular and firm cavalry, he detached a body of 12,000 horse, together with 8000 foot, under the command of general Laudohn, one of the ablest officers in the Austrian service. These troops penetrating, in two columns, through Silesia and Lusatia, with some loss, arrived in the Russian camp at a very critical juncture.—By this time, the king of Prussia had joined general Wedel at Muhlrose, and assumed the command of the army; but finding it greatly inferior to the enemy, he recalled general Finck, whom he had detached some time before with a body of 9000 men, to oppose the progress of the Imperialists in Saxony. Thus reinforced, his army amounted to near 50,000; that of the Russians exceeded 90,000. They had chosen a strong camp at the village of Cunnersdorf, the natural strength of which they had increased by intrenchments, mounted with a numerous artillery. To attack them was difficult and hazardous; and, in any other circumstances than the present, the attempt would have been rash and ridiculous. But there was now no room for hesitation. The affairs of his Prussian majesty required

a desperate effort; and, in his present situation, the most rash attempt could not be rejected by the most rigid prudence.

1759. On the 12th of August, about two in the morning, his Prussian majesty put his troops in motion; and, having formed them in a wood, advanced towards the enemy. The action began, about eleven, with a severe cannonade; which having produced the effect he desired from it, he charged the left wing of the Russians with his best troops, disposed in columns. After an obstinate conflict, the enemy's entrenchments were forced, with prodigious slaughter, and 72 pieces of cannon were taken. A narrow defile was afterwards passed; and several redoubts that covered the village of Cunnersdorf were taken by assault, one after the other. The Russians made a firm stand at the village; but they were overborne by the impetuosity of the Prussians, who drove them from post to post, quite to their last redoubts. As the Russians never quit their ground, till they are hewn down in their ranks, this success was attended with inconceivable slaughter. After a furious contest of six hours, fortune seemed to declare in favour of the Prussians. The enemy had been driven from all the ground they had occupied before the battle, and more than half of their artillery was taken. In those circumstances, Frederic dispatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin:

"Madam,

"We have beat the Russians from their entrenchments. In two hours, expect to hear of a glorious victory."

This news arrived at Berlin just as the post was going out; and the account of his Prussian majesty's success was circulated throughout Europe. But this intimation was premature, and subjected him to the ridicule of his enemies. The Russians had been severely handled, but were not defeated. Count Soltikoff rallied his troops, and formed them under cover of a redoubt, which was erected on an eminence, called, The Jews' burying-ground. A situation more advantageous could not well be conceived, and, to an army already fatigued with the service of six hours' slaughter, it might justly be deemed impregnable. The day was excessively hot, and the strength of the enemy still greatly superior to that of the Prussians. Frederic was far from being discouraged by those circumstances. His courage was always in proportion to the danger he had to encounter, and he could not bear to be a conqueror by halves. He resolved, therefore, to drive the enemy from their advantageous posts, which was the only thing wanting to render his victory complete. His generals, it is said, represented to him the madness of such an enterprise, and used every argument that could be suggested, to dissuade him from so difficult and dangerous an attempt. This salutary advice was rejected, and he resolved once more to put all to the hazard. The infantry began a new attack, which being much beyond their strength, they were repulsed with great slaughter. They were again rallied and brought to a second attack; they were a second time repulsed, and their loss redoubled. The infantry being quite exhausted, the cavalry succeeded to the attack. They made several spirited but unavailing attempts; the horses, as well as their riders, being entirely exhausted At this critical moment, the Russian and Austrian cavalry, who were quite fresh, fell in among the Prussian horse, broke their line at the first charge, forced them back upon their foot, and threw the whole into irreparable disorder. Being thus put into confusion, the Prussian army was seized with a panic, and in a few minutes totally defeated and dispersed. The personal efforts of the king, who hazarded his life in the hottest parts of the battle, were of no avail. He led on his troops three times to the charge, two horses were killed under him, and his clothes, in several parts, were perforated with musket-balls. Nothing but the approach of night could have saved the Prussian army from total destruction.—This was by far the most bloody action that had happened since the commencement of hostilities; and perhaps modern history cannot furnish the narrative of a more desperate engagement. The Prussians lost upwards of 20,000 men, in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. General Patkammaer was killed on the spot, and the generals Leidelitz, Itzenplitz, Hulsen, Finck, and Wedel; and the prince of Wurtemburg and five major-generals were wounded. Of the enemy 10,000 were killed. The Prussians lost all their artillery and baggage.

When his Prussian majesty found himself

obliged to quit the field, he dispatched another billet to the queen, couched in these terms :

"Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy."

It is much easier to conceive than to describe the horror and confusion which this intimation produced at Berlin ; horror the more aggravated, as it seized the people in the midst of their rejoicings, occasioned by the first dispatch. The terror was still more dreadfully augmented by a subsequent indistinct relation, importing that the army was totally routed, the king missing, and the enemy in full march to Berlin.

Next day the king retreated over the Oder, collected the scattered remains of his army, and saw, with joy and astonishment, the enemy remain inactive in their camp. He improved this interval with equal spirit and sagacity. He furnished his camp with cannon from the arsenal at Berlin, which likewise supplied him with a considerable number of recruits. He recalled general Kleist, with 5000 men, from Pomerania, and in a little time resumed his former importance.

Count Soltikoff marched into Silesia, and, with part of his army, joined that of the Austrians in Lusatia, under Daun. The army of the empire having entered Saxony, where they had reduced Hall, Wittemberg, Leipsic, Torgau, and at last Dresden itself, the king detached 6000 men, under general Wunch, to check the progress of the Imperialists in that electorate. Perceiving that the Russians intended to besiege Great Glogau, he, with the rest of his army, took post between them and that city, so as to frustrate their design. This movement, while it prevented the Russians from taking winter-quarters in his dominions, unavoidably cut off all communication with the army of prince Henry. Finding that he could not co-operate with his brother on the side of Silesia, prince Henry directed his march towards Saxony, with the view of recovering possession of that country, and to draw the attention of Daun towards it, so as to disable him from assisting the Russians. The country, through which this projected march lay, was in a manner overspread by the enemy. On the 23rd day of September, the prince quitted his camp at Hornsdorf, and, after a rapid and almost incredible march, arrived at Hoyerswerdd, where he surprised a body of 4000 men, commanded by general Vehld, killed 600, and made twice that number prisoners, including the commander himself.

Soon after this atchievement, the prince joined the troops under Finck and Wunch, which obliged M. Daun to leave his camp, and to make a forced march to cover Dresden ; which city, it was probable, prince Henry had resolved to attempt.—Three armies were now encamped on the banks of the Oder ; the Russians at Franstadt, general Laudohn, with a body of Austrians, at Schlightingskeim, and the king of Prussia at Koben. On the 29th of October, the duke d'Aremberge, with 16,000, was encountered and defeated by general Wunch, who took 1200 prisoners, some cannon, and great part of their tents and baggage.

The affairs of his Prussian majesty, notwithstanding his repeated disasters, were once more in a respectable condition. He was at the head of a gallant army of 60,000 men, in high spirits, ready to perform the most desperate of his orders ; and there still remained hopes, that the campaign might be concluded to his advantage. It was now obvious, that Daun would be obliged to retire into Bohemia, to abandon Dresden, and in short to give up all the advantages resulting from his former victories. Frederic was not satisfied with the slow and progressive mode of distressing an enemy ; he was for actions of greater moment and more decision. The passes into Bohemia were exceedingly difficult ; and the king thought that, by some posts properly chosen and strongly guarded, the retreat of the Austrians might be prevented ; and that Daun, after all his caution and prudence, would be compelled to hazard a battle at an evident disadvantage, as he would then have no resource but in victory. With this view he detached general Finck, with nineteen battalions, and thirty-five squadrons, to take possession of the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf, through which alone it seemed possible for the Austrians to penetrate into Bohemia. This was done with great success. Daun retired to Plauen, and the king advanced to Willsburg, imagining that he had effectually succeeded in his design.

However plausible this project might appear, there was evidently some mistake or oversight in its execution. Finck had no sooner taken post near Maxen, than Daun, after having reconnoitred his situation, resolved to attack him, with his corps de reserve, under the baron de Sancere. The baron marched his troops in four columns through the woods, and the Prussians were entirely surrounded before they had the least intimation of their approach. They had penetrated too far into these defiles, and had neglected to secure a retreat, or any sort of communication with the main army. Their situation was the most desperate that could well be imagined. To retreat was impossible; and the only consolation arising from resistance was the hope of selling their lives dear. They defended themselves, for the whole day, with the greatest resolution. But all their efforts were ineffectual. Overpowered by numbers, they were driven from eminence to eminence, until, by favour of the night, they made their last retreat to Falkenhayn. The Austrians were employed the whole night in guarding, with double strength and vigilance, every avenue, through which it was possible for the Prussians to escape.

The morning presented a dreadful and discouraging sight to the Prussian army. The hills on every side of them were covered with great bodies of the enemy, and every defile presented a hedge of bayonets, through which it would have been madness to attempt to penetrate. In this alarming condition, fatigued with the hard service of the preceding day, in which they had exhausted almost all their ammunition, stripped of the greatest part of their cannon, surrounded on all quarters, without the least prospect of relief, it is not to be wondered that the Prussian army lost all hope and all spirit. General Finck was well-acquainted with the rigour of his master; and he felt the thousand embarrassing circumstances that every man of honour and of spirit must feel at such a juncture. The apparent shame of a surrender was great; but the absurdity of throwing away the lives of so many brave men on a forlorn hope, while there was a possibility of reserving them for better occasions, was, in his opinion, sufficient to counterbalance it. He therefore sent a trumpet to count Daun, to demand a capitulation, which was granted in one single article, importing, that he and eight other Prussian generals, with the whole body of troops they commanded, should be received as prisoners of war. To this he was obliged to submit; and his whole army, consisting of 20,000 men by the Austrian account, (and above 12,000 by the Prussian,) 64 pieces of cannon, 50 pair of colours, and 25 standards, fell into the hands of the Austrian general.

This was a severe stroke upon his Prussian majesty; and it was the more mortifying, as it implied a censure on his conduct, for having detached such a numerous body of troops to a situation where they could not be sustained by the rest of the army.—The Austrians exulted in this cheaply obtained victory, which they considered as catching their enemy in the snare that had been laid for themselves; and they looked upon it as a full indemnification for the capture of the Saxon army, which had surrendered very near this place in the year 1756.

This disaster was succeeded by another. General Diercke had been stationed on the banks of the Elbe, opposite to Minden, and being recalled, was obliged to transport his troops in boats, the floating ice preventing the use of his pontoons. Whilst he struggled with these difficulties, his rear-guard was attacked by a strong body of Austrians, who, after an obstinate defence, took prisoners himself and his men, amounting to between 3000 and 4000.

By these two successive defeats, occurring at the close of an unfortunate campaign, his Prussian majesty was so weakened, that he would hardly have been able to maintain his ground at Freyberg, had he not at this time been reinforced by the body of troops under the hereditary prince of Brunswick. Daun, far from being elevated at the advantages he had gained, adhered strictly to his usual cautious management. Instead of pursuing the blow, when it was more probable than at any other period of the war, that one vigorous effort would have crushed his Prussian majesty, and put an end to the troubles in that part of Germany, he quietly occupied the strong camp at Pirna, that he might be at hand to succour Dresden, and maintain his communication with Bohemia. Frederic, finding it impossible to bring the Austrians to

an engagement, was obliged at last to desist, and to suffer the shattered remains of his army to repose in winter-quarters.

Four bloody campaigns had now been fought in Germany, without any prospect of either of the parties being obliged to submit. Never, since the ages of ignorance and barbarity, were the lives of men squandered away with such profusion as in the course of this German war. As if the common method of carrying on hostilities was not sufficiently destructive, winter campaigns were introduced; and the troops were lavishly exposed to the rigour of that inclement season, in despite of nature, and contempt of humanity. In vain the confederate powers of Austria, Russia, France, and Sweden, united their efforts to crush the Prussian monarch. He had been defeated; he had been out-generaled; but it was evident that nothing but the most desperate necessity, nothing but being conquered in the most absolute sense, could ever induce him to submit.

The success of the last American campaign had excited a desire in the British ministry of improving it. Instead of employing the whole strength of the British arms against one object, it was proposed to divide the forces, and to make impressions on different parts, so as to distract and weaken the enemy. In order to render success more certain, the different expeditions were planned in such a manner, as to co-operate with each other, and even to join occasionally. An attempt against the French Caribbee Islands constituted part of this comprehensive plan. In the end of the preceding year, a squadron of nine ships of the line, with sixty transports, containing six regiments of foot, were sent thither. The land forces were commanded by general Hopson, an officer, whose age and infirmities, as well as natural caution, disqualified him for such a service; and the sea-force was under the command of commodore Moore, then in the West Indies. Martinico, the most considerable of all the French islands, was the place of their destination.

On the 16th of January, the troops were landed near Port Royal, without meeting with any considerable opposition. The natural strength of the country, however, proved a much greater obstruction to the British army, than the force of the enemy. The attempt proving ineffectual, after repeated efforts, the troops were re-embarked. There appears to have been some difference between the commanders, which might occasion the sudden abandonment of the attack. It was then determined to proceed to St. Pierre. When they arrived before that place, new difficulties arose, a council of war was held, and the attempt against Martinico was finally abandoned. Unwilling to return with the disgrace of having done nothing worthy of the greatness of the armament, and the expectation of their country, the commanders resolved to proceed against the island of Guadalope, an object of as much importance as Martinico, though of less popularity.

On the 23rd of January the fleet arrived before the town of Basse-terre, the capital of the island, and defended by a strong fortress, which, in the opinion of the chief engineer, could not be reduced by the shipping. The commodore was of a different opinion, and brought the ships to bear upon the town and citadel. About nine in the morning, a dreadful cannonade began, which continued with the utmost fury till five in the evening, when the fire of the citadel, and all the other batteries, was effectually silenced. In the mean time, the bombs, which were continually showering upon the town, set it on fire in several places. Nothing could exceed the horror of this scene. The heavy and unremitted fire of so many great ships and batteries, and the blowing up of the powder-magazines, were heightened by a continued and permanent line of flames, which extended along the shore, and formed a suitable background to so terrible a picture.

Next day, the troops landed without opposition, took possession of the town and citadel, and displayed the British colours on the walls. The island, however, was far from being reduced. The nature of the country, abounding with passes and defiles, rendered it easy to be defended; and the inhabitants, who had retired to the mountains, seemed determined to resist to the last extremity.

On the 27th of February, general Hopson, who, though unfit for this service, was a worthy man and a good officer, died, and his command devolved upon general 1759.

Barrington ; a circumstance which contributed not a little to the subsequent reduction of the island. It is not consistent with my limits to enter into a detail of the skirmishing operations of the troops, which were drawn out to a considerable length. The inhabitants pursued the most sensible plan that could be adopted in their situation. Instead of hazarding a general engagement with regular troops, they resolved to weary them out with continual alarms, and to harass and distress them with perpetual skirmishes ; a plan which the unhealthiness of the climate, and the want of provisions among the British troops, rendered but too likely to succeed. Hostilities were protracted in this manner from the 24th of January till the 1st of May, when the inhabitants thought proper to capitulate ; and the whole island and its dependencies were subjected to the British crown. Scarcely was the capitulation signed, when M. Bompart, general of the French Caribbees, landed at St. Ann's, a port belonging to Guadaloupe, with 600 regulars, 2000 buccaniers, and a vast quantity of arms and ammunition. But this body, hearing of the capitulation being signed, immediately disappeared ; though, had they landed a day sooner, the subjection of the island to the British arms must at least have been doubtful. On the 25th of May, the island of Marigalante surrendered, upon the same terms as had been granted to Guadaloupe.

THE operations of the British arms, on the continent of America, were directed to different objects. To fall, as near as possible at the same time, upon Crown Point, Niagara, and the forts to the south of lake Erie, whilst a great naval armament, and a considerable body of land forces, should attempt Quebec, by the river St. Lawrence, was the plan proposed. The army under general Amherst, destined against Ticonderago and Crown Point, was the first in motion. The reduction of those forts would naturally lay open the lake Champlain, which has a communication with the great river St. Lawrence. Having established a sufficient naval force on this lake, the general was to proceed to Quebec, in order to form a junction with general Wolfe and admiral Saunders, who, having entered the river St. Lawrence at the opposite quarter, would probably have commenced the siege of Quebec by the time of his arrival.

FROM the impediments that were thrown in general Amherst's way, the summer was pretty far advanced before he could transport his forces across lake George. They landed on the 21st of July, and reached the field, where, in the preceding year, the British troops had suffered so terrible a disaster. The French, after a feeble show of resistance, abandoned Ticonderago, and retreated to Crown Point. The only loss attending this acquisition was that of colonel Townshend, who was killed, in reconnoitring, by a shot from the fort. He fell near the spot where the gallant lord Howe was killed ; to whom, in the circumstances of his birth, qualifications, and character, he bore a strong resemblance. Previous to their retreat, the enemy had, in some measure, dismantled their fortifications ; and the first care of the general was to repair them, as upon the possession of this important post, not only the success of his offensive operations depended, but a secure retreat in case of a reverse of fortune.

WHILE Amherst was thus employed in repairing Ticonderago, and endeavouring to render his naval force upon the lake respectable, he received intelligence from his scouting parties, that the enemy had retired from Crown Point. He immediately detached a party to take possession of the place, and soon after arrived there with the rest of his troops.—The enemy had retired, with about 3500 men, to the bottom of lake Champlain, and were posted at the Isle de Noix. They were well provided with artillery ; and their force upon the lake was such as justified them in hoping to be able to prevent the farther progress of the British army. Amherst, sensible of the advantages attending a superiority on the lake, had given orders for the building of several vessels with the utmost expedition. These being furnished, victualled, and manned, he embarked with the whole army on the 10th of October, and proceeded a considerable way upon the lake. The general, in his zeal for the service, and anxiety to join general Wolfe, from whom he had not received the least intelligence, seems to have forgotten the advanced season of the year, and that it was impossible to contend with so severe and tempestuous a climate. Finding it impracticable to proceed, he prudently postponed his operations till another year, and returned with the army to Crown Point. In the mean time,

his little squadron upon the lake exerted itself with great activity. Three of the French vessels were driven into a bay; two of which were sunk, and the other run aground. General Amherst, having opened communications between Ticonderago and the governments of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, disposed his troops in winter-quarters.

THE forces appointed to act against Niagara, under general Prideaux, arrived at that place, without meeting with any obstruction. The fort was invested about the middle of July, and the operations were carrying on with great vigour, when general Prideaux was unfortunately killed in the trenches, by the bursting of a cohorn. General Amherst being informed of this disaster, immediately sent brigadier-general Gage, to assume the command of that army. In the mean time, it devolved upon sir William Johnson, who entered into the views, and pursued the measures of the late general, with the greatest spirit. Apprehensive of losing a place of such importance, the French resolved to exert their endeavours for its relief. They collected together all their regular troops and provincials, with a large body of savages, amounting in all to about 1700 men, in order to give battle to the English, and to raise the siege. General Johnson, having received intelligence of their approach, ordered the light infantry and piquets, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to post themselves to the left, on the road leading from the falls of Niagara to the fort, by which the French were to pass. The Indians were placed on the flanks; and another regiment was posted in such a manner, as to secure the trenches from a surprise during an engagement.

ABOUT eight in the morning, the enemy was seen advancing. The Indians in the English service offered a parley with their countrymen in the French army; but it was rejected. The action was introduced by the horrid cry, called the war-hoop; which was said to have been one of the principal causes of general Braddock's defeat, by the panic which it struck into his troops. But it had now lost its effect, and was no longer dreadful. The enemy began to attack with great resolution; but they met with so warm a reception, from the troops in front, and the Indians on their flanks, that in less than an hour, their whole army was routed, and their general, with most of his officers, taken. The pursuit was continued through the woods, for several miles, with great slaughter.

THIS battle, fought in the sight of the fort, contributed in a great measure to its speedy reduction. The general sent in a list of the prisoners, and exhorted the commandant to surrender, before more blood would be shed, while he had it in his power to restrain the Indians. The capitulation was signed that night. The garrison, consisting of 607 men, surrendered prisoners of war, and were conducted, with all their baggage, to New York. The taking of Niagara broke off effectually the communication between Canada and Louisiana; and one of the capital political designs of the French was defeated in its direct and immediate object.

CHAPTER XVI.

GEORGE II.

[1759.]

Proceedings in Canada—Siege and Capture of Quebec—Death of Wolfe—Naval Operations—Defeat of the French off Logos by Boscawen—Military Operations in Germany—Disasters and Exploits of the King of Prussia—Capture of Berlin.

HOWEVER interesting the reduction of Crown Point and Niagara might be considered, they were only intended to be subservient to the conquest of Quebec, the grand object of all our operations. The scheme, by which the two armies, employed against those forts, were to join and co-operate with the northern armament under general Wolfe, was too refined and complicated to be put in execution; and had success depended entirely on that circumstance, the French flag might yet have continued to wave from the fortress of Quebec.

ADMIRAL Saunders commanded the fleet; and the operations by land were entrusted to the conduct of major-general James Wolfe, whose military genius was so eminently displayed at the siege of Louisburg. His subordinates in command were brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray.

ON the 26th of June, the whole armament arrived at the isle of Orleans, a few leagues from Quebec, after a prosperous navigation. By the assistance of some excellent charts taken from the enemy, the admiral experienced none of those difficulties, with which the navigation of the river St. Lawrence was said to be attended. Next day the troops were landed on the island, which is about twenty miles in length, and seven in breadth, highly cultivated, and abounding with people, villages, and plantations. It extends quite up to the bason of Quebec; and its most westerly point approaches so nearly to another on the continent, called Point Levi, that the harbour of Quebec appears to be land-locked on all sides. The possession of these two points was of the utmost importance; and the first operation of general Wolfe was to secure them, which was done with little difficulty.

THE city now appeared in full view, and presented to the British troops at once a tempting and a discouraging sight. Nature seems to have peculiarly studied the defence of Quebec, and the French had left nothing undone which might add to the natural strength of the country. Their troops, amounting to 12,000 men, and commanded by M. Montcalm, an able and hitherto fortunate general, were encamped in a very advantageous situation, along the shore from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, every accessible part being deeply entrenched.

To attack a place possessed of so many advantages, with such a handful of men as the British army consisted of, was not only deviating from the established maxims of war, but was in all appearance a rash and fool hardy attempt. Wolfe was well-acquainted with the difficulties he had to encounter; and, though of a temper highly sanguine and adventurous, he began almost to despair. He was resolved, however, to leave nothing unattempted; he was not without hope of being joined by general Amherst, and he knew that while the British squadron maintained its station in the river, he should always have it in his power to retreat in case of emergency. The west point of the isle of Orleans, and that of Levi, being secured, batteries were erected upon the high ground, which fired continually upon the town.

Admiral Saunders was stationed in the north channel of the isle of Orleans, opposite to the falls of Montmorenci; while admiral Holmes proceeded up the river, beyond the town, which not only diverted the enemy's attention from the quarter on which the attack was intended, but prevented their attempts against the batteries already erected by the English.

The fleet being thus judiciously disposed, general Wolfe caused the troops to be transported over the river St. Lawrence, to the north-east of Montmorenci, with a view, after he had crossed the latter, of moving towards the enemy's flanks, and enticing them to an engagement. Every means was used for this purpose, but without effect. M. Montcalm was well apprised of the importance of his situation; and, though superior in numbers to the English, was resolved to risk nothing, and to rely entirely on the strength of the country.

Meanwhile the fleet was exposed to the most imminent danger. A violent storm had caused several transports to run foul of each other, many boats foundered, and several large ships lost their anchors. The enemy, taking advantage of the confusion which they imagined this disaster must have produced, sent down seven fire-ships from Quebec, at midnight, among the British fleet, which lay so thick as to cover the whole surface of the river. This scheme, though well contrived and seasonably executed, was entirely defeated by the skill and vigilance of admiral Saunders, and the dexterity of his mariners, who resolutely boarded the fire-ships, run them fast aground, and prevented them from doing the smallest damage to the British squadron.

Wolfe, finding that every endeavour to draw the enemy to an engagement was unsuccessful, and sensible that the approach of winter would soon terminate all military operations in that northern climate, formed a resolution of attacking them in their intrenchments, on the side of Montmorenci. There was a redoubt, situated close to the water's edge, and to appearance without gunshot of the entrenchment on the hill. The general foresaw, that if the enemy should suffer this fort to be reduced, he could afterwards reconnoitre their situation at leisure, and determine the place at which they could be most easily attacked; on the other hand, should they endeavour to support it, he would be enabled to bring on a general engagement. This plan, judicious and practicable as it may appear, failed, from one of those accidents which can neither be foreseen nor prevented.

On the 30th of July, in the forenoon, the troops destined to this attack were embarked in boats, in order to be transported across the channel. To facilitate their passage, the Centurion ship of war was stationed in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford; a numerous train of artillery was placed upon the eminence, to batter the left of the enemy's entrenchment; and two flat-bottomed armed vessels were run aground near the redoubt, to favour the descent of the forces. The confusion which these manœuvres produced among the enemy, determined the general to storm the entrenchment immediately. Orders were issued for the brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, to put their troops in motion at a certain signal, which was accordingly given at a proper time of the tide. Several boats, however, were run aground, which caused a considerable delay, during which the troops were exposed to a severe fire from the enemy. In the mean time, the general in person sounded the shore, and pointed out the place where the troops might be landed with the least difficulty.

Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the second American battalion, were the first who landed. They had orders to form upon the beach, and to wait for the corps that were to sustain them, before they began the attack. Instead of attending to this necessary injunction, they rushed with an impetuous ardour towards the enemy's entrenchments, in the most tumultuous disorder. This confusion was increased by a severe and steady fire from the entrenchments, which forced them to take shelter under a redoubt, which the enemy had abandoned on their approach. In this distressful situation they remained a considerable time, unable to form under so hot a fire, notwithstanding every effort of their officers. Night was now drawing on, and a violent tempest was gathering. For these reasons, the general judged it not advisable to persevere in so dangerous an attack, as a second repulse might render the retreat of the troops hazardous and uncertain. He therefore ordered them to retreat, and to

form behind Monckton's brigade, which was now drawn up on the beach in good order. The whole repassed the river without molestation; the general exposing his person with that intrepidity for which he was distinguished, both during the attack and the retreat.

The loss which attended this mortifying check was very considerable. Above 500 men, and many brave officers, were killed or wounded; but though the army was considerably weakened, the general was resolved to proceed with vigour, as long as there remained a possibility of success. Admiral Holmes's squadron, which had returned to assist in the late unsuccessful attack, was ordered to move up the river, attended by brigadier Murray, with 1200 men. Nothing of great moment was effected by this detachment. Several magazines of the enemy were destroyed, but they could not come near their men of war; so that they returned to their former station. By some prisoners taken in this expedition they learned, that the fort of Niagara was taken, Ticonderago and Crown Point abandoned, and general Amherst employed in making preparations to attack the corps under M. Burlemaque, at the isle de Noix.

The ill fortune which had hitherto attended all his operations, made a deep impression on the mind of general Wolfe. He had planned, he had attempted, he had executed every thing that might insure success; he had faced every danger in person, and braved every difficulty and fatigue; but the prospect of victory and conquest was yet far distant. He well knew that the want of success, in all military expeditions, was oftener attributed to misconduct than misfortune; and the thought of returning without having performed any thing worthy of himself and the public hope, was more terrible to him than death. He was often seen to sigh; he was often heard to complain; and the tumult of his mind, added to the fatigues of body he had undergone, disordered his whole constitution, which was naturally delicate and tender. He was seized with a violent fever, which for some time totally disabled him. In this feeble condition, he begged of the general-officers, to consult together for the public utility; and the result of their deliberation was, that 4000 or 5000 men, conveyed above the town, might be able to draw the enemy from their situation, and to bring them to a general engagement.

It was at this period that general Wolfe dispatched an express to England, with an account of his proceedings. In this elegant and truly military letter, though written in the style of despondency, we may discover the scholar, the philosopher, the warrior, and the politician. It may be exhibited as a standard of military eloquence; and would have ranked the author among our best writers, had not his military exploits placed him among our greatest commanders.

Agreeably to the plan which had been formed, for a regular assault, the general and admiral reconnoitred the town; and concluded, from their own observation, enforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, that such an attack could not be hazarded, with any prospect of success. The scheme, therefore, of drawing the enemy to a general engagement, was now finally adopted. The troops quitted the camp at Montmorenci, were re-embarked and landed at Point Levi; and admiral Holmes's division made movements up the river, in order to draw the attention of the enemy as much from the town as possible. This was attended with a better effect than before; for though Montcalm still maintained his advantageous post, he detached M. de Bougainville, with 1500 men, to watch the motions of the English admiral.

Admiral Saunders, who still remained in his first position, was ordered to make a feint, with every appearance of reality, as if the troops intended to land below the town, and attack the French intrenchments on the Beauport shore. On the 12th of September, about one in the morning, the general embarked the troops aboard the transports, and proceeded three leagues farther up the river than the intended place of landing. They were then put into boats, and began to fall down with the tide to the place of disembarkation. The boats glided gently along, unobserved by the French centinels posted on the shore; but by the rapidity of the current, and the darkness of the night, they overshot the mark, and were carried a little below the intended place of attack. The ships of war followed them, and, by a well-conducted navigation, arrived just at the time concerted to cover their landing.—When we consider the danger and difficulty attending this enterprise, we cannot

but admire the dexterity with which it was performed. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank above lined with centinels, and the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark. When the troops were landed, the heights of Abraham appeared before them; which rise abruptly, with a steep ascent, from the banks of the river. A little path slanted up the hill from the landing-place, so narrow that two could not go abreast; and even this was intrenched and defended by a captain's guard. These difficulties, however discouraging and perplexing, served only to animate the troops. The light infantry and the highlanders, under colonel Howe, ascended the precipice with admirable courage and activity. They were obliged to pull themselves up by the stumps and boughs of trees, which covered the declivity. The captain's guard, which defended the pass, was soon dispersed, the whole army mounted, without further molestation, and were drawn up in order by the general as they arrived.

Montcalm could scarcely credit the intelligence he received, of the British forces having gained the heights of Abraham, which he had confidently deemed inaccessible; but finding it but too true, and being conscious that the British fleet might destroy the low town, while the high town was attacked by the army, he resolved to hazard a battle; and quitting Beauport, passed the river St. Charles, and formed his troops opposite to ours.

General Wolfe, perceiving the approach of the enemy, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions, and the Louisburg grenadiers. The right of this body was commanded by brigadier Monckton, the left by brigadier Murray, and the rear was protected by the light infantry under colonel Howe. As the enemy discovered an intention of flanking the left of the English, general Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, that is, in a body which presented two faces to the enemy. His numbers were soon increased by two battalions, and another battalion was drawn up as a reserve, formed in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The right of the enemy was composed of half the colony troops, supported by two battalions of regulars, and a body of Canadians and savages; their centre consisted of a column formed by two other regular battalions; and the remaining half of the colony troops, with one battalion, were posted on the left. The bushes and corn-fields in their front, were filled with detachments of Indians, and the best marksmen, who, previous to the engagement, kept up a galling, though irregular, fire upon the British troops.

About nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge, with great spirit, and in good order; but their fire, from its beginning too soon, was irregular and ineffectual. The British troops, on the contrary, reserved their fire until the French had approached within forty yards of their line, when they poured in a most dreadful and effective discharge. This fire was continued with great deliberation and spirit, and the enemy began to give way on all sides. At this critical time, general Wolfe, who stood conspicuous in the front of the line, where the attack was the most warm, received a ball in the breast, under which he sunk, and was carried behind the ranks. While his surrounding friends expressed the utmost anxiety for his misfortune, his sole anxiety was directed to the fate of the battle. A messenger arriving, he asked, *How are the troops? The enemy are visibly broken*, was the reply. Almost faint, he reclined his head on the arm of an officer, when his faculties were revived by the distant sound of, *They fly!* Starting up, he exclaimed, *Who fly? The French. What?* said he, *do they fly already? then I die happy.* With these words he expired in the arms of victory. General Monckton, the second in command, fell immediately after, and was likewise conveyed off the field of battle. The command now devolved on general Townshend, who shewed himself equal to so arduous a duty. Notwithstanding the discouraging circumstance of losing two generals, the troops preserved their spirit; and every regiment seemed to exert itself with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers pressed on with their bayonets, and soon broke the centre of the enemy; when the highlanders, drawing their broad-swords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them with great slaughter into the town. Colonel Howe, with his light infantry, maintained his station on the left, during the whole action, and entirely prevented the attempts of the Indians and Canadians upon that quarter.

DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.

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Baddeley sc.

Victory had scarcely declared in favour of the British forces, when a new enemy appeared, which threatened to deprive them of the consequences of their previous bravery. M. Bougainville, who had been detached up the river, had turned back on being informed that the British troops had gained the heights of Abraham, and now appeared in the rear, with a body of 2000 men. Fortunately he arrived too late to have any share in the battle. The main body of the French army was broken and dispersed; and general Townshend established his rear so effectually, that Bougainville, after a feeble attempt, thought proper to retire among woods and swamps, whither the British commander wisely declined to follow him.

Montcalm was mortally wounded in the engagement, and conveyed into Quebec. His second in command likewise received a wound, of which he afterwards died on board an English vessel.

Immediately after the action, admiral Saunders, who had all along spiritedly cooperated with the land forces, to the advantage of the service, sailed up with an intention to attack the lower town, while general Townshend was preparing to assault the upper. This double attack was anticipated by a proposal of capitulation from the town; which, after mature deliberation, was accepted and signed on the 18th of September. The terms were honourable to the garrison, and advantageous to the inhabitants, who were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and the possession of their civil rights, until a general peace should decide their future condition. The fortifications were in tolerable order; but the houses were entirely demolished. General Murray, with a garrison of 5000 men, was left to defend the place; and the remainder returned to England with the fleet, which sailed soon, lest it should be locked up by the frost in the river St. Lawrence. Brigadier Monckton was conveyed to New York, where he happily recovered of his wound.

Thus was the conquest of Quebec completed; an enterprise, which proves that perseverance and intrepidity will overcome obstacles apparently insurmountable. When we consider the strength of the country, the numbers of the besieged, and the advanced season at which the attack was commenced; the success which attended it is calculated to excite the greatest astonishment. Every manœuvre displayed the judgment and genius of the general, and the bravery of the troops. It is but justice to the navy to observe, that they co-operated with an unanimity, ardour, and perseverance, never enough to be commended.

About 1000 of the enemy, including a great number of officers, were taken prisoners; and about 500 were slain on the field of battle. If we except the death of general Wolfe, and reflect on the importance of the victory, the loss of the British troops was quite inconsiderable. It did not amount to above 500 men.

The death of this great general was a national misfortune; and perhaps our loss that day was greater than the conquest of Canada was advantageous. Never was honour more firmly established upon the principles of virtue, than in him. He seemed formed by nature for military greatness. His memory was retentive, his judgment deep, his comprehension quick and clear, and his capacity extensive. His passion for glory prompted him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could confer, or actual service illustrate or confirm. With the true fire of the soldier, he possessed the milder qualifications of the man. He was generous, gentle, complacent, and humane. Contemning every little art for the acquisition of wealth, he scorned to prolong a burdensome war, to enrich himself with the spoils of his country. His rank in the army was owing to no parliamentary interest, nor family connexions; to merit alone he was indebted for his command, and to the discrimination of that great man, whose genius directed the operations of the war. He had long discovered his abilities, and "marked him for his own." If we view his fate with the eye of a soldier, it was of all others the most to be envied. He had happily effected the enterprise in which he was engaged, fully satisfied the expectations of his country, and, expiring in the arms of victory, left to future times an heroic example of military skill, discipline, and fortitude.

The news of this important conquest arrived in England but a few days after the express, which general Wolfe had sent off after the affair of Montmorenci. The despondency occasioned by the latter was great.

The conquest of Canada was ardently desired by the people; and, from their high opinion of Wolfe, they were almost assured of success; but when *he* began to doubt, they thought that *they* had just reason to despair. It is difficult to describe the various and mixed emotions with which every one was affected, when intelligence was brought of the capture of Quebec, and the death of Wolfe. The sudden transition from such dejection to the highest joy, mixed with grief and pity for the fate of the general, was singular and affecting. The rapture and riot which the news excited among the populace, were blended with the praise of the gallant general; and the mournful triumph which every where manifested itself, while it did honour to the memory of Wolfe, exhibited the generous and humane feelings of the people.

The French army, soon after the surrender of Quebec, retired to Montreal and Trois Rivieres, the only places of any consequence they had left in Canada. The country along the river was laid waste for a considerable extent, to deprive the French troops of subsistence, and to render any attempt in the winter, for recovering Quebec, abortive; a measure which, however repugnant to humanity, was judged to be absolutely necessary.

Though the French were equally unsuccessful in Asia, Africa, and America, they were now meditating a blow, which, had it succeeded, would have amply revenged all their losses. A masterly and powerful invasion of Great Britain was projected, and their ports were filled with preparations for carrying it into execution. Three embarkations for that purpose were arranged. M. Thurot, an intelligent and enterprising adventurer, humane in his manners, and fortunate in his undertakings, was appointed to command a squadron of men of war, destined against Scotland. From being captain of a merchant-vessel, he had become a commander of a privateer, and was now a commodore in the French service. His birth was obscure; but his opinions, at a time when a total degeneracy of the French commanders prevailed, rendered abilities illustrious, which in England could not have entitled him to a lieutenantcy on board a ship of war. The second embarkation was to have been performed at Havre de Grace, and the other sea-port towns of Normandy, and was designed immediately against England. The third embarkation, destined against Ireland, was to be made at Vannes, in Lower Britany. The land forces were commanded by the duc d'Aguillon, while a powerful squadron, under M. Conflans, was to cover and secure their landing. These appearances were alarming; but they were greatly diminished by the excellent measures adopted by the British government. The Brest fleet, under Conflans, was blocked up by Hawke, who at the same time detached some ships to watch over Vannes; while commodore Boys was stationed before Dunkirk, and admiral Rodney bombarded Havre.

In the mean time, admiral Boscawen, who had succeeded admiral Osborne in the Mediterranean, effectually maintained the honour of the British flag. The French had assembled a considerable armament at Toulon, under the command of M. de la Clue; some imagined it to be destined against America, while others supposed it intended to reinforce the Brest fleet, and to co-operate with it in the designed invasion of the English coast.

Boscawen, having in vain attempted to bring the enemy to an engagement, ordered three ships to advance and burn the French vessels lying close to the mouth of the harbour. In executing this order, the ships met with a warm reception from some batteries, which had not been before perceived; and a calm ensuing, they received such considerable damage, as rendered it necessary for the English admiral to return to Gibralter to refit. M. de la Clue seized this opportunity for sailing, and proceeded with great diligence to the straights. Boscawen had notice of his approach, before he reached Gibralter; and, though his ships were not perfectly ready to sail, he used such expedition, that in two hours they were out at sea. At day-light, he descried seven large ships of de la Clue's squadron; the other five, and three frigates, having been separated in the night. The English vessels, being newly refitted, proved better sailers, and soon came up with the enemy near cape Lagos, in Portugal. After a brisk engagement, in which the coolness and intrepidity of the British admiral were equally conspicuous, the French fleet was totally defeated. The Ocean and Redoubtable,

two of the best ships in the French navy were run ashore and burnt; the Centaure and the Modeste, two other of their capital ships, were taken; and the rest, with great difficulty, obtained refuge in the harbour of Cadiz.

This event, however severe and discouraging, did not deter the French from their intended descent on Great Britain. They seemed to take courage from despair; they also supposed that the winter storms would compel the English ships to take shelter in their own harbours, and so give them an opportunity of slipping out to sea, and putting their design into execution. In this expectation they were not disappointed; a violent storm drove the English squadrons off the French coasts. Thurot, availing himself of this circumstance, immediately put to sea, and was as immediately pursued by commodore Boys. He had the good fortune, however, to escape to Gottenburg, in Sweden, where he was laid up till after Christmas by the severity of the weather, and the want of necessaries.

When the storm subsided, the French admiral, perceiving no enemy upon the coast, put to sea. Admiral Hawke, who had taken shelter in Torbay harbour, sailed on the very same day, the 14th of November. He directed his course for Quiberon bay, where he expected the French fleet would rendezvous; and, after meeting with several disappointments from contrary winds, on the 20th he discovered the headmost ships of the enemy, bearing northward, between the main land of France and the island of Belleisle. The fleets, on both sides, were the most powerful of any employed in the course of the war. The British consisted of 23 sail of the line, and the French of 21; but in number of men, and weight of metal, they were nearly equal.

The ardent wishes of the British admiral were now completed. The French fleet was within his reach, and a general engagement apparently inevitable. He overlooked the difficulties he had to encounter, though sufficient to check the bravest commander. The coast was full of shoals, sands, shallows, and rocks, as strange to the English, as familiar to the French pilots. The wind blew little less than a storm, and the waves ran mountains high; to which may be added, the increased dangers of a short day, a dark night, and a lee shore. Animated with the love of his country, and sensible of the importance of the service he was engaged in, he disregarded every danger and obstacle, rather than not encounter an enemy, on whose destruction the public safety depended.

The conduct of the French admiral was timid and injudicious. It was in his power either to fly or to fight; but he followed neither of these plans. Before he could resolve how to proceed, he allowed the British ships to come up with him; and then crowded his sail, when it was too late to escape. The action began at half past two, and was maintained with great fury for two hours. Hawke's great aim was at the Soleil Royal, the most capital ship in the French service, and commanded by Conflans in person. He ordered the master of his own ship to pass all the other ships of the enemy, and to lay him alongside that of the French admiral. The master remonstrated on the violence of the storm, and the danger of the coast. *You have done your duty*, said Hawke, *in pointing out the danger; you are now to obey my orders, in bringing me alongside the Soleil Royal.* His wish was gratified; and the Royal George ranged with the French admiral. Just as Hawke was about to discharge his reserved broadside, the Thesée, a French 70 gun ship, nobly interposed, received the whole fire, and was sent to the bottom. The Superbe shared the same fate, and the Formidable struck her colours. Had not the French been favoured by the night, their whole fleet must have been destroyed or taken. Seven of their ships, after throwing overboard all their guns, escaped into the river Villaine, and about as many more made for other ports.

The night which succeeded this action was dreadful; it blew a complete hurricane, and nothing was to be heard, on all hands, but signals of distress; friends and enemies blended together in one common danger. Humanity would have prevailed on the English to have assisted even an enemy amidst such indiscriminate distress; but they perceived that all efforts of that kind were impracticable, and would only hasten their own ruin, without affording any relief to the French. They therefore waited till the next day; and then they found that the French admiral had run his own, and another first-rate ship, the Heros, on shore. His own ship

was burnt by himself, and the Heros by the English.

Thus ended this memorable and decisive engagement, upon the issue of which the fate of the two kingdoms seemed to depend. The English sustained little loss, but what was occasioned by the weather. The Essex and Resolution unfortunately ran on a sand-bank, called Lefour, where they were irrecoverably lost, notwithstanding every assistance that could be given; but most of their men, and some part of their stores, were saved. In the whole fleet, no more than one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen and marines were killed, and 202 wounded. The loss of the French must have been great. Four of their best ships were destroyed, one taken, and the rest of their fleet disabled, shattered, and dispersed. It was remarkable, in this engagement, that no French captain was accused or even suspected of misbehaviour or cowardice.

A circumstance occurred at this period, which deserves to be commemorated, as it characterizes the spirit of the British navy. Admiral Saunders happened to arrive from the expedition against Quebec a little after Hawke had sailed. A long voyage, and the severe duty he had undergone, could not deter him from immediately setting sail to share in the glory and danger of this engagement. His good fortune was not equal to the generosity of his intentions. He arrived too late to give any assistance; but his resolution was deserving of praise, and entitled him to the honours of victory.

It was expected that this engagement would have been decisive of all future maritime operations, between the English and the French The French ministry, however, thought proper to palliate their last misfortune. They published an account, in which they exaggerated the strength of the English, represented their own loss as inconsiderable, and concluded with asserting, that so trivial a misfortune would soon be repaired. This partial misrepresentation was absolutely necessary to support the spirit of the people, which had been so deeply depressed by their successive defeats.

Besides the actions of the fleets, many gallant exploits were performed by the captains of single ships. The Vestal, captain Wood, engaged the Bellona, a French frigate greatly superior in men and weight of metal; and, after an obstinate contest, took her, and brought her safely into port. The Southampton and Melampe, two English frigates, commanded by captains Gilchrist and Hotham, gave chace to the Danae, a French ship of 40 guns and 330 men. The Melampe came up with her before the Southampton, and with admirable gallantry maintained a combat against a ship of double her own force. As they fought in the dark, captain Gilchrist was obliged to lie by till he could distinguish the one from the other. At day-break, he bore down on the Danae; and, after a brisk engagement, in which she had 40 men killed, and many wounded, obliged her to surrender. This victory, however, proved fatal to the gallant Gilchrist, He received a wound in the shoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, rendered him incapable of future service. On the 14th of April, the Achilles of 60 guns, commanded by captain Barrington, encountered, to the westward of cape Finisterre, a French ship of equal force, called the Count de St. Florentine, under the command of the Sieur de Montay. After an engagement of two hours, in which the French captain was shot, and 116 of his men killed or wounded, the Count de St. Florentine struck her colours. She was so much damaged, that it was very difficult to bring her into Falmouth. The Achilles had only 25 men killed or wounded. On the 27th of March, captain Faulkner of the Windsor, of 60 guns, discovered four large ships off the rock of Lisbon, to which he gave chace. On his approach, they formed the line of battle a-head, a cable's length asunder. He engaged the sternmost for upwards of an hour, which, having given a signal to the others to edge off, struck her colours. She proved to be the Duc de Chartres, pierced for 60 guns, but she carried only 24; and belonged, as well as the other three that escaped, to the East India Company.—Many other actions were fought by the English cruisers in different parts of the globe, in which the French were mostly unsuccessful.

At the opening of the last campaign, the affairs of his Prussian majesty wore a disastrous aspect; in this they seemed altogether desperate. Independent of his more formidable enemies, the Swedes began to be exceedingly troublesome to him. They had suffered but little; and the people, being bent

on recovering the countries that were dismembered from the crown of Sweden, served with cheerfulness, though under the disadvantage of being badly commanded. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, would willingly have appeared to decline any share in the war; but he was obliged, by the queen of Hungary, as well as by his own family, and the empress of Russia, to suffer a body of Saxons to serve in their armies. The duke of Mecklenburg, Schwerin, though a protestant prince, entered into all the schemes of France and Austria, for which he was severely chastised by his Prussian majesty.

FREDERIC had, in the beginning of the war, boasted, (and with great justice) that he had seven generals under him, who were not to be paralleled in Europe: but in a few years all of them were cut off, without a possibility of their being replaced; for though one genius may succeed another, practice alone can supply experience. He, however, still kept up a creditable appearance, and from time to time published such accounts of his resources and troops, as gave the world a very high idea of his power. His successes were not answerable to those reports. The Swedes, the French, the Russians, and the Austrians, were still in the field, in the beginning of the year 1760; and though singly they were no match for his troops, yet he sustained great losses by the continued repetition of their attacks.

THE Swedes invaded the open country of Pomerania; the Russians directed their views upon Colberg, because it afforded them a port in the Baltic, and the possession of it would have saved them the march of many hundred miles. His Prussian majesty had all the extensive countries of Saxony and Silesia, which border upon the almost inaccessible mountains of Bohemia, to cover, while the eastern part of his dominions was next to defenceless. Silesia is a strong and fertile country; but his manners and maxims were far from being of a conciliating nature, to a people who, for many centuries, had been taught to look upon the house of Austria as their lawful sovereigns.

SUCH was the situation of that prince in the beginning of the year 1760; and a more uncomfortable one can scarcely be conceived. He had nothing but empty fame, and the praise of news-writers, to counterbalance those dangers and disappointments to which he was every hour subjected, except the immense subsidy he obtained from England. This subsidy was the occasion of all his subsequent misfortunes; for he depended too much upon it for the continuance of a war, to which his powers were by no means adequate. He seemed himself somewhat sensible of this, for he formed a plan of operations, entirely defensive. His brother, prince Henry, commanded an army about Francfort on the Oder, in order to protect Silesia, the New Marche of Brandenburg, and Berlin, which, considering its importance, was one of the most defenceless places in Europe. He himself, in the mean time, lay in a camp, most judiciously chosen, between the Elbe and the Mulda, in an almost impregnable situation, with 250 pieces of cannon in his front. The conveniency of this position was the greater, enabling him to exchange succours with his brother.

HIS Prussian majesty, however, was deceived in all his designs. The Austrians were superior to him in force, and almost equal to him in discipline and courage. Laudohn, a general who had hitherto made but an indifferent figure, was, by the policy of the court of Vienna, set up as a rival to count Daun, whom the empress-queen considered as a great general, notwithstanding his inactivity, his caution, and his want of enterprise. The character of Laudohn was the reverse. His Prussian majesty had placed one of his generals, Fouquet, in whom he had great confidence, near Glatz, to serve as an intermediate assistance either to himself or his brother, prince Henry, according as circumstances should present themselves. Laudohn imposed upon his Prussian majesty and all his generals, by his mysterious manœuvres; Fouquet, supposing he intended to besiege Schweidnitz, left Glatz uncovered; upon which Laudohn made himself master of Landshut. Fouquet immediately abandoned the protection of Schweidnitz, and proceeded to Landshut, from whence he drove the Austrians.

THIS was what Laudohn had foreseen and expected; and, in the mean time, he secretly made such dispositions, that Fouquet was in effect surrounded, without the possibility of being relieved, while he was obliged to detach 2000 of the 15,000 he commanded, to

preserve his communication with Schweidnitz. It happened at this time, that the Austrians were animated with a more than ordinary resentment against the Prussians; nor could all the precautions, which Fouquet had taken to fortify his camp, withstand it. The Austrians were aware of the masterly dispositions their general had made, and that for success they had to depend upon their own courage. Their behaviour seconded their high expectations, and it is hard to say whether the attack or the resistance was the more glorious; but the Austrians were superior, not in number only, but in condition. The Prussians had lain long on the defensive, had been but poorly supplied with provisions, and were consequently in low spirits. The Austrians, on the other hand, had lived in free quarters, and needed nothing that was capable of yielding strength or courage. Notwithstanding all their disadvantages, the Prussians behaved with admirable resolution, and maintained their posts, till, by main force, they were driven from one entrenchment to another; 4000 of them being killed, the remainder, which amounted nearly to 8000, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, 58 pieces of artillery, besides colours, were taken; the loss, however, of the Austrians, was computed at 12,000 men.

It is remarkable, in this war, that his Prussian majesty, who, I have some reason to suppose, superintended the accounts of his campaigns, found means to exaggerate the losses of the enemy, and to extenuate those of his own; so that the true statement of his affairs can be collected only from the consequences. But the defeat of Fouquet could neither be concealed nor palliated, and its effects were evident in every department of the war. Laudohn took one part of Glatz by storm, and the other by capitulation, though defended by 2000 men and 100 brass cannon. This perhaps was not the greatest loss. The important situation of the place, and the prodigious magazines it contained, were irretrievable; and now Silesia lay open to the Austrians.

Thus the city of Glatz was to the Austrians the first fruits of their complete victory. His Prussian majesty had no idea of the serious loss he had sustained, till he heard that Laudohn was going to besiege Breslau, the capital itself of Silesia, and by far too capacious for its fortifications and garrison. But his genius, and that alone, could enter the lists with his ill-fortune. He determined to pursue a plan similar to that of Laudohn, but still more mysterious, suggested by his own mind, ever fertile in expedients. All Europe gave him up for lost; and the discontented in England began, notwithstanding the public prepossessions in his favour, to complain that we had gone too far in supporting him, as his system, both of defensive and offensive war, was equally impracticable; and that our perseverance in his cause would injure us, without being of any benefit to him.

They were soon undeceived. As it was natural to expect that he would endeavour to retrieve his affairs in Silesia, the defence of which was his main point, he made preparations for that purpose. Daun, who commanded, not only his own army, but, in fact, the army of the empire, had no doubt of his intentions; and leaving general Lacy in Saxony, followed his Prussian majesty through Lusatia. In this march, the great foresight and penetration of his Prussian majesty eminently appeared. Daun's great object was to outmarch him. He had taken the south road; and the king, after passing the Elbe, and going through a woody country, was on the northward; so that he had the disadvantage of Daun, in their race to Silesia. Daun knew this, and availed himself of his success by accelerating his motions; so that he gained full two days march of his Prussian majesty, and, after reaching Gorlitz, proceeded with great rapidity to Lauban. This was what his Prussian majesty expected and wanted; and he had the admirable address to appropriate to himself the advantage of Daun's two day's march; for he instantly fell into the route by which Daun had advanced, and passing the Spree at Bautzen, he appeared before the gates of Dresden; so that the war now assumed another aspect.

Frederic, though he could not cope with Daun's, the Imperial, and Lacy's army together, yet was superior to the two latter; so that the first was obliged to retreat, and the other to change its situation: and the king of Prussia being joined, according to previous but eventual orders, by his generals Hulsen and Ziethen, left prince Henry, who was at Glogau, at liberty to act as occasion might

require, while he himself formed the siege of Dresden.

It is necessary to observe, that at this period every plan concerted by the court of Vienna was like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable; and deviation from it, if not attended with success, however rational the motives, had often proved fatal to their generals. The empress-queen, to please her sister of Russia, and out of mere decency, had instructed Daun to make, in the campaign, the preservation of Dresden his capital object. He was then in Silesia, where he durst not, for these reasons, pursue his advantages; and astonished as he was at his Prussian majesty's masterly conduct, he found himself, against his better judgment, obliged to return to Saxony, that he might preserve Dresden; and his return gave prince Henry, an opportunity of moving towards Silesia. All the motions of this campaign had hitherto been so skilful, that the reader, who understands the game of chess, can scarcely fail to find out the similarity. The king of Prussia made the more surprising and the finer moves; but Daun shewed himself the surer player. His return from Silesia was much more quick than was expected, from his phlegm and regularity; for on the 19th of July, he and his army appeared within a few miles of Dresden.

His Prussian majesty, however, did not fail to avail himself to the utmost of the start he had gained. He besieged Dresden, which was defended by general Maquire, an officer of courage and experience. The operations of the siege, unless we were to recount particulars, can convey no new instructions to the reader; who can imagine, on the one side a most determined attack, and a most intrepid defence on the other: and the ruin of the finest buildings any city in the universe contained, by the incessant fire from three batteries of cannon and mortars, while each party practised every possible art and manœuvre. The approach of count Daun served to redouble the fury of the Prussians, and at the same time increased and confirmed the intrepidity of the besieged; especially when Daun found means to throw into the place no fewer than sixteen battalions in the night of the 21st. After such a reinforcement, and while three armies were in the neighbourhood, (for the army of the empire and the army under Lacy had returned by this time) it would have been more than madness for his Prussian majesty to continue the siege; and therefore he raised it, but without molestation from his enemies.

Thus ended this mighty trial of skill between great genius and great sagacity, and each supported by a proportionable degree of courage and experience. The conduct of the Prussians was brilliant, that of the Austrians exemplary; but, in the main, if any advantage were gained, it was on the side of the king, though the result of the contest was still precarious.

Laudohn, who was all this while in Silesia, trusted to his being joined by the Russians; but, through their unwieldiness and irregularity, they did not arrive in time to make the campaign decisive on that side. Being still, however, in hopes of their junction, on the 1st of August he had his cannon and mortars in condition to play from their batteries upon Breslau. Count Fauenzein commanded for his Prussian majesty in that city. A kind of military ceremonial at first passed between the two generals. Laudohn, partly in civility, partly in compassion, observing the weakness of Fauenzein and that of the place, employed various arguments to induce him to accept of an honourable capitulation. Fauenzein was too obstinate and too unpolite to believe one word he said; and thus having fought through all the weapons of soldier-like courtesy, they drew the sword; and nothing was wanting that could do honour to the besieged or the besiegers. Laudohn returned from hostilities to compliments, and was answered only by reproaches, for doing the same thing to Breslau that his Prussian majesty was doing to Dresden, that is, ruining the town, without injuring the fortifications. Meanwhile, no approach of the Russians appeared; and an account arrived, that prince Henry was then, the 5th of August, within five leagues of the Austrian camp; a report which induced Laudohn to break up the siege.

The most busy part of the campaign approached. Though prince Henry had obliged Laudohn to retire from Breslau, that general, with a powerful army, blocked up Neiss and Schweidnitz, and waited to form a junction with the Russians; a junction which his Prussian majesty had long dreaded. The Swedes, amounting to 22,000, had begun their operations; and Daun, his principal

opponent, was lying in wait to terminate his hopes.

In this discouraging and distracted condition, Frederic had recourse to expedients, which necessity alone can suggest, and success justify. Finding that he could effect nothing in Saxony, he, on the 30th of July, decamped, and took the route of Meissen. He marched, in five days' time, near 200 miles, at the head of an army encumbered with artillery and 2000 waggons. He passed the Elbe, the Spree, the Neiss, the Queiss, and the Boher, with one Austrian army on one side of him, under general Reid, near Bautzen; another behind him, under general Lacy; and a third in front, under general Beck; and all this without opposition. After this astonishing rapidity, it may perhaps be unnecessary to add, that he gained many, not inconsiderable advantages, over the Austrian generals.

Count Dann, as we have mentioned, was still at Bautzen, with an intention to penetrate into Silesia and join Laudohn; in which case would have been effected, the often-attempted junction between the Austrians and Russians. Laudohn, whose army was every day receiving strong reinforcements, had been, for some time, with difficulty kept in play by prince Henry; but the delay of a few days must have made the match unequal, as the Russians were hourly advancing. Dann was astonished at the escape of the king of Prussia, and prepared to follow him. His majesty encamped at Lignitz; but found himself in danger, after all, of missing his great aim, which was that of engaging Laudohn before the armies of Dann and Lacy could arrive to his assistance, which they did before his majesty could find that opportunity. But still Dann and Laudohn occupied different camps; the one on his front, the other on his rear. They had taken possession of an extent of very strong country, no less than 30 English miles, along the Katsbach, from Parchwitz to Coffendau, and had filled it with lines and redoubts; so that the whole appeared as one continued fortification. Frederic, with all his skill, could find no means of attacking one army, without being exposed to be ruined by the other. He was again in one of those situations, which had so often distressed him. It is yet unknown, whether he owed his deliverance on this occasion to his own wonderful sagacity, which suggested what he himself would do, had he the same advantages, or whether he was favoured by private intelligence. Both might be true. Daun was tempted by the occasion which presented itself, and resolved to become the aggressor. He concerted a plan, with Laudohn and Lacy, for attacking his Prussian majesty; while the Russians, to the number of 24,000 men, having thrown bridges over the Oder, were to pass it that very day, under count Czernichew. His Prussian majesty saw that his enemies could not surround him, without making one of those movements he had so long desired. On the very night when the Austrians had proposed their most important stroke, he privately decamped from Lignitz, and removed to a strong pass, by which he knew Laudohn's division had to march.

Every thing succeeded to his wish. Daun executed his part of the plan with profound silence, in the night, but found the enemy decamped; and soon had certain indications that they were engaged with Laudohn. It was thought, especially at his own court, that if he had made a vigorous attack upon the rear of the Prussian army, it would have been totally defeated. But this opinion probably did him injustice; for his Prussian majesty, foreseeing such an attack, had guarded his rear with very strong entrenchments. In the mean time, Laudohn had passed the Katsbach, and proceeded as far as Psaffendorf, in his march to Lignitz, where he was in hopes of assisting at the mortal blow his Prussian majesty was to receive. The break of day, and the dissipation of a very thick fog, presented to his eyes the dreadful prospect of the whole Prussian army, drawn up in battle array, with a strong artillery on its front, and posted to great advantage. This was the morning of the 15th of August. But the astonishment of Laudohn neither daunted his courage, nor disordered his judgment. Finding he could not retreat, he formed his army with admirable presence of mind; and a tremendous battle ensued, in which his Prussian majesty was in person equally exposed with the meanest soldier; his clothes being bored in several places, and a horse shot under him. He fought not for glory or dominion, but for safety. Nothing, perhaps, but his own personal intrepidity could have gained

him the victory. His veteran generals were all dead or killed; and his troops were but newly raised, yet brave and faithful. His example animated their efforts; and Laudohn, without losing any of his military reputation, retreated to the Katsbach, with the loss (as the Austrians themselves acknowledged) of 6000 men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; the Prussians, however, reckoned the loss at 10,000. Two generals and 84 officers were among the prisoners; and the trophies which fell to the victors were 82 pieces of cannon, and 123 pair of colours. The loss of the Prussians was said to amount to 500 killed, and 1200 wounded.

THOUGH the loss of the battle must, as has been hinted, have proved fatal to his Prussian majesty, it did not prove so to the Austrians, whose generals received daily reinforcements and encouragement from their sovereign. Daun, though he could not succeed in Silesia, turned his arms against other objects. He detached prince Lavenstein and general Beck, with part of his army, to encourage the Russians to advance. But the terror of the battle of Psaffendorf had made such an impression upon them, that they had repassed the Oder, and were marching northwards. This did not hinder Daun from blockading Schweidnitz; and his Prussian majesty, having by this time joined his brother at Newmarche, detached general Goltze to observe the motions of the Russians, while he himself defeated the corps of Austrians under general Beck, and obliged Daun to raise the siege of Schweidnitz, and to retreat precipitately to the heights of Landshut.

IN Saxony, general Hulsen, on the 20th of August, had an action with part of the Imperial army, who attacked him with great fury, in order to cut off his communication with Torgau. The engagement was hot, and Hulsen discovered great military abilities; for, besides that a number of the enemy were killed, he took, with little loss to himself, 41 officers, and 1200 privates, prisoners. But he could not take the advantages of this victory; but was obliged to retreat, lest the grand army of Imperialists should cut off his communication with the Elbe. By this retreat he forfeited his intercourse with the king, whose mind was distracted, like his army, amidst a variety of objects. The Russians were now marching through the Lower Silesia; the Austrians found no resistance in Lusatia; and Saxony, notwithstanding every effort of Hulsen to defend it, was upon the point of being lost to the king. Such was the state of his Prussian majesty's affairs towards the close of the campaign. He had defeated his enemies, without finding their numbers lessened. He had gained victories, but he reaped no advantages; and all the prodigies of valour he had displayed barely rescued him from the jaws of perdition.

A GREAT body of Russians, under count Czernichew, had now entered the New Marche of Brandenburg; and 15,000 Austrians, under the generals Lacy and Brentano, proposed to meet them at the gates of Berlin; the whole amounting to 40,000 men. The Prussian generals, Hulsen and Werner, after a number of rapid marches and artful movements, endeavoured to cover that capital; but their whole force did not amount to 16,000 men; so that all they could do was to make a faint opposition to the advanced body of the Russians, under count Tottleben, and to retreat; after throwing into the city three incomplete battalions.

THUS his Prussian majesty's capital, the proud, the envied seat of arms and arts, adorned with all the improvements and beauties that a long series of wise princes could bestow, the populous residence of the popish as well as of the reformed religion, was in a manner abandoned to the power of inveterate enemies, and barbarous conquerors, who were pleased with the near prospect of plundering one of the finest cities in the world. The inhabitants were manufacturers, shopkeepers, and artists; they knew nothing of arms, and gave themselves up to a total despondency. The garrison was weak, and surrendered prisoners of war; and the poor inhabitants had now nothing to depend upon, to save them from the worst of fates, except the mediation of the foreign ministers residing at Berlin. This proved far more effectual than had been expected. A free exercise of religion was granted to the inhabitants; they were to be protected in their persons and effects; and it was agreed, that the Russian irregulars were not to enter the city. Notwithstanding those favourable terms, great excesses were committed. The regulars, who marched in, destroyed the magazines, the founderies, and all the warehouses of military stores, of which

they seized immense quantities, besides artillery and arms. The contributions that were demanded amounted to a regular kind of plunder. Eight hundred thousand guilders were ordered to be immediately paid down; a further contribution of 1,900,000 German crowns was imposed; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the officers were able to preserve a tolerable degree of moderation among the barbarians.

Considering the exasperated state of the Austrians, it was surprising that the inhabitants of Berlin suffered so little as they did. This may partly be accounted for, by the great indulgences and freedom they enjoyed in it, being the residence of strangers of all religions, and from all parts of Germany; so that it is easy to be conceived, that the Austrians, (officers as well as soldiers) who entered it, had many friends and relations there. This account is the more probable, as both Austrians and Russians were guilty of the most ungenerous and unmanly depredations upon the royal palace. Like true descendants of the Goths and Vandals, they plundered the royal palace of Charlottenburg, destroyed the furniture they could not carry off, defaced the paintings, and broke to pieces the noble collection of antique and other statues, that had belonged to the Brandenburg family, and particularly the museum of the famous cardinal Polignac. The queen's castle of Schonhausen, and that of the margrave Charles Fredericksfield experienced the same treatment.

Amidst the numerous host of barbarians, a general was found who deserves a better epithet. This was prince Esterhasi, who took possession of the palace at Potsdam, his Prussian majesty's famous *Sans Souci*. All the ravage there committed was, that the prince, in viewing the apartments, took into his custody the picture that he was told bore the greatest resemblance to his Prussian majesty, and two German flutes, on which he usually played.

On the 13th of October, Berlin was evacuated, after suffering four days, under the scourge of the Austrians and Russians, who left Brandenburg little better than a desart; having destroyed the country, and carried off all the horses and cattle they could find. The consequence of this blow upon his Prussian majesty was, that, having no army in Saxony, his enemies, after leaving Berlin, recovered all that electorate; while Stainville, at the head of a detachment of Broglio's army, laid Hulberstadt under contribution; and the Russians laid siege to the sea-port of Colberg. The Swedes were advancing in the Western Pomerania, and in Silesia. Laudohn invested the fortress of Cosel.

Upon the whole, the affairs of his Prussian majesty seemed now more desperate than ever. When his enemies took the cities of Wittemberg, Meissen, Leipsic, and Torgau, he lost all his immense magazines of stores; and he himself was closely watched by a far superior army, under the most vigilant general of his age, count Daun, without knowing where to take his winter-quarters; so completely had his enemies ravaged his dominions. He had made some movements towards the relief of his capital; and upon its being evacuated, he and Daun passed the Elbe on the 25th of October. Soon afterwards, his majesty was joined by his generals, Hulsen and prince Eugene of Wirtemberg; but found himself under circumstances, from which he could only obtain relief by the most desperate exertion.

CHAPTER XVII.

GEORGE II.

[1760.]

Attempt of the French to recapture Quebec—Their Failure—Military Enterprises and Ultimate Triumph of the King of Prussia—Movements of Prince Ferdinand—Battles of Colbach and Wesel—Death of George II.—His Character.

NOTWITHSTANDING the boasted skill of the French in defending fortifications, and their still more boasted bravery, the loss of Quebec had brought an indelible stigma both on their conduct and courage. Retaking it, therefore, was a favourite point of their generals commanding in Canada, as nothing less would serve to efface the reproach occasioned by their pusillanimous surrender of that place. Accordingly, early in the spring, Monsieur de Levi, having mustered an army of about 12,000 men, and being well provided with every necessary, took the field with the resolution of besieging that town. He began his march on the 17th of April, and appeared on the heights of Abraham in ten days after, within three miles of Quebec.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL Murray, who had been left to command the garrison, had put the place in the best posture of defence it was capable of receiving. He had originally only 6000 men under his command, and no provisions during the winter, except what could be spared by the fleet before their departure. Owing to the severity of the weather, and living on salt provisions, (even these being scarce) the army had suffered greatly. Upwards of a thousand men had died of the scurvy; and an equal number were sick and incapable of doing duty. The French had six frigates upon the river St. Lawrence, of from 44 to 26 guns, without one British ship to oppose them. There was no probability, therefore, of the arrival of any immediate relief.

IN these distressful circumstances, general Murray formed the resolution of marching out, and giving the enemy battle, rather than awaiting them in an extensive fortification, where famine and disease were devouring his little army. By doing so he had a chance of success; and if he failed, he had still the town to retreat into, which in that case he was determined to hold, as long as it was tenable. In pursuance of this resolution, he marched out on the 28th of April, at the head of 3000 men, all that could be spared from the town, to meet an enemy four times their number; but his troops were eager and confident, and he could depend upon their bravery; circumstances, which he considered as placing them nearly on an equality with the enemy.

WHEN general Murray came in sight of the enemy, he found their van advantageously posted on an eminence covered with trees, and their main body extended, in one column, in the valley below. He immediately ordered their van to be attacked; which was done with so much fury, that it was instantly broken, and driven in the greatest disorder upon their main body, which nevertheless stood firm, and received the British with so close and well-directed a fire, as threw them in their turn into some confusion. The French endeavoured to take advantage of this circumstance, and extended themselves semicircularly, in order to surround them, and cut off their retreat. This, however, by the good conduct of the officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of the men, was happily prevented.

At last, after an obstinate struggle, in which the British lost about 1000 men, it was thought advisable to order a retreat, which was effected in good order, without being immediately pursued by the enemy, who had suffered considerably in killed and wounded.

This misfortune, instead of damping the spirit of the British troops, seemed rather to inspire them with fresh courage. They were no sooner within the walls of the town, than they began to labour at the fortifications with redoubled ardour. Although the French opened trenches before the place on the very evening of the battle, yet so slow were they in their operations, that it was the 11th of May before they could bring a battery to bear. This gave the garrison time to make the best preparation they could for a defence. Accordingly 132 pieces of cannon were mounted upon the ramparts, though a great part of them must have been useless, owing to the want of hands to manage them; and general Murray, notwithstanding his bravery, and that of his troops, must have been at last obliged to submit, had not an unexpected reinforcement come to his relief.

On the 9th of May, a frigate arrived in the harbour of Quebec, with the agreeable news, that lord Colville and commodore Swanton, with the squadrons under their command, had entered the river St. Lawrence; and on the 15th, a ship of the line and another frigate likewise arrived. The two frigates were instantly sent against the French squadron, anchored above the town, and, in the space of a few hours, sunk, dispersed, or took the whole of them. Mons. de Levi no sooner received intelligence of this disaster, than he imagined, that there was a strong fleet at hand to support these frigates; and, on the evening of the 18th, fled with the utmost precipitation, abandoning all his provisions and artillery.

General Murray, who intended to make a vigorous sally next day, and had ordered the garrison to be in arms early in the morning, having been informed of the enemy's retreat, immediately directed a pursuit; but being unable to overtake them, he returned and took possession of their camp, which they had left standing, with a great quantity of baggage, stores, &c.

Montreal was now the only place of consequence remaining in possession of the French in Canada. Here M. de Vandreuil, lieutenant-general and governor of the province, commanded, and thither the remains of the French army retired. General Amherst had projected the conquest of this place, which would make him master of the whole province; and had issued the necessary orders to carry his plan into execution. As he knew the whole French force was assembled at Montreal, his design was, by making the British army take different routes, so to hem the enemy in, as to cut them off from any chance of escaping, to make a stand in any other part of the country. In the prosecution of this design, he ordered colonel Haviland, with the troops under his command, to march from Crown Point, and take possession of a small island in the lake Champlain, and thence to take the shortest way to the banks of the river St. Lawrence. General Murray, at the head of what troops could be spared from the garrison of Quebec, was ordered to advance by water to Montreal; while general Amherst himself was to proceed directly thither from New York, with the main body of the asmy, consisting of about 10,000 men, by the Mohawk river, to the lake of Ontario, and thence down the river St. Lawrence.

After a most difficult and dangerous passage down this river, in which several boats and men were lost, the British army arrived at Montreal, and landed on the 6th of September, having, in their way thither, taken the fort of L'Isle Royale, after a slight resistance, and without any loss.

The spirit of the French seemed, at this crisis, entirely to have forsaken them. The British forces were suffered to land without opposition; and, on the day following, (the 7th of September,) general Amherst received a letter from the marquis de Vandreuil, with proposals for a capitulation. The plan projected by general Amherst had succeeded to his utmost wish; and the French were entirely cut off from a retreat. General Murray had landed on the island; and colonel Haviland had just arrived on the south side of the river opposite to Montreal. Notwithstanding the French were thus cut off from every hope of escaping, and the British general might have dictated his own terms; yet, as the surrender of this place finished the war in Canada, which was entirely under the subjection of Great Britain, and to prevent the effusion

of human blood, more favourable terms were granted to the enemy, than in their present situation they had reason to expect. They were refused the honours of war, but not made prisoners; and were to be transported to France in British vessels, under condition of not serving against Britain during the continuance of the war.

A SMALL fleet, consisting of one frigate, two large store-ships, and nineteen smaller vessels, having on board troops and military stores, had been sent from France, for the relief of Montreal; but when they arrived at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, understanding that the British squadron had got the start of them, they put into the bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Acadia, for shelter. They were, however, discovered, and intelligence was sent Louisburg, where were several British men of war; one of which, commanded by the honourable captain (afterwards lord) Byron, immediately set sail in quest of them, and the whole fleet was either taken or destroyed. Captain Byron likewise demolished two batteries, which had been raised for their protection.

THE French were equally unsuccessful in every other part of America. Having, by means of their missionaries, a much greater influence, than the English, over the minds of the savages, they had drawn the Cherokee Indians into their interest; and there was reason to believe, that the Creeks, another very powerful nation, would follow their example. Philosophers and philosophical historians, have indulged themselves, in exhibiting flattering pictures of human nature, in its least cultivated state; but there is every reason to believe, from repeated experience, that the American Indians in general have no other sentiments than those of rapine, cruelty, and revenge, which they never fail to gratify; and that they can be awed only by force.

MR. Littleton, at that time governor of Carolina, knew this; and in October, 1759, he marched, with about 1100 regulars and provincials, 300 miles into their country, lying between Keeowee and Charlestown. The barbarians, seeing their persons and possessions thus exposed to instant destruction, humbled themselves before the governor, and agreed to all the terms he imposed. They even delivered such of their countrymen into his hands, as had been guilty of the most atrocious barbarities towards the English; and 22 hostages, to assure their due performance of all obligations.

MR. Littleton, reasonably thinking that he had been successful in his enterprise, returned to his government; but no sooner was he gone, than the very same savages blocked up fort Laudon, and attempted to take fort Edward. General Amherst, hearing of this, sent colonel Montgomery, (afterwards earl of Eglinton,) to relieve those two British forts, and to chastise the barbarians, with a regiment of highlanders, a battalion of royal Americans, some grenadiers, and the provincial troops. Upon his entering the country of the savages, he burnt one of their capital towns, containing about 200 houses; and, making war after their own manner, he spread terror and desolation wherever he came. He marched on to the middle Cherokees; and in his progress fell into an ambush, where he had 20 men killed, and 80 wounded. Though the enemy, in this skirmish, lost 80 men, besides a considerable town; yet the colonel, perceiving that every day, as he advanced, he had such encounters to expect, thought it expedient to retreat to fort George, whence he went to New York, to rejoin the grand army; leaving behind him 400 men, for the protection of the province. The garrison of fort Laudon, having consumed all their provisions, were obliged to come to a capitulation, on the 7th of August, with the savages, who most infamously broke it; butchering all the officers but one, and carrying the soldiers, whom they did not kill, into the most miserable of all captivities.

AT the commencement of the next campaign in Germany, marshal Daun, that he might cover Leipsic and Torgau, had fallen back upon the latter; and his Prussian majesty saw him encamped, at the head of 80,000 men, secured on the one side by the Elbe, on the other by the morasses, hills, and woods; with 200 pieces of cannon in his front, where alone he could be attacked. His Prussian majesty, undaunted by this formidable object, acquainted his troops in person, on the 3rd of November, that he would, on that day, teach them by his example to conquer or to die. 1760.

GENERAL Hulsen had the command of the right wing, with orders to take post in a wood to the left of the Austrians, and there to

remain till the battle would begin. General Ziethen, with the left wing, was to attack the right of the enemy, whilst the king was to make the grand charge in the front. These dispositions directed Daun in his, and he made them in a masterly manner. Ziethen began the attack; upon which his majesty hastened his march. The situation of both armies, according to the accounts published at Magdeburg, was such, that either the Prussian right or left must take the enemy in the rear, and so prevent their affording any assistance to that part of their army, on which the main attack was to be made.

It is impossible to describe a battle so extensive and complicated as this, in which they who were present disagree in their several relations; it was allowed, on all hands, that his Prussian majesty, rapid and intrepid as he was, suffered, with great slaughter, three repulses; but general Ziethen, having defeated the right wing, took possession of several advantageous eminences, and, galloping up with a strong body of horse, to sustain the infantry, they were, notwithstanding their prodigious losses and fatigues, brought once more to the charge, and proved victorious. The enemy were routed in all parts. The engagement lasted from two in the afternoon till nine in the night, when the Austrians, after great slaughter, were obliged to repass the Elbe, which they did in excellent order.

This battle, the most important of those his Prussian majesty gained, cost him the dearest; but it was attended with the most wonderful and favourable circumstances. He had lost about 10,000 of his finest men, in killed and wounded, besides 3000 taken prisoners. The loss of the Austrians in men was not greater. The Prussians, however, made 8000 prisoners, among whom were four generals, and 216 other officers, and were in possession of a very great number of warlike trophies taken from the enemy. Both sides seem to agree, that the Prussians' victory was owing, next to their own valour, and that of their king, to a wound which count Daun received in the thigh, and by which he was obliged to quit the field of battle, and leave the command to general O'Donnel, who ordered the retreat. The pitchy darkness of the night was equally favourable to both armies, fatigued and exhausted as they were.

The court of Vienna was surprised, astonished, and ashamed, at this sudden reverse of fortune. In vain did the ministers of the queen, in publications of every kind, endeavour to extenuate their own loss, and to magnify that of the enemy. They did all they could to keep up the desponding spirits of their allies. They could not dissemble, that, besides all other disadvantages the Prussians lay under in the attack, they were inferior to the Austrians by 30,000. So that, by the common voice, the palm of discipline and generalship was adjudged to his Prussian majesty; he received a contusion in the breast, and, in the hottest of the battle, exposed his person, as if he deemed himself invulnerable. The consequences, indeed, indisputably determined the victory in his favour; having recovered all Saxony, except its capital, which he was not in a condition to attack, as count Daun had posted all his army in it, or in cantonments around it.

In the interim, the Prussian general, Werner, had, after the evacuation of Berlin, been sent with a body of troops into Pomerania, where he obliged the Russians to abandon the long-continued siege of Colberg; and, after defeating the Swedes in the western part of that province, he forced them to fall back upon Stralsund, and to abandon the whole of Prussian Pomerania.

On the side of Silesia, Laudohn was obliged to raise the siege of Cosel, to abandon Landshut, and to retire into the Austrian Silesia; while the Russians had entirely evacuated the other parts of his Prussian majesty's dominions, and the army of the empire, about the same time, retired into Franconia.

His Prussian majesty lost no advantage that could possibly be drawn from his victory at Torgau. Pretending to have received great provocation, he taxed the circle of Leipsic alone, not only in its ordinary revenues, and in vast magazines of provisions, but in two millions of crowns, for the ensuing year; a contribution which London itself, the richest city in the world, would have found it difficult to raise. All the other parts of Misnia were taxed in the same proportion; and estimating the Saxons as beasts of burden, he made the furnishing of 20,000 of them, to recruit his army, a part of their contributions. But no country suffered more from his Prussian majesty's successes, than the dominions of

the dukes of Mecklenburgh, which were so unfortunately situated, with regard to those of Prussia, that they were deprived of relief from their allies. The treatment those princes met with, and the hardships inflicted on their subjects, were, perhaps, more than severe; and were said to have drawn from the pen of a young princess, who now fills the throne of England, a pathetic representation of her family's and country's sufferings, which affected even his Prussian majesty, but made much deeper impressions on the breast of the heir apparent to the crown of England, now George III., to whom the letter was communicated.

I HAVE already remarked the implacability of the contending powers in Germany; their accumulated distresses and disappointments seemed only to increase their mutual rancour. Whatever might be the sentiments of the British people, respecting the German war, they were unwilling to afflict their venerable monarch, by abandoning his electoral dominions, which were always the chief object of his anxiety. The successes of prince Ferdinand, though rather splendid than solid, had raised their opinion of his martial abilities; and they entertained flattering hopes, that every campaign would prove decisive in his favour. The ministry too endeavoured to enforce and improve this mode of reasoning; but it could not be dissembled, that the burden of the war devolved upon Great Britain, although she had very little immediate interest in the event. This consideration, too glaring to be concealed, induced the British ministry to open a negotiation; but, however sincere they might be, it is certain his Prussian majesty was by no means so when he complied with it. The two empresses and France, not to mention Sweden and Poland, though they could not flatly reject so plausible a proposition, were very little disposed to accept of it, and so artfully opposed all the expedients proposed by the neutral powers, particularly Stanislaus and the Dutch, that the overture came to nothing.

THE winter of the year 1759 was remarkably severe, and Germany suffered greatly from cold and scarcity of provisions; a circumstance which forced the poorer sort of inhabitants into the armies of their several masters; so that those of the empress-queen were now more numerous than ever. The British army in Germany having suffered greatly from the preceding campaign, six regiments of foot, commanded by major-general Griffin, were sent to reinforce it, and were followed by Elliot's light horse; so that, in the beginning of the campaign, the British army consisted of 25,000 men; a greater number of troops than had ever served before in one place, and at one time, under king William, the duke of Marlborough, or under any British general for two centuries before.

THE French were equally anxious to render the campaign decisive. M. Broglio continued to command, and his army was reinforced to the amount of 100,000 men, the finest troops in France; while the count de St. Germaine, with whom he was but on indifferent terms, was at the head of 30,000 on the Rhine, lest any ill consequence should arise from the misunderstanding of the generals.

THE death of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, which happened in the beginning of the year, excited some apprehensions, with regard to the conduct of his son and successor. These fears were soon dissipated. The prince, notwithstanding the prepossessions against him, even exceeded the zeal of his father in the protestant cause, adding considerably to the number of his troops in the service of Great Britain.

THE operations of the two armies were by no means answerable to the preparations and reinforcements which both sides had made and received. The campaign did not open with any effect, till late in the season. Indeed, at the beginning, the object of both armies was to procure provisions, rather than to fight; and all the motions of their detached parties were devoted to the supply of provisions, rather than the pursuit of victory. A severe winter, an exhausted country, and a late spring, were calamities equally distressing to both; and each was impressed with a fellow-feeling for the other.

WHEN the rigour of the season abated, the superior providence of the French over the allies appeared. The former, while they lay in their cantonments, were supplied with provisions from the Rhine, the Maine, and the Moselle; while the latter were totally disabled, by their indigence, to undertake any design or enterprise of consequence. The only action worth mentioning was performed by the hereditary prince, who laid Fulda

under contribution, and expelled the French from it, at the head of some British troops. The whole, indeed, of this campaign consisted of little detached expeditions, planned and executed by this gallant young hero. These actions, however unimportant in their consequences, demand a particular relation, as striking instances of intrepidity and military knowledge. The misunderstanding between the two French generals, Broglio and St. Germaine, was productive of consequences highly advantageous to the allies. Instead of the one advancing by Munster, and the other by the landgraviate of Hesse, and leaving strong posts to the eastward of the Weser, operations that might have proved fatal to the allies, their forces were united into one body. This proceeding, so discordant with the concerted plan of their operations, disgusted St. Germaine, an officer of true military genius, who retired from the service. Notwithstanding this, the French took Marburg and Dillenburg, and made the garrisons of both prisoners of war.

The inactivity of the German general, in this perilous situation, has never been clearly accounted for. The hereditary prince, at the head of some British troops, endeavoured to retrieve it. The French army had hitherto moved in two bodies, and the corps under St. Germaine was known to have advanced to Corbach; the prince resolved to attack him, and drive him from that post. By this time, however, the junction of the French troops was formed; and the prince, instead of encountering 10,000 foot, and seventeen squadrons of horse, fell in with the entire body of the French army, which attacked him with so much resolution, as to render his retreat almost impracticable. The French were fresh, numerous, and well formed. The British forces behaved with the greatest intrepidity; but the Germans gave themselves up, both horse and foot, to a despondency, which threatened a total rout; while the French were every moment pouring in reinforcements, chiefly of cavalry, to complete their destruction. In this desperate situation, the prince put himself at the head of Bland's and Howard's dragoons, who perfectly seconded his ardour. They soon checked the career of the French, covered the retreat of the Germans, and thus saved the army, at the expence of 900 men, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and 15 pieces of cannon, which were left on the field of battle. The prince received a wound, which, however, gave him less uneasiness than the mortification he suffered by this defeat.

The allied army, during this action, retreated towards the Dymel, and were now encamped at Saxenhausen. It was matter of astonishment to military men, that Broglio did not pursue his advantage; nor can the reasons of his inactivity be to this day accounted for. The hereditary prince unjustly charged himself with being the author of a defeat, which did him and the English so much credit, and formed a daring resolution to repair it. He knew that Glaubitz, a French general, was at the head of a considerable detachment, which was marched towards Ziegenhagen, a place of importance in the landgraviate of Hesse. In order to relieve this place, the prince put himself at the head of six German battalions, two brigades of Hunter's, a regiment of hussars, and Elliot's light horse. This last regiment had been raised only in the preceding spring and winter. Not a man amongst them had ever been before in the service; but they were speedily disciplined, and made an excellent appearance; so that the hereditary prince chose them to form part of his detachment; and the event justified his choice. He was at this time about sixty English miles from Glaubitz, who fancied himself in perfect security. The prince, however, led his detachment, unperceived, within sight of the enemy's camp; and, after reconnoitring it, he formed the plan of an attack, which was of a very singular nature. The situation of the enemy was such, as to be inaccessible on the left, except by making a detour of two leagues, through woody uneven grounds; and the right was secured by mountains. The prince undertook, in person, the attack of the left. He committed that of the right to the infantry, who were obliged to climb up mountains to come at their enemy. Both charges were vigorous, and both succeeded. The enemy were, in a manner, routed, before Glaubitz had time to form them; but they were routed with very little loss, and the advantage of their situation enabled them to retire from one wood to another in full body, while the prince was unable to bring up the fatigued and harassed infantry to the pursuit. It was on this occasion that

Elliot's light horse performed services that would have done honour to the firmest veterans in Europe. The prince in person led them on, and they alone entered the wood, where their address and discipline were equal to their intrepidity.

THE enemy, unable to resist them, were charged and penetrated five times; by which a party of 500, separated from the rest, threw down their arms, and surrendered prisoners of war. Much, however, still remained to be done, before the victory could be complete. A regiment of the enemy's hussars was entirely cut to pieces; and the main body, which had taken post in a wood, found themselves surrounded, and were obliged, though not till after great slaughter, to give up their arms. The prisoners made on this occasion, besides Glaubitz himself, and the prince of Anhalt, were 177 officers, and 2482 private men; nine pair of colours, and six pieces of cannon were taken. Upon the whole, this engagement was, with regard to the captures, one of the most extraordinary which had occurred in the course of the war. The hereditary prince lost no more than 79 men; but of those 71 were of Elliot's light horse.

PRINCE Ferdinand remained all this time in his camp at Saxenhausen; but, after this action, he moved to Kalle, near Cassel. Upon this, the French, who were very numerous, divided themselves into three armies. One of them, which formed their reserve, passed the Dymel at Stilbergen, under the chevalier de Muy, who had succeeded St. Germaine in his command; another body, their main army, advanced under Broglio himself to Kalle; and the third, under prince Xavier of Saxony, took the route of Cassel. From those motions it was plain, that the French generals meditated some important blow; and prince Ferdinand thought it his best course to pass the Dymel, and at all events fight de Muy.

ON the 31st of July, the allies, having passed the river, and formed upon the heights of Corbach, came in sight of the French, who were posted to great advantage at Warbourg. The hereditary prince turned the left of the enemy into two columns, so as to attack them in front and rear, with his usual briskness; but the French were so well reinforced, that he could do nothing effectual. In the mean time, prince Ferdinand ordered some detachments to attack the French bridges over the Dymel on the right, and he himself advanced to charge the enemy in front. It must be acknowledged that these dispositions, had they been properly supported, must have been decisive in favour of the allies; but the flower of their army, which consisted of the British, were five miles behind; so that, though the French, by the efforts of the hereditary prince, began to give way on that side, yet their main body was at liberty to retire, without putting it in the power of the infantry of the allies to engage them; nor indeed did their commander-in-chief seem to be very forward to risk his German troops. By his own account, sent to his majesty, it is certain that his attack was very weak on the enemy's front, and unsupported, as he himself acknowledges, by the infantry. So that the heat of the day fell upon the British, whose cavalry had come five miles at full trot, headed by the marquis of Granby and general Mostyn; and while general Waldegrave did all he could to hasten the march of the infantry, captain Phillips brought up the artillery on a gallop. But though our British troops were thus expeditious beyond all precedent, they could not prevent the enemy from making their retreat good over the Dymel. The charge that was made upon them by the British cavalry was so gallant, as to evince their ardour for retrieving that glory, of which they had been deprived at Minden; though they could not be seconded by their foot, many of whom dropped down in the morasses which impeded their long and fatiguing journey. The French, in their account, pretend that the brigade of Bourbon checked the British cavalry; that the allies were greatly superior in number; that the hereditary prince, in turning their left, was favoured by a fog; and that the battle continued, without advantage to either side, for four hours. But it is evident, even from their own narrative, that they employed most of that time in making preparations for a retreat, which, with great difficulty, they effected over the Dymel; and that, upon the whole, they thought themselves victorious, because they were not completely defeated. In this battle, the great loss fell upon the English, of whom about 600 were killed, wounded, or missing. But the total loss of the allied army was not published, probably because it would have discovered the great disproportion between

the sufferings of the English and of the Germans. The French, in their account, pretended that the loss of the allies was greater than theirs. But that could not be the fact. For besides great numbers of the French that were drowned in passing the Dymel, 1500 were killed on the field of battle, and as many were taken, together with ten pieces of cannon.

The battle of Warbourg was more glorious than it was advantageous to the allies. The chevalier de Muy commanded but one of the three French armies; but the other two, without resistance, became masters of Munden, Cassel, Gottingen, Eimbach, and Zugenhagen, where they made a great number of prisoners, and obtained considerable magazines. Thus, though the allies gained a battle, they lost a province; the whole landgraviate of Hesse being now in the French possession; nor was it clear, but that, before the end of the campaign, they would become masters of Hanover itself; while all that prince Ferdinand gained was, to secure his posts upon the Dymel, and preseve his communication with Westphalia; the loss of which must have been of the worst consequence to him, considering the situation of the two armies.

The French, however, had many reasons for declining to penetrate further into Hanover. The country was so miserably exhausted, as to be incapable of maintaining an army, and the attempt, however successful, would nevertheless be inconsistent with their plan. The two armies were, for a length of time, inactive on each side of the Dymel. This inaction was disagreeable to the genius of the hereditary prince, who appears to have made war cordially, without the lucrative views of continuing his appointments, or the mean ones of sparing his Germans. It is true, the great opinion he experimentally entertained of the British valour cost our men dear, and was favourable to the Germans; but he always ventured his own person equally with that of the meanest English soldier, and they followed him with pride and alacrity. While the armies were lying in this state of inaction, he understood that 2000 French occupied the town of Zierenberg; and he resolved to surprise them. He accordingly posted a body of troops between that place and Drerenberg, in order to cut off all communication between the two camps of the enemy. He next made the proper dispositions for securing his retreat, in case of a repulse; and at the head of his remaining foot, most of them British, on the 5th of September, he set out, in three divisions, and by two the next morning was before Zierenberg. But notwithstanding all the precautions that had been taken, for the silence of their march, they were discovered by a party of dragoons, who fired upon them, and spread the alarm. On this occasion, the intrepidity and discipline of the British foot did them great honour. Contrary to the character of their nation, instead of being too ready to fire, they made use of their bayonets only. With these they drove the enemy's piquets, that were on guard, before them; some entered the town at the same time with the fugitives; some were employed in putting the guard to the sword, others in forcing open the gates, till at last they all entered the place, and proceeded in firm order to the churchyard, which the main body of the enemy possessed. The noise they made was so little, and the night so dark, that the French took them for their own piquets, and suffered them to form; when they were attacked and totally dispersed by the English, with their bayonets on their musquets. In vain the French attempted to fly from the gate. They were every where opposed, pursued, slain, or taken prisoners. Every part of the town was filled with blood, confusion, and tumult; but the British were victorious. They neither killed, nor took prisoners any of the inhabitants who had no weapons in their hands; and, far from being intent on plunder, they even refused to accept the gratuities which the persons of the town offered, for the preservation of their lives and properties. The whole action of this noble and well-conducted expedition lasted but an hour, after which the prince found himself complete master of the place, having taken two pieces of cannon, and made 36 officers, and near 500 common soldiers, prisoners. He then considered the danger of remaining, with so small a force, so near the enemy's main body; and regained his former camp, without loss or molestation.

The intrepidity which the British uniformly displayed, and the success which attended all their operations, during the course of this war, compared with the little effect produced by such exertions of courage, sufficiently

prove, that there was something amiss and dilatory in the original plan of every campaign, which no partial success or valour could remedy. The advantage gained at Zierenberg was glorious, and cheap, for it cost them no more than 10 men; and yet, if we except the reputation which the British gained by their success, the consequences were by no means equal to the boldness of the enterprise. The gallant prince discovered, as he might easily have foreseen, that he could not keep the place; and, by quitting it, he lost all he had obtained, except a few prisoners, whom he found it burdensome to maintain.

At last, however, prince Ferdinand put his army in motion, in order to interrupt the communication between the French post, the Rhine, and the Maine, especially with Francfort. As to Hanover, it lay quite neglected by both parties. The French had their reasons, as we have already seen, for not penetrating further into it than Gottingen; and the allies pretended that they could not, without hazarding the loss of their entire army, make any effort to dispossess them of that city, or of Cassel.

Bulow, a Hanoverian general, was dispatched, with a strong detachment, to make inroads into Weteravia, and the southern parts of Hesse; which he did with so great success, that he pushed on towards Marburg, which town he surprised, and destroyed in it the French ovens, with considerable magazines of provisions, besides carrying off their clothing and military stores. He at last proceeded towards Frankenau. The French, during this time, surveyed his progress with an air of security, thinking it would always be in their power to check his progress. Stainville, one of their best generals, on the 13th of September, attacked the rear of Bulow's detachment, as it was passing the river Orck; and not only defeated it, but in all probability would have cut off the whole body, had not the active hereditary prince, hearing of his danger, made a forced march of five German miles, and arrived to his relief. This obliged Stainville to retire to a strong camp, where he could not be attacked with any promise of success.

In the meanwhile, a feeble effort was made under general Wangenheim, another of the allied generals, to force the enemy to abandon Gottingen; but, at last, on the 19th of September, after he had passed the Weser, he was obliged to repass it, with very considerable loss, and not quite to the advantage of his military character. It must be acknowledged, that in all those skirmishes and expeditions, the French shewed a vigilance, and an attention to their plan of operations, more active than the allies; who directed their marches according to the motions of the enemy. The French, on the 20th of September, in pursuance of their defensive scheme, retired to Cassel, where they fortified themselves; while prince Ferdinand ventured to do nothing, but advance so near as to observe their operations.

More active, and indeed unexpected, scenes of war presented themselves upon the Rhine, and almost upon the frontiers of the states-general, where the hereditary prince appeared, to the surprise of all Europe, who thought he had been in the further part of Hesse. It would exceed my proposed limits, should I describe the means by which this object was effected. It is sufficient to say, that he had under him twenty battalions, and ten squadrons, which he divided into two bodies. One of these passed the Rhine at Roerost, on the other side of Dusseldorf. The other division, which marched by the way of Munster, passed a great way below, at Rees, which lies almost half way between Cleves and Wesel. These two detachments, notwithstanding the distance of the places, passed the Rhine about the same time; and their manœuvres were conducted in such a manner as to prevent the movements of the French. Every thing succeeded, as had been projected. As they advanced to their intended junction, all the French posts along the Rhine, with all their boats, fell into the prince's hands, by which he was enabled to carry over his artillery and his troops; so that, meeting with no opposition, his detachment again separated, and, on the 3rd of October, one division took possession of Cleves, and, three days after, of its castle, with 500 men, while another laid siege to Wesel.

The rapid success of this expedition did not prevent its giving rise to many conjectures, and some censures with regard to its utility to Great Britain. It was generally thought, that it had been formed to favour, in conjunction with a strong armament which was fitted out

at Portsmouth, a powerful diversion on the side of the Austrian Netherlands, which might have obliged the French to desist from forming an army on the Lower Rhine, by which Broglio must have become master of Hanover. But this supposition was chimerical. Hanover had at this time, in fact, nothing to fear; for Broglio might have become master of it when he pleased. We are therefore to look elsewhere for the motives of this famous expedition.

It was not difficult to foresee, that considerable dissensions would exist in the court of Great Britain, concerning the vast expence of blood and treasure, in which she was involved by the German war. Of all the losses his Prussian majesty had met with, that of his countries on the Lower Rhine gave him, on several accounts, the greatest concern. He had many reasons to suspect, that a strong party of the British ministry was anxious to conclude a separate peace with France; and that the last convention between him and his Britannic majesty, on the 9th of November, 1759, began to be greatly condemned, chiefly on account of its fourth article, by which his Britannic majesty pledged himself not to conclude any kind of peace, without the full consent of his Prussian ally. He was sensible, as afterwards proved to be the case, that if a separate peace, between Great Britain and France, were set on foot, it would not be in the power of the former to put him, by any treaty, in possession of those countries, which were held by the French, only in trust for the empress-queen. At the same time, the subjects of the states-general did not behave towards Great Britain with such gratitude and attention as could entitle them to extraordinary consideration from our crown. Upon the whole, therefore, it is most rational to believe, that the irruption of the hereditary prince (as was before mentioned) into the territories of Cleves and Gueldres was secretly concerted between his Prussian majesty and the British court; and it would have been fortunate for the nation, if corresponding success had attended the boldness, spirit, and proper management of the design. As to the preparations made at Portsmouth, they were disavowed to be intended against the Austrian Netherlands; and their real destination was never publicly acknowledged. But it is certain, that had they proceeded to the recovery of Nieuport and Ostend, and even to overawe some of our allies; a more popular service, at that time, could not be undertaken by a British ministry.

Unforeseen accidents disappointed the full effect of the prince's irruption. One part of his troops was employed on the right of the Rhine, in the siege of Wesel; while another covered it on the left. The siege was continued with great resolution, and sanguine expectations were formed of its success, from the promised reinforcements. The vast rains that had fallen swelled the rivers, and not only put a stop to their progress, but rendered the prince's communication with the besiegers, over the Rhine, extremely difficult. They also gave time to the marquis de Castries, to draw together, from Hesse and the Low Countries, an army of 30 battalions and 38 squadrons; with which he advanced to Rhinberg, which lay in the very heart of the prince's late acquisitions, and drove the allies, with some loss on both sides, from their posts. He then turned to the left, towards the convent of Campen, where he formed himself very advantageously.

The prince had now apparently only two objects to pursue; he must either fight this superior army in a pitched battle, or abandon the siege of Wesel. His genius suggested to him a medium. Relying on the known valour of the British troops, which, as usual, formed the flower of his army, he resolved upon a surprise; and for this purpose, on the 16th of October, at ten o'clock in the night, he began his march. Fischer's famous body of irregulars lay between him and the French camp. Some shots were exchanged; the French were alarmed, and instantly drew up in a wood. By this time it was five in the morning; but the sight of the advantageous position of the French, far from daunting the British troops, seemed only to inspire them with fresh valour. The action, with incessant firings, and frequent attacks on the wood, continued from five in the morning till nine at night. The prince animated the troops by his own example; but he was disabled, his horse having been shot under him, and having himself received a wound, so that he was obliged to order a retreat, which perhaps he might have done long before, without any imputation on his courage and conduct. The British troops were the chief, if not the sole

sufferers in this desperate action; but the death of none of them was more lamented, both in Germany and England, than that of lord Downe. He seemed to be born for social and gay life. He formed in the country, where he had interest, (for no sooner did the war break out than he applied himself, with surprising progress, to military duty,) a handful of his friends and dependants, by his own example he made them as complete in the exercises of war as the first regulars in Europe, and he had the glory of dying a volunteer at their head. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 1190, and about 500 were made prisoners. After the slaughter of so many brave men, in a battle which ought to have been fought by others, it will afford but little satisfaction to the British reader, to be told, that the loss of the French was much greater.

THE siege of Wesel became now impracticable; and the hourly increase of inundations, had the prince delayed repassing the Rhine, must have rendered his retreat so likewise. He seized the first opportunity; and his manœuvres were so well concerted, that the French did not attempt even to disturb his rear, notwithstanding their vast superiority, in all respects but that of courage.

BEFORE we leave the operations of the allied army this year, it is necessary to follow them into their winter-quarters, which proved more fatal to them than the campaign itself, severe as their hardships had been, and unequal as was the share of service which they had endured. Upon the return of the hereditary prince to the allied army, the blockade of Gottingen was attempted, and continued from the 22nd of November till the 12th of December following. The operations preceding this siege were as languid as they were indecisive. A Hanoverian general attempted to take Heydemunden; but failed of success in a most unaccountable, if not shameful, manner; and the French defended Gottingen so bravely, that the blockade was raised. Soon after, both armies slipped, rather than marched, into winter-quarters. Prince Ferdinand secured the comfort of his troops, by having behind him a country not quite exhausted, and by giving large premiums to the people, for supplying his camp with provisions. The winter-quarters of the British troops were in the city and bishopric of Paderborn, the most exhausted place of the most exhausted country in Europe; for such Germany then was. Their miserable condition was increased by the extortions and villainies of their Jewish and other contractors, and the whole was crowned by the difficulties of the roads, inundated by the late rains. The consequences were, that distresses and diseases of all kinds broke in upon them, and carried off a prodigious number, both of men and horses; whilst their miseries were embittered, by seeing the French in a most advantageous position, where they received, by the Rhine and the Maine, all the comforts of life.

A LETTER of thanks and congratulation to prince Ferdinand, on the prowess and fortitude he had displayed in the preceding campaign, was the last public act of George II. On Saturday, the 25th of October, he was suddenly seized, at the palace of Kensington, with an apoplectic fit, soon after rising in the morning in his usual health. Recovering his senses, after a short interval, he desired, with a faint voice, that his daughter, the princess Amelia, might be sent for; but, before her arrival, he expired, in the 77th year of his age, and the 34th of his reign.

GEORGE II. with abilities not exceeding mediocrity, possessed many estimable qualities; he was just, brave, open, and sincere; in his disposition mild and humane, and placable, though prone to anger. The chief defects of his policy arose from his predilection to his native dominions. His preference of one party of his British subjects was the natural consequence of the circumstances in which he was placed, operating on his limited capacity. In the first part of his reign, a minister of considerable talents established a regular system of corruption, as the chief engine of the executive government; in the last period of his reign, the minister demonstrated, that the employment of corruption was unnecessary, and that talents and virtue, promptly and decisively exerted, will triumph over the violence of opposition, command the applause of the people, and obtain every resource that is necessary to the security and glory of the empire.

IN his person, George II. was of the middle size, well formed, with prominent eyes, a high nose, good features, and a fair complexion. He was born in November 1683, and, in 1705, married the princess Caroline of Anspach, by

whom he had six children, who came to maturity, besides several others who died young: two sons; Frederic, born in 1707, who, on his father's accession to the throne, was prince of Wales, and William, duke of Cumberland: and four daughters; the princess of Orange, princess Amelia, the princess of Hesse, and the queen of Denmark. Frederic married, in 1736, the princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha. By her he had five sons and three daughters, who came to maturity. George, born May 24th, Old Style, afterwards George III.; Edward, duke of York; William-Henry, duke of Glocester; Henry-Frederic, duke of Cumberland; Frederic-William; Augusta, duchess of Brunswick; Louisa; and Matilda, queen of Denmark. His royal highness the prince of Wales dying in the life-time of his father, in 1751, his eldest son, George, became prince of Wales, and heir of his grandfather's crown.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GEORGE III.

[1761 to 1763.]

Accession of George III.—Judges made independent—Marriage of the King—Mr. Pitt resigns—Lord Bute's Administration—War with Spain—Capture of Martinico and the Havannah—Manilla reduced—Campaign in Germany—Articles of Peace—Lord Bute resigns—Mr. Wilkes sent to the Tower—General Warrants declared illegal—The North Briton burnt—Proceedings in the East Indies.

GEORGE III., previous to his accession, had led a life of retirement, and was only known by the reports of courtiers. His tuition was confided to John, earl of Bute, a nobleman of respectable talents and erudition, distinguished for decency and propriety of conduct. Of irreproachable morals, he impressed upon the mind of the successor to the crown the purest principles of personal virtue. A face both elegant and manly, combining the bloom of youth with the vigour of manhood; a countenance expressive of frankness and ingenuous modesty; a stature above the middle size; a figure uniting symmetry with strength; and manners at once conciliating and unassuming; co-operated with the general opinion of his private virtues, to render the new monarch a favourite of the nation. On his accession, all ranks of men ardently and sincerely testified their satisfaction. The Whigs were attached to a prince of the house of Brunswick, and the Tories rejoiced that they were to be governed by a sovereign, apparently free from party prejudices. As soon as his accession was known, addresses were presented from every part of the kingdom. When the parliament was assembled, the king's speech gave general satisfaction. As soon as his majesty retired, the two houses proceeded to business with great unanimity; and instead of the civil list revenues, which had been invested in the hands of the two preceding sovereigns, they granted him a yearly revenue of £800,000, for the maintenance of his houshold, and the support of his royal dignity.

His majesty having previously signified his resolution to prosecute the war, in conjunction with his allies, until it could be terminated by an honourable and lasting peace, the parliament granted a loan of £12,000,000, with a celerity which almost precluded a careful examination of the estimates submitted to their inspection. At the instance of the sovereign, an act was passed, securing the commissions and the salaries of the judges from all accidents but misbehaviour. Mr. Arthur Onslow, who had been speaker to five successive parliaments, retired with a pension of £3000 a-year, extending to his son; and the court conferred many other proofs of its liberality, by rewarding several other placemen with pensions and sinecures, payable from the public money.

The seventh session of parliament having elapsed, writs were issued for the election of new members. Previous to this period, the earl of Bute had succeeded lord Holdernesse as secretary of state. The regard of his majesty for the earl was ardent and sincere. By his intervention, Mr. Legge, an accomplished financier, was dismissed from the chancellorship of the exchequer.

The chief military enterprise, undertaken by Britain, in the campaign of 1761, was the attack of Belleisle, a large island, lying off the south coast of Brittany. This place was about twelve leagues in circumference, strongly fortified, and afforded to its possessors a great command of French coast. The land-forces were commanded by general Hodgson, and the fleet by commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle. On the 29th of March they sailed from Spithead, and on the 7th of April arrived off Belleisle. On the 8th, they attempted a landing, where the beach was most accessible; but, after several brave and repeated efforts, were obliged to desist, with the loss of nearly 500 men. Not dispirited, however, by this repulse, they determined to make another trial, as soon as less boisterous weather would permit. On the 25th of April they made a second attempt, on the strongest part of the coast; they proceeded on the same principle as carried the heights of Abraham, placed their chief hopes in the difficulty of the precipices, and concluded that the enemy, trusting to that circumstance, would be off their guard. To conceal their main attempt, they amused the enemy by two feigned attacks in different quarters. By these means, brigadier Lambert effected a landing; and, gaining possession of a hill overhanging the sea, formed his men, and repulsed a body of French, which had been sent to dislodge him from his post. Having obtained the command of this part of the shore, the British troops in a short time made good their landing, and immediately commenced the siege with great vigour, while the fortress, on the other hand, was gallantly defended, and several bloody contests took place. At last, the chevalier St. Croix, debarred by the British fleet from any communication with the continent, surrendered by an honourable capitulation, on the 7th of June, two months after the arrival of the British armament. 1761.

In the East Indies, Pondicherry only remained in possession of the French. Against this beautiful town, and important fortress, the British troops proceeded. Colonel Coote invested it by land, and admiral Stevens by sea. In November 1760, the batteries and works raised by the besiegers suffered considerable damage from a violent storm; but were quickly repaired, and the operations were carried on with vigour and perseverance. The besieged made a resolute and gallant defence, expecting the arrival of a powerful fleet to their relief; but at length, being attacked by famine, they were reduced to extreme distress, and obliged to subsist on the flesh of camels, of elephants, and of dogs. On the 1st of January 1761, a violent storm dispersed the British fleet, and gave the besieged sanguine hopes of provision and succour. The British admiral, however, exerted such diligence, that, in four days after the storm, he again appeared before the place, with eleven ships of the line, and one frigate; two of the line having been wrecked. Being disappointed after the most flattering hopes of assistance, the besieged became desperate, but did not offer to surrender. At length, a breach having been effected, and only one day's provision remaining, a signal from the town was made for a suspension of arms. A jesuit and two civilians offered to capitulate; but the governor would propose no terms, and insulted the English commander, by a letter full of invectives against the English, as breakers of the treaties relative to India. As the governor would not capitulate, and the offer of the

inhabitants, without his concurrence, could not be regarded, the city was taken by storm, and abandoned to the plunder of the victors. Colonel Coote and his coadjutor, by their courage, conduct, unanimity, and perseverance, effected this conquest on the 15th of January 1761, and thus gave a final blow to the French power in the Carnatic.

On the same day on which Pondicherry was taken, an advantage still more decisive was obtained in Bengal. On the taking of Chandernagore, four years before, Law, the nephew of the famous author of the Mississippi scheme, and a subject of France, had retired with a party of French fugitives into the north-western regions of India. The great mogul had, a short time before, been deposed by an irruption of Mahrattas; and, dying soon after, one of his sons, Shah Taddah, assumed the title of his father, supported by some of his hereditary provinces, and opposed by others. Law offered to this young prince his services, with his 200 Europeans, which were gladly accepted, and by which several considerable districts were immediately subjected to obedience. Law, elated with this success, in an evil hour persuaded him to turn his arms against Bengal; and he accordingly entered that kingdom with a native army of 30,000 men, and 200 French. The subah of Bengal marched to oppose him, with 20,000 natives, and 500 English. The British and their allies obtained a complete victory. Law was taken prisoner, and his fellow-adventurers killed, taken, or dispersed; the great mogul being among the prisoners.

The overtures of peace, which had been made towards the close of the year 1759, were rejected by the belligerent powers; and it was not till the beginning of the year 1761, that the courts of Petersburgh, Vienna, Sweden, and Poland, urged by the importunities of France, agreed jointly and severally to resume the negotiation, which had, at that period, been so abruptly laid aside. The city of Augsburg was chosen as the theatre of discussion, and plenipotentiaries were nominated. The great success of the British arms had so much elated the people, that the minister was afraid lest he should incur their displeasure, by making any concessions to the court of France, whose ambition and violence had always corresponded with its power. The landgraviate of Hesse, the county of Hanaw, and the town of Gottingen, were all the conquests which France could balance against the extensive and valuable acquisitions made by England. At length, however, after having received the consent of the house of Austria, the court of Versailles transmitted propositions to that of St. James's, of which the following were the principal:

1. That France would cede and guarantee to England all Canada, upon condition that the inhabitants should enjoy the free exercise of their religion; and that, in return, France should be entitled to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland, and possess the island of Cape Breton.

2. Minorca should be exchanged for Guadaloupe and Mariagalante.

3. That Gottingen, Hesse, and Hanaw should be evacuated, in return for the restitution of Belleisle and of Goree, or of the settlement of Senegal.

Respecting Asia it was proposed, that the treaty between Godechu and Saunders should serve as the basis of accommodation. The chief difficulty was in the third of these objects; for England declared that she would inviolably preserve her faith towards the king of Prussia, and France had recently been induced to stipulate at the court of Vienna, that she would admit nothing into the treaty to the disadvantage of Austria. To obviate this difficulty, France proposed, that the French and British armies in Germany should observe a strict neutrality; that when his Britannic majesty should recal his forces, the most Christian king would recal double the number; and that no French troops should remain in Germany, but in proportion to those who continued there in British pay. The French also demanded restitution of the captures made before the declaration of war.

These propositions were violently opposed by Mr. Pitt, who contended that the present was the period when the exhorbitant power of the house of Bourbon might be most effectually humbled. An officious and untimely interference of the court of Madrid greatly added to the force of his objections. M. de Bussy proposed, that all the objects of dispute between England and Spain should be finally settled through the medium of France. The sagacity of Mr. Pitt immediately penetrated the object of this interference, and readily comprehended, not only the

insincerity of the French in their proffered negotiation, but the motives of their duplicity. He insisted in the cabinet, that Spain should give an immediate and decisive explanation, and that in case of refusal, hostilities should commence against that nation. He relied on the rectitude of his measures for the approbation of the people, and seemed desirous that his power should rest on that basis alone. By the success of his plans, he had raised the nation from the abyss of despair to the highest eminence of glory; but his wise and spirited advice was over-ruled by the timidity or envy of his colleagues. At length he openly declared, that, as he was called to the ministry by the voice of the people, he should consider himself as accountable for his conduct to them alone; and that he did not choose to remain longer in a situation, which rendered him responsible for measures which he was no longer permitted to guide. The day after Mr. Pitt made this declaration, he resigned the seals, and was followed by earl Temple. Whether the disinterested conduct of the minister had reduced him to indigence, or whether he justly concluded, in opposition to the popular opinion, that a grant or favour from the crown implies neither the sacrifice of political principle, nor personal meanness, he accepted of a pension for three lives, and a title for his lady and her issue. Such a man deserved reward. All the ribaldry and invective, poured out against his acceptance of the annuity, may be answered in a few words; as a supply it was wanted, as a recompence it was fairly earned.

1761. On the 8th of July, a gazette extraordinary announced the determination of his majesty to demand in marriage the princess Charlotte, sister to the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz. The proposal being accepted, her highness arrived in England on the 6th of September, and, at eight in the evening of the 8th, the marriage ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury. About a fortnight afterwards, the coronation of the king and queen was solemnized, with suitable formality and magnificence.

On the resignation of Mr. Pitt, the earl of Egremont was appointed to his department; but as the earl of Bute had become, by the dismission of the duke of Newcastle, first lord of the treasury, we may from this time date the commencement of the Bute administration. John Stuart, earl of Bute, was the representative of a noble family, of considerable eminence in the south-west of Scotland, and connected with the first nobility in that part of the kingdom. His lordship was a man of talents above mediocrity; he was a good classical scholar; conversant in natural history, botany, several branches of chemistry; a liberal patron of letters, and a magnificent promoter of useful experiments and discoveries. Pious in his sentiments and habits, he was meritorious in his domestic and social relations; and, as a private gentleman, a valuable member of society.

In the beginning of November, a new parliament assembled, and sir John Cust was elected to the office of speaker. The commons immediately proceeded to make provision for the queen, in case she should survive his majesty. The supplies granted for the year were £18,299,153. Seventy thousand seamen, and 170,000 land forces, British or in British pay, were voted; and a jointure was granted to the queen, of £100,000 a year, to be demanded in case she survived his majesty.

Considerable disunion prevailed at this time in the cabinet. Newcastle, still nominally prime minister, could not endure the predominating influence of lord Bute. He therefore resigned. Bute became first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Grenville secretary of state. From this period is generally dated the administration of Bute, which had really begun at the moment of Pitt's resignation.

In the mean time, though propositions of peace were agitated between England and France, the operations of war were carried on with vigour. The commanders of our cruisers displayed equal vigilance and gallantry, in taking and destroying the enemy's ships. In the West Indies, Dominique, one of the French sugar islands, was taken, with little difficulty, by a body of troops under the command of lord Rollo. In America, the Cherokees, who began to be turbulent, were chastised by colonel Grant; and sir William Johnson, by his assiduity and address, removed the apprehensions which began to agitate the rest of the Indians. No considerable armament was this year fitted out, for the conquest of the West India islands, which still remained in the hands of the French.

The winter-quarters of the allied army in

Germany were very indifferent, both from the nature of the country, and the manner in which they were confined. Prince Ferdinand, sensible that his troops could bear the inclemency of the winter better than the French, and that the hardships of the field could scarcely be more intolerable than those which they now endured, set them in motion about the beginning of February; and attacked the enemy's posts with such vigour, that they retreated with precipitation. Five battalions of Saxons were taken, and a great number were slain. Vast quantities of provision and forage were seized, and more was destroyed by the flying French. The design of the general was to reduce Hesse-Cassel, and other places of strength, before Broglio could be reinforced from the Lower Rhine. He laid siege to them; but the rigour of the season, and the numerous troops with which they were garrisoned, prevented him from making a rapid progress. At length, all the expected detachments having arrived, Broglio obliged him to retire, with loss. Nine battalions, being attacked in a defile, were broken, and 2000 men were killed or wounded. The expedition, however, was not without its use; it prevented the enemies from beginning the campaign at an early period.

At length, towards the latter end of June, both the French armies were in motion. Their vast superiority in numbers inspired them with hopes of being able to make the allies retreat, as they had done in the beginning of the year. Broglio passed the Dymel, and surprising general Sporken, took 200 waggons and a considerable number of men. Prince Ferdinand repassed the Lippe, and sent out detachments, which annoyed their enemies so much, by destroying and cutting off their convoys, that they resolved to effect a junction of their two armies, and to give him battle. But he posted his army so advantageously at Kirche-Denckern, and his dispositions were so well improved, by the skill of his generals, and the bravery of his troops, that, after two vigorous attacks, on two successive days, they were repulsed, with the loss of 5000 men.

After this action, Broglio and Soubize separated, and acted, for the remainder of the campaign, upon different plans. The prince's inferiority of numbers did not allow him to form two distinct armies. He fixed his head quarters at Buhne near Hamelin, whence he sent out detachments to prevent the progress of the enemies on his flanks. An attempt which was made to reduce Wofenbuttel and Brunswick, was frustrated by the hereditary prince, who severely chastised the invaders of his dominions. Soubize's army met with no better success in its attempt upon Bremen; the garrison and the inhabitants obliged the detachment which appeared before it to retire with precipitation. Broglio remained inactive at Eimbeck, till, about the beginning of November, prince Ferdinand turned his flank, and obliged him to take up his winter-quarters in the landgraviate of Hesse. Indeed the operations of this campaign consisted rather of pillaging than fighting, and seemed much better calculated for distressing the unfortunate inhabitants of the scene of action, than for procuring any durable and solid advantages to the contending powers. Whatever attempts were made by prince Ferdinand to bring on a decisive action were frustrated by Broglio, who appeared sensible of the superior firmness of the allied army in a general engagement, and aimed more at booty than at laurels.

During the whole course of this year, the war languished in Saxony and Silesia. The king of Prussia, who, in all the preceding campaigns, had given such shining proofs of his prowess and activity, did not this year strike a single blow. Prince Henry lay entrenched with one army in Saxony, while another, under the king himself, watched the motions of the Austrians and Russians in Silesia. When the latter advanced, and laid siege to Colberg and Breslau, he dispatched general Platen, with a considerable body of troops, into Poland, in order to destroy their magazines, and to relieve Colberg. In the former part of this service he succeeded, and obliged the Russians to separate from the Austrians, and to return upon their steps, that the remainder of their provisions might not share the same fate.

While the king pleased himself with the thoughts of having, by this stratagem, removed one of his most formidable enemies, Laudohn assaulted Schweidnitz in a very dark night, and by break of day found himself master of the town and garrison. Three thousand men were made prisoners, a large quantity of artillery, and a vast magazine of meal were

taken. This unexpected and fatal blow was the more sensibly felt by the king, as it disabled him from moving out of Silesia, to the relief of Colberg, or any other part of his dominions, for fear of exposing Breslau and the rest of the duchy to inevitable conquest. At first he suspected treachery; but recovering his temper, he sent the following lines to general Zastrow:

"We may now say, what Francis I. said to his mother after the battle of Pavia, We have lost all except our honour. As I cannot comprehend what has happened to you, I shall suspend my judgment. The affair is very extraordinary."

Schweidnitz was suddenly lost; Colberg made a long and noble defence. Many bold and vigorous attempts were made to furnish it with provisions; but the prodigious superiority of the Russians rendered them all abortive. After a siege of six months, by land and by water, it surrendered to the enemy, who was thus enabled to winter in Pomerania, to acquire a footing in the empire, and to threaten early and vigorous measures in the spring. Their armies would now be supplied with all necessaries by sea, and Stetin alone obstructed their march into the heart of Brandenburg.

Soon after the loss of Schweidnitz, the king was obliged to approach near Breslau, where, about the beginning of December, he cantoned his army; while Laudohn took up his winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of his new conquest. A conspiracy which was formed, for betraying him into the hands of the Austrians, proved abortive; and an attempt which Daun made upon prince Henry's camp, in Saxony, was equally unsuccessful.

At home, the proceedings of the parliament were more creditable to its patriotism than its sagacity. The German war having impoverished the country, and the troops abroad being ill-supplied with necessaries, an inquiry was instituted, into the expedience of continuing it. It was urged, in favour of an immediate peace, that we ought not to lavish our treasures, as if they were inexhaustible, on Hanoverians and Hessians; allies, who served only to protract the feeble efforts of a system pregnant with ruin; that the treaty made with the king of Prussia, to whom the English paid rather a tribute than a subsidy, exposed the ignorance of our former negotiators in a still greater degree, since he was so far from being able to make us any suitable return, that he was scarcely able to resist his own immediate enemies.

While the commons were employed upon this subject, which ought to have been discussed before the nation entered into the war, they found, as Mr. Pitt had predicted, that Spain, alarmed by the humiliation of the French, granted to their distresses that support, which she would have denied to their triumphs. From the haughty rejection of the terms proposed, the British nation was drawn into a new field of war, and a new scene of expence. Previous to the commencement of hostilities against the English, the Spanish court entered into a *family compact* with the enemy, by which the subjects of each country were mutually naturalized, and entitled to every privilege and immunity, as fully as if they were natives. War, however, was not declared till our enemies had gained time to make the requisite preparations.

The accession of so formidable a power as Spain, unimpaired in its resources of men, money, and stores, inspired France with fresh hopes, of retrieving that superiority which she had lost. The Bourbon confederacy aware of the wretched situation of Portugal, from a late conspiracy, and from the occurrence of a dreadful earthquake, resolved to injure Britain by the agency of that distracted kingdom. The two ministers of the hostile courts presented a joint memorial, to persuade his most faithful majesty to concur with their masters in humbling the pride of England, with whom he was in alliance. He rejected, however, their offers and their menaces, and declared, with becoming spirit, that it would affect him less to see the last tile of his palace fall, and to see his faithful subjects shed the last drop of their blood, than become an alarming lesson to all pacific powers, that they will be no longer entitled to the benefits of neutrality, when a war is kindled between states, with whom they are connected by defensive treaties. England transmitted troops, arms, and warlike stores, for Portugal; British men of war guarded its coasts; and a million was voted by parliament for its sup-

port. England herself was placed in a state of defence, and she alone seemed to balance the rest of Europe.

Early in the succeeding year, general Monckton sailed from New York, with 12,000 men, and having refreshed at Barbadoes, appeared before the island of Martinique on the 7th of January. A body of regulars and marines, supported by 1000 sailors in flat-bottomed boats, advanced on the right along the sea-shore, in order to force the redoubts which lay in the lower grounds. With irresistible impetuosity, the British troops successively carried the enemy's works in every quarter. At length, as general Monckton was advancing against the capital, deputies arrived, announcing the surrender of the island. With this place, the seat of government, the mart of trade, and the centre of all their force, fell the rest of the French Caribbee islands, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. All the troops that could be spared from the newly-conquered islands, were re-embarked by sir James Douglas, who joined admiral Pococke to the north-west of Hispaniola. The land forces, commanded by lord Albemarle, amounted to 10,000 men. For the sake of expedition, the admiral steered through the narrow and dangerous straits of Bahamah, and, by making use of every possible precaution, conducted the whole fleet, consisting of 200 sail, within sight of the Havannah, the object of his long and perilous voyage. A fleet of the enemy's ships, chiefly of the line, was lying in the harbour; but, whether through timidity or weakness, they remained inactive, and declined a battle which might probably have saved the city.

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The difficulties with which the English contended, in the siege of the Moro, which commanded the town and harbour, are almost incredible. Several expired suddenly, oppressed with heat, thirst, and fatigue. Nothing, however, could abate the ardour of the troops. On the day that the batteries were opened against the Moro, three of the largest ships, under the command of captain Hervey, laid their broadsides against the fort, and commenced a terrible fire, which lasted seven hours without intermission. After an unremitted cannonade for several days, one of their principal batteries, which was composed of timber and fascines, caught fire, and was almost instantaneously reduced to ashes; an event that in a few seconds destroyed the labour of 600 men, for nearly three weeks. The want of water, the advance of the season, and the multiplied difficulties, diminished the prospect of success. But, however great the distresses of the assailants, however small their number, they made the most vigorous and persevering efforts. The richness of the prize which lay before them, the shame of retreat, excited them to the most strenuous exertions. The batteries were replaced, and soon silenced the guns of the fort; while the troops dismantled its upper works, and made a lodgement in the covered way. The commanders received several reinforcements and necessaries for the siege from Jamaica and America. At length the mines were sprung, and a breach was made in the wall of the fort. The British troops entered the breach, though narrow and difficult, and formed themselves with so much celerity and resolution, that the enemy fled. The governor, Don Velasco, defended, with 100 men, an intrenchment, which he had made round his colours; and, sinking beneath the sudden infliction of a mortal wound, offered his sword to the conquerors. A capitulation, for the surrender of the Havannah, immediately ensued. This was an acquisition of the first class; it united in itself all the advantages that can be achieved. It was a victory of the highest magnitude, by its effect on the enemy's marine; and, in plunder, it equalled the produce of a national subsidy, amounting to more than £3,000,000. It was followed by the capture of the Hermione, a register ship belonging to the Spaniards, valued at £1,000,000.

Admiral Cornish, with 2000 men, commanded by colonel Draper, soon after proceeded on an expedition against the Philippine isles, and came within sight of Luconia on the 19th of September. The British commanders determined to make an immediate attack on the city of Manilla. The place being too extensive to be immediately invested by their small number of men, the enemy retained a free communication with the country, which poured in to their assistance 10,000 natives, more fierce and daring than the generality of Indians. After the works had been battered night and day, a storm drove the British ships out to sea, which

induced the governor, who was also an archbishop, to pronounce, that an angel had gone forth from the Lord, to destroy the English, like the host of Sennacherib. But, in defiance of the angel, and of the resistance of the Spaniards, the British troops, a few days afterwards, on the 6th of October, under a general discharge of their artillery, mounted a breach which they had made, with the greatest spirit and rapidity, dispersed their opponents, advanced into the city, and completed their conquest. It must be lamented, that this triumph was sullied by one act of cruelty. One hundred men, posted in a guard-house, who would not surrender, were cut to pieces; and 300 more, endeavouring to escape, perished in the river. Motives of prudence and humanity induced the English commanders to forbid the plunder of the city, and to accept a million sterling for themselves and soldiers. With this place, and the adjacent country, fourteen dependent islands were surrendered. The arms of Spain were not more successful in Europe. The court of Madrid had formed a plan to penetrate, by three different routes, to Lisbon. When the Spanish troops had advanced as far as the banks of the Tagus, colonel Burgoyne, who had now joined the grand army, and lay in their neighbourhood to obstruct their passage, conceived the design of attacking them by surprise. While he himself attracted the attention of the enemy in one quarter, colonel Lee turned their camp in the night, fell upon their rear, slew a great number, and dispersed the whole body. He destroyed their magazines, and returned with trifling loss. The approach of winter, and the want of subsistence for their cavalry, obliged the Spaniards to retreat with disgrace to the frontiers of their own country.

The British arms triumphed with equal splendor in the northern and southern parts of Europe. The hereditary prince of Brunswick was posted in the bishopric of Munster, to watch the motions of the French army under Condé, on the Lower Rhine; and prince Ferdinand in person lay with the grand army behind the Dymel, in order to oppose the troops of Hesse, under Soubize and D'Etrées, the successors of M. Broglio, whose successes had been attributed to treachery. Prince Ferdinand founded his plan of attack on the security with which the French confided in their advantageous positions, and their superiority of numbers. That general, with the assistance of Sporken, Luckner, and the marquis of Granby, contrived to attack the right, the centre, and the flank of the enemy's army, at the same moment. The surprise was so great, and the execution conducted with so much celerity, that the French would have been totally routed, had not Stainville, with the flower of their infantry, posted himself in a wood, and checked the career of the victors. This body withstood, for a considerable time, the whole force of the allies; but fell a devoted sacrifice. All but two battalions were taken or cut to pieces. The rest of the army took shelter under the cannon of Cassel. The battle was glorious to the allies, and gave them a decisive advantage during the rest of the campaign.

Soon after this event, the hereditary prince, in the hope of defeating Condé, drove him from the heights of Johannisburg; but, as he pursued him into the plain, the main army came up suddenly upon him, and repulsed his troops with the loss of 3000 men. Notwithstanding this change of fortune, and a severe wound inflicted on prince Ferdinand, the enemy derived no advantages from this victory; but were obliged to evacuate Cassel, in which they had placed a garrison of 10,000 men. After having, for six years, exerted almost the whole undivided strength of the nation against Hanover, the French were advanced but little further than on the day in which they commenced hostile operations. The possession of two or three trivial forts and towns were the only equivalent they obtained for 200,000 lives, and many millions of treasure.

The king of Prussia, instead of being obliged to act on the defensive, was now enabled to resume offensive operations. His object was to recover Silesia, compel marshal Daun, who was posted there, to retire to Bohemia, and afterwards to reinforce prince Henry, now in Saxony, and a second time conquer that electorate. To distract the attention of marshal Daun, he employed a body of troops to assist the Tartars, whom he had instigated to harass Moravia and Hungary. In June, Frederic, being joined by the Russians, 1762. made great advances, and without any regular battle, obliged marshal Daun to abandon his strongest positions in Silesia, to retire

to the extremies of that country, and to leave Schweidnitz entirely uncovered. With his Russian auxiliaries, Frederic now proceeded to invest that city; and a considerable body of the allies ravaged Bohemia, when an unexpected and extraordinary revolution threatened to overturn his plan of operations. The inveterate enemy of Frederic, Elizabeth of Russia, was succeeded by her nephew, the duke of Holstein, under the title of Peter III. He was an extravagant admirer of the king of Prussia, and pitied his misfortunes. His family had been compelled by the Danes to relinquish its pretensions to the duchy of Sleswick, his native country; without consulting his allies, he not only agreed to a peace, but to a restitution of the Russian conquests, and to a junction of one part of his forces with those of Prussia, while the other acted against the Danes for the recovery of Sleswick. Sweden, which had long been swayed by the Russian councils, followed his example.

Though the king of Prussia did not fail to improve this favourable change of fortune, by attacking the Imperialists, and gaining some advantages over their forces under marshal Daun; yet the short duration of Peter's popularity soon clouded the prospect before him. The subjects of the Russian monarch deeply resented the surrender of his late conquests, and his introduction of a just and necessary reform into the discipline of the church. The clergy, whose revenues were in some degree diminished by this laudable exercise of his authority, took every opportunity of deceiving the ignorance, and inflaming the passions of the people. The empress, little solicitous for the welfare of a man who had ceased to be a husband, asserted an independent interest in favour of herself. She flattered the nobility, and seemed to respect religion and the clergy in the same degree that the czar appeared to despise them. Peter was ignorant that a general conspiracy had been formed, at the head of which was his wife Catharine, who appeared before the Russian guards, and after haranguing them in the most pathetic terms, was declared their sole and independent sovereign. During these transactions, the emperor was indulging himself with his mistress in idle amusements, at a pleasure-house near the sea-shore. As soon as he learned the fatal intelligence of his degradation, he made an unsuccessful attempt to escape to Holstein; and, on his detention, he was intimidated to sign a paper, declaring his own incapacity for government, the weakness and folly of his administration, and the necessity of his deposition. He was thrown into prison, and died a few days afterwards, whether by the visitation of providence, or by the emissaries of his treacherous consort, is no longer doubtful.

Upon this change of affairs at St. Petersburgh, it was imagined, that the cause of the king of Prussia had become utterly hopeless. But when the empress discovered that Frederic had recommended her late husband to treat her with kindness, and had pointed out the danger of attempting any alteration in the religious and civil laws of his country, she relented, and countermanded the orders for renewing hostilities. The Prussian monarch made the best use of this change of fortune; he attacked and gained several advantages over marshal Daun's army; and, after capturing Schweidnitz, which sustained a long and vigorous defence, compelled the marshal to evacuate Silesia. The Imperial and Austrian forces were also completely routed, near Freyburg, with the loss of many thousands in slain, 240 officers and 6000 privates taken prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon. The Prussians immediately on this victory entered Bohemia in triumph, advanced to the gates of Prague, and reduced the town of Egra to ashes. The diet of the empire, alarmed for their personal safety, prepared for flight, and began to remove their records. The city of Nuremburg was obliged to pay £300,000 sterling, to avoid being plundered; a sum which, added to other exactions, equalled in amount the subsidy received from England in former years.

The slow progress of the Spaniards in Portugal, the retrograde motion of the French troops in Germany, the reduction of the Havannah, and the capture of the troops sent to retake Newfoundland, all conspired to impress the ministry of France with a sense of the impolicy of continuing the contest. England, though not unable to carry on the war, was not averse to peace. An important change had taken place in the administration, about the month of May. An opinion had been long entertained, that the Pelham family had been as complete masters of the cabinet, during

the last years of the reign of George II., as the Marlborough family in that of Anne. A resolution was therefore formed to expel them from court, and the duke of Newcastle retired from his situation of first lord of the treasury.

No sooner had lord Bute succeeded to that situation, than a great number of the Whigs resigned, or were dismissed; a less numerous, but more able body, headed by Mr. Pitt, without coalescing with the Newcastle party, was adverse to the ministry. From the open attachment of his majesty to the earl of Bute, that nobleman was esteemed and denominated, the royal favourite. The influence of his lordship and his friends was attributed to private partiality, and they were accused of governing by a system of court favouritism. The supposed operation of this plan was exhibited, with great force and eloquence, by the parliamentary speakers and political writers of the day. The deportment of Bute was by no means such as tended to counteract his unpopularity. With exemplary morals, he was reserved and haughty in his manners. In his appointment to subordinate offices, he had frequently removed Englishmen of respectable characters, to make room for Scotchmen who were not known, and who were presumed to be the abettors of arbitrary power. The Whig party had been uniformly connected with the monied interest, and Pitt possessed the most unlimited confidence of that important body of men. The supplies of the current year had been raised, while the duke of Newcastle was at the head of the treasury. On lord Bute they had no reliance. To a ministry which was both hated and suspected, a war was difficult; their failure would have been attributed to incapacity, and their success would be converted into an argument for unreasonable terms of peace. They therefore pretended that it was full time to suspend hostilities, and to consult the interests of humanity; and pursued their object with so much eagerness and enthusiasm, as to excite suspicions of their integrity, which were equally unjust and absurd.

The courts of France and England being thus equally sincere in their advances to peace, all difficulties were soon removed. The duke of Nivernois on the part of France, and the duke of Bedford on the part of England, were appointed ambassadors to the respective courts. In the negotiation of 1761, a principle had been established between the two crowns, that their respective propositions, if the treaty were broken off, should be considered as retracted, and as never made; the negotiation, therefore, of 1762, was not a renewal of that of 1761. France and England both recurred to the original cause of the war, the limits of the North American territories, and their boundaries were now determined with the utmost exactness. A line drawn along the middle of the rivers Mississippi and Iberville, the lakes Maurepas and Pont Chartraine to the sea, separated the possessions of the two nations; the extensive, but barren sands of Florida being exchanged for the Havannah, and the contingent possession of the Philippine islands. To command the navigation of St. Lawrence, and to secure the possession of her northern acquisitions, Britain was to retain the island of Cape Breton, and St. John. By the treaty of Utrecht, the Newfoundland fishery had been divided between France and England. It was now attempted by the latter power to obtain the whole, and at length a compromise was effected, by which Britain was left in possession of the greater share. In the West Indies, the English retained none of the conquered islands, but the Grenadas, Tobago, Dominico, and St. Vincent, being our antient possessions. In Africa, Goree was restored to the French, and Senegal ceded to the British; and in the East Indies, Britain returned all the French factories and settlements; France having stipulated to erect no fortifications in Bengal or Orissa, and to acknowledge the reigning subahs of Bengal, the Decan, and the Carnatic. The island of Belleisle was exchanged for Minorca, and Dunkirk was to be dismantled. The British ministers consented to dissolve their alliance with the king of Prussia; the French engaging to withdraw their assistance from the empress-queen, and to evacuate their German conquests. All the territories of Portugal, without distinction, were evacuated. Such were the conditions of a treaty, which was interchanged on the 3rd of November, between the ministers of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal. Peace being thus restored between the two great powers, whose treasures supplied the German war, it was reasonably expected that the empress-queen and the king of Prussia would soon accommodate their disputes. The superiority acquired

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by the Prussians at the close of the campaign accelerated the compliance of Austria, and a treaty was concluded at Hubertsburg, of mutual restitution and oblivion; by which each party remained, after a long succession of bloodshed, and the infliction of every evil humanity could sustain, in the same situation as at the beginning of the war.

The parliament met on the 25th of November. When the preliminaries were taken into consideration, and a motion was made for an address of thanks to his majesty, it was warmly opposed by a powerful party in both houses. Mr. Pitt declaimed with uncommon vehemence against them, declaring that they obscured the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith by the abandonment of our allies. *By restoring*, he observed, *to France the most valuable of the West India islands, and by our concessions in the Newfoundland fishery, we have given her the means of recovering prodigious losses, and of becoming once more formidable to us at sea. The fishery trained up an innumerable multitude of seamen, and the West India trade employed them when trained.* He then compared the value of these possessions, by which France would enrich her finances, and augment her resources, with that of the cessions in North America, and insisted on the connection between the West India trade and that to our American colonies, and to the African coast. He ridiculed the idea of mutual restitution in the East Indies; and he reprobated the article relating to our German allies, by which it was stipulated, that the territories of the other princes should be *restored*, while those of his Prussian majesty, our ally, was only to be *evacuated*, and might be entered upon by the Austrians as soon as the troops of France had left them. He declared his disapprobation of the preliminaries, because he saw in them the seeds of future war. The peace was insecure, because it restored the enemy to her former greatness; it was inadequate, because the places gained were no equivalent for those surrendered. To these observations it was answered, that the original object of our hostilities was the security of our continental possessions in North America, and the removal of the French from our neighbourhood in that country was therefore the most effectual means of preventing future war. The friends of administration expatiated on the immense resources to commerce which must arise from the possession of the American continent. France, they said, would never agree to a considerable cession in the West Indies, where the importance of our possessions depended on our North American colonies, from which they derived their principal provisions, and other supplies. They contended, that the points which the opposite party had thought proper to contest, were not of sufficient importance to justify the continuance of the war. We had supported the king of Prussia so long as he was likely to be overwhelmed by his enemies; but now that he had to contend with Austria only, our support would only tend to promote his ambition. Notwithstanding the evident culpability of the ministers, particularly with regard to the cessions in the West Indies, the majority in parliament approved of the preliminary articles of peace; and many addresses of congratulation were presented from counties, cities, and boroughs. In general, however, the signatures were obtained by the intrigues and influence of the ministers.

When the duke of Newcastle resigned the treasury to the earl of Bute, the people, alarmed at seeing the whole power of the nation engrossed by persons, whose principles of liberty were dubious, began to censure the ministers with a freedom approaching to abuse, and their disgust was confirmed by the disadvantageous conditions of the peace. The opposition assailed the administration in the most tender part, the supplies, and several circumstances favoured their design. Though the necessity of taxes was as great as during the war, that necessity was not so palpable to the senses of the people. Means were adopted to persuade the nation, that the new taxes were partial and destructive. The whole of the new funds amounted to £7,300,000. In order to pay the interest of the annuities which were granted to the lenders of money, an additional duty of £8 per ton was imposed on all French wines. In aid of this plan, every hogshead of cyder and perry was charged with a duty of 4*s.* to be levied by excise. Those who examine the nature and operation of different modes of levying taxes are aware, that excise is less burdensome to the consumer than any equivalent raised in customs. Customs, though advanced by the merchant, must ultimately fall on the consumer; and, as the

merchant must not only be reimbursed, but have a profit on all his advance, it follows, that the earlier in trade customs are paid for any commodity, the heavier they must fall on the consumer. The excise being levied on commodities in use, and paid by the consumer, does not require him to reimburse the merchant for his advance, nor to contribute to his profits. But in customs, the tax, being involved in the price of the commodity, is not felt as a tax; and, though really heavier than the excise, is regarded as lighter. From this unfounded supposition, excise is a much more unpopular mode of taxation than customs. Two circumstances add to the unpopularity of this tax: the visits of excise officers; and the summary process before commissioners. The former practice has not been found to endanger our freedom, or to occasion any inconvenience proportionable to its advantage to the revenues; and the expence and delay of prosecutions would fall infinitely heavier on defendants than this expeditious mode of ascertaining the matter in dispute. Every scheme, however, for introducing and extending the excise, has always excited the tumultuous opposition of the people. Their resentment had endangered the administration of Walpole, and now effected the downfal of lord Bute. The unpopularity of that nobleman was already great, and the loudness and violence of the clamour against him, on the bill being passed into a law, deeply affected him. Abusive pamphlets, and able lampoons, were circulated through every class and description of society; and his lordship was charged with an intention to engross the whole authority of the executive government, and to attempt the establishment of arbitrary power, by corrupt influence, and the extension of the prerogative. It would be difficult to prove what his intentions were; but the events of his administration evinced, that he wanted judgment in the choice of expedients, and firmness in their execution. Had his discernment and intrepidity been equal to his ambition, he would not have abandoned his friends and his post at the hour of danger; or would have kept the quiet and beaten path of government. In the midst of the commotion excited by the excise bill, he resigned the office of first lord of the treasury; and was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville. The new minister was chiefly distinguished for activity and diligence; and more famous for an attachment to his personal interest, than for his services to his country. Lord Egremont became secretary for the southern department. In the northern department, business was transacted by lord Halifax, a nobleman of respectable talents. The private characters of these three individuals could not be objected to. But a persuasion prevailed, that the late minister still retained an ascendancy in the cabinet, and exercised his power after he had divested himself of all political responsibility. These sentiments were studiously and industriously propagated by the partisans of the opposition, and had the effect intended, of rendering the administration unpopular. From this cause originated the most serious evils; an extreme jealousy of the royal authority; a determined opposition to the measures of the court: and, on the other hand, the desire of the crown to establish its authority on a foundation so firm as to defy the effects apprehended from popular influence, especially in the appointment of officers of state. Such were the causes of these internal tumults, which threatened to involve the kingdom in rebellion at the commencement of the reign of a monarch, whose personal demeanour had gained him the affections of his people. The public mind was more and more inflamed by the continued circulation of anonymous attacks on the sovereign and the ministry. Among the inflammatory publications of this period, the North Briton was distinguished for the vehemence of its scurrility. The licentious author of this paper, after attacking with virulence the characters of the ministers, and of him who was supposed to direct their councils, assailed the throne itself; and, under cover of the supposition, that the king's speech in parliament is that of his minister, he charged his majesty with having affirmed a direct falsehood. A general warrant was immediately issued by lord Halifax, as secretary of state, "To take up the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious and treasonable paper, called, *the North Briton, Number* 45, together with their papers." By virtue of this warrant, Mr. John Wilkes, representative for the borough of Aylesbury, the supposed author, was apprehended and committed to the Tower, his papers were seized, and all access to him was forbidden. On bringing his

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habeas corpus, however, he was liberated, without bail, by the court of common pleas; the chief justice, lord Camden, having given it as the opinion of the judges, that although the commitment was not in itself illegal, yet he ought to be released, because the privilege of parliament extended to the offence for which he was committed. The populace regarded his discharge as the triumph of liberty over ministerial oppression, and attended Wilkes from the Tower to his home, rending the air with their praises and acclamations. When the parliament met, the ministers endeavoured to throw as much reproach as possible on the attempts which had been made to render the people discontented. The affair of Mr. Wilkes was then brought before the lower house, by a message delivered by Mr. Grenville from his majesty, importing that Mr. Wilkes, having refused to answer to an information filed against him by the attorney-general, his majesty, desirous to shew all possible attention to the privileges of the house, while public justice was duly executed, had directed the libel for which he was apprehended, together with the copies of his examination, to be laid before them. After warm debates, in which the friends of Mr. Wilkes rested his defence on the proposition, that the king's speech was to be considered as that of the minister, and had always been considered in that light by the authors of political pamphlets, it was voted, by a great majority, that *the North Briton, Number* 45, was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, and excite them to traitorous insurrections; and it was resolved, that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The peers also concurred in an address, expressing their indignation at the contumely with which his majesty had been treated in the libel, and at the outrage which had been offered to every branch of the legislature. The people rescued the condemned paper from the flames, notwithstanding all the efforts of the sheriff.

The proceedings in parliament did not prevent Wilkes from presenting to the house his complaint of breach of privilege, by the imprisonment of his person, and the plunder of his house. Many of the sincerest friends to the constitution and to good order, regretted the indiscretion of the parliament, when they saw the interests of the legislative bodies so blended with those of a seditious libeller, whose practices they abhorred, that they were obliged to forget his private iniquities, and his public infamy, in his political wrongs, or afford a precedent to future parliaments, which might aid the progress of ministerial persecution. The ministerial side of the house, however, rather irritated than intimidated by the strenuous defence of his advocates, obtained a vote that the privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious writings. In this vote the lords concurred, but not without a protest signed by 17 peers. A process was accordingly issued against Mr. Wilkes, as the presumed author.

Soon after this decision, Wilkes was engaged in a duel with Mr. Martin, a member of parliament, and late secretary to the treasury, whose character he had attacked in his writings. In this engagement he received a dangerous wound. But, as he found that the minority were regardless of his cause, he refused admittance to the gentlemen of the faculty, deputed to examine his wound, and suddenly removed to France, before he was perfectly recovered. His flight was chiefly determined by the language of Mr. Pitt, who, justly shocked and disgusted by the private circulation of Wilkes's *Essay on Woman*, which contained several profane allusions to the Athanasian creed, declared, that though he could not be expected to surrender the privilege of parliament, he abhorred the offender, as a blasphemer of his God, and libeller of his king, and had joined in the former vote against him. The house of lords proceeded against Wilkes for a breach of privilege; in a short time he was prosecuted for the double crime of blasphemy and libel; and sustained the infliction of an outlawry.

Previous to his departure he printed the proceedings against him at his private press, and sold them at one guinea a copy. By the extraordinary sale of his pamphlet, he procured a degree of affluence, to which he had been before unaccustomed. He was indeed a master of expedients. His dissipation was equal to his attainments; and the latter, though not of the most exalted kind, were various and considerable. He was distinguished by his wit and pleasantry, possessed a respectable share of classical erudition, and surpassed most men as an entertaining and

engaging companion. Prodigality had ruined his fortune, and profligacy. his character. Bankrupt in circumstances and reputation, he had applied to lord Bute to extricate him from his embarrassments. The notoriety of his character precluded success. Wilkes, in revenge, became a zealous and vehement patriot, inveighed against the attacks upon our rights and liberties, and against the unprincipled wickedness of the existing rulers; and derived from the enterprise, not only a timely relief from his pecuniary distresses, but a degree of consequence in the state, and favour with the people, propitious to the interests of liberty, notwithstanding the unworthiness of the instrument.

While the nation was agitated by the proceedings instituted against the favourite of the people, an attempt was made, on the vacancy of the secretary's office, by the death of the earl of Egremont, to accomplish a coalition between the friends of the late minister, and the principal members of the opposition. The chief of these were Mr. Pitt, the dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, and the marquis of Rockingham. With this view, several conferences were held by Mr. Pitt with lord Bute, and with his majesty. But when it appeared that the arrangements insisted on by the former, would give him an ascendancy incompatible with the wishes of the court, the negotiation was broken off. And the late minister, instead of effecting his purpose, of relieving himself from the odium in which he was now held, lost the authority which he had hitherto retained in the opinions of the people, by the tacit confession of weakness which his proposals implied. The duke of Bedford was now appointed to the office of president of the council, lord Sandwich was made secretary of state, the earl of Egmont first lord of the admiralty, and the earl of Hillsborough first commissioner of trade.

During these domestic transactions, every expedient was adopted, to render the acquisitions of the British crown as profitable as possible. Under the direction of the lords of trade, a vast extent of newly-acquired territory, in the south of America, was now divided into townships; grants of land were made to soldiers and seamen of merit; to a field-officer 5000, to a captain 3000, to a subaltern 2000, to a non-commissioned officer 200, to a private soldier or seaman 50. That stability might be insured to our conquests, and to awe the neighbouring Indian nations, a military establishment of 10,000 men, was formed for this country, and for the West India islands. Notwithstanding the policy of this measure, it did not answer all the objects intended. The colonies were relieved from the inroads of the French, and from the molestation of the Troquois Indians. But they had yet a formidable enemy in the Indians who inhabited the country bordering on the Ohio, and between that river and lake Ontario. Impressed by the artifices of the French with a persuasion, that the English meditated their utter extirpation, they attempted to avert their fate by an irruption on our frontiers. Having driven away the inhabitants of several towns on the borders of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, they ravaged the country with remorseless cruelty. They obtained possession of several forts near lake Erie and the Ohio; and, animated by success, attacked the more important fortresses of Detroit, Niagara, and fort Pitt. Captains Dalyel and Grant were sent by general Amherst, with a small force, to the defence of fort Detroit. But these officers were defeated with considerable loss, and with difficulty effected their retreat to the fortress. Though the British troops defended themselves with the desperate bravery of men who knew their lives to be in jeopardy, it is difficult to say what might have been their fate, had not the enemies been obliged to abandon the siege precipitately, in order to intercept colonel Bouquet, who was advancing to their assistance with a strong reinforcement. This officer, finding it impossible to procure any intelligence, left behind him all the provision and ammunition which was not judged absolutely necessary, and pursued his march with all that cautious expedition, which the nature of the country and service required. After having traversed a considerable tract of rough and mountainous forest, he arrived at a dangerous defile, extending several miles in length, and commanded on both sides by high and craggy hills. In order to elude, if possible, the vigilance of so alert an enemy, he determined to pass it in the night.

While the troops, after a fatiguing march of seventeen miles, were preparing to refresh themselves, and to make the necessary arrangements, their advanced guard was suddenly

attacked by the Indians. This body, being speedily and firmly supported, repulsed the enemies, and pursued them to a considerable distance. But their flight proved only a decoy, to entangle the whole detachment in the snare which was prepared for them. When the pursuit ended, they returned to the charge with redoubled vigour; and being supported by parties, which lay in ambush on the high and woody grounds, flanking our army, they galled it with an obstinate fire. The whole line was obliged to advance, and to dislodge them from these posts.

Though this movement succeeded, it produced no decisive advantage. No sooner were the savages driven from one eminence, but they occupied another, till by constant reinforcements they surrounded the whole detachment, and attacked the convoy in the rear; a circumstance which forced our troops to fall back for its protection. The enemies, improving this advantage, pressed forward with the greatest spirit. The action grew hotter and hotter every moment; and the English found themselves encircled and assailed at once by superior numbers. But their courage, their perseverance, their dexterity in evolutions, surmounted all obstacles. They forced the Indians from all their posts with bayonets fixed. Night put an end to the engagement, which had been continued from noon without intermission.

The ground, on which they stood, was not ill-adapted for an encampment; the convoy was therefore placed in the centre, the troops forming a circle round it. In this posture they passed a restless and anxious night, obliged to the strictest vigilance by an enterprising and daring enemy, who waited only for the morning to complete their destruction. Soldiers accustomed only to the humane maxims of European war have hardly any idea of the dangers to be endured in an American campaign. In Europe, the roads are practicable, magazines are established, and hospitals provided. In case of any great disaster strong towns are at hand; or at the worst, a generous enemy is ready to afford every relief to the vanquished. No consolation but that of victory can be wanting. Such a service may be considered as the exercise of an active and adventurous mind, rather than a sanguinary contest for mutual destruction; a dispute between rivals for glory, rather than a struggle between deadly enemies. But in America every object is pregnant with terror: the face of the country, the climate, the enemy. There is no refreshment for the healthy, no relief for the sick or wounded. A vast, inhospitable desart, full of snares and treachery, extends on every side. Victories are not decisive, but defeats are ruinous; and simple death is the least misfortune that may befal a soldier. What then can be more critical than such campaigns? As they act in small bodies, man fights against man; every individual marks his antagonist. All the vigour of the body and firmness of the mind is put to the severest trial; every exertion of courage and address is called forth into action. If the events have less dignity and magnificence than those of a regular war, they are more interesting to the heart, more amusing to the imagination.

At the first dawn of light, the savages, setting up the war-whoop all around the camp, in order to intimidate with their numbers and ferocity, made several bold attempts to penetrate into it under favour of an incessant fire. Though constantly repulsed, they constantly renewed their attacks, and harassed our troops, which were equally distressed with fatigue and want of water, circumstances much more insupportable than the enemies' fire. Their situation was extremely critical and perplexing: tied to their convoy, they could not lose sight of it for a moment without exposing not only that interesting object, but also their wounded to the merciless barbarians. Many of their horses were lost; many of the drivers, stupified by fear, had hid themselves in the bushes, and were incapable of hearing or obeying orders: to pursue their march was therefore impracticable. Besieged rather than engaged; attacked without interruption, and without decision; capable neither to advance nor retreat; they saw nothing before them but the melancholy prospect of crumbling away by degrees, and perishing without revenge, without honour in those dreadful forests. The fate of Braddock and his army came rushing to their minds; but they had another commander.

Bouquet, seeing that all depended on bringing the savages to a close engagement, endeavoured to inspire them with confidence, and to give additional strength to that audacity, which success had already so greatly

increased. For this purpose two companies, who occupied the most advanced posts, were ordered to fall within the circle; the rest of the troops opening their files to the right and left, and then closing up the vacant space, as if they meant to cover their retreat. The savages fell into the snare. Imagining that the thin line of troops, which filled up the ground abandoned by two companies detached to support the former, indicated a retreat by moving nearer to the centre, they rushed from the woods which covered them, and, hurrying headlong on with the most daring intrepidity, galled the English with their heavy fire. But at the very instant when they thought the victory certain and the camp taken, the two first companies rushed out from an invisible part of the hill, and attacked their right flank. The barbarians, though disappointed, were not dismayed: they returned the fire with great spirit. But discipline and well-directed strength soon decided the contest; unable to sustain the irresistable shock of the regulars, they fled at the second volley. As they turned their backs, the other two companies presented themselves in their front, and by their full fire completed their overthrow. They were pursued, and totally routed and dispersed.

This well-concerted and well-executed stratagem saved the whole detachment from the most imminent danger. The rest of the savages, who had been kept in awe during the engagement by the British troops, were terrified by the fate of their companions, betook themselves to flight; and abandoned all the adjacent woods. Yet, notwithstanding this advantage, so many men had been wounded, and so many horses lost, that, before our troops could move, they were under the disagreeable necessity of destroying the greatest part of their convoy of provisions, and consequently of relinquishing one of the principal objects of their expedition. This action, in which our officers and soldiers gained great and just honour, was the only one of moment which distinguished this war. As the Indians draw their chief subsistence from hunting, and their hunters and warriors are the same, they were soon weary of it, and laid down the hatchet. For the future, gentle and pacific measures were embraced by our colonists, and past experience taught them, that their enmity is as dangerous as their friendship is advantageous. By kind and indulgent usage they lost both their military and savage spirit, and instead of barbarous foes became useful subjects and allies.

In the month of January, in the ensuing year, Wilkes was expelled the house of commons. The odium which he had incurred was considerably diminished, when the manner in which the evidence was brought against him was fully known, and when it was made obvious to the people, that he had intended the *Essay on Woman* for circulation only among his friends. As the long and uninterrupted precedents adduced in the support of general warrants only rendered the danger more alarming, many were of opinion, that, in order to remove the fears and jealousies of the public, the practice ought to be formally condemned by the commons. At length a resolution was past, declaring, that a general warrant, for apprehending the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, and for seizing their papers, is contrary to law; but, notwithstanding all the arguments of the opposition, the ministerial party attached a ridet to the bill, which exculpated the accused officers of state. This resolution respecting general warrants was the chief advantage arising from the dispute between Wilkes and the ministry. 1764.

The proceedings in the house of commons, in their resolution of expulsion, scarcely excited more violent clamours among the people, than the conduct of lord Sandwich in the upper house. He was himself a drunkard and a profligate, and had formerly been one of the most intimate associates of Wilkes; yet he was extremely active in obtaining evidence to prove the publication of the *Essay on Woman*. His own habits of intercourse, and sources of information, peculiarly fitting his lordship for bringing his flagitiousness to light, he obtained a copy of the work, and complained of it in the house of peers, as a flagrant outrage against the most sacred duties, both of God and man. The peers immediately addressed his majesty, desiring him to prosecute the author. He was accordingly indicted for blasphemy, while the proceedings respecting the libel were pending. On the 21st of February, he was tried before lord Mansfield for republishing *the North Briton*, with notes, and on the same day for printing and publishing the *Essay on Woman*. Not returning to

receive sentence, he was outlawed, an event peculiarly grateful to the earl of Halifax, against whom all proceedings were of course abated. An action for damages was brought against that nobleman, and, after a trial of fifteen hours, before the lord chief justice, a verdict was given for the plaintiff, with £1000 damages and costs of suit.

The affairs of India at this period became extremely important. Soon after Mir Kossim, the successor of Jaffier Ali Cawn, had been restored to his province by the assistance of the English, his next care was to render himself independent of those men, to whose valour he owed his prosperity. After complaining of being treated with insolence and indignity, he removed his court from Murshadabad, a city which, by its vicinity to Calcutta, enabled the factory to observe his conduct. He proceeded 200 miles higher up the Ganges, and fixed his residence at Mongheer. He collected a numerous army, composed of Persians, Tartars, Armenians, and vagrant Europeans, changed the fashion of the English muskets from matchlocks to firelocks, and improved his cannon. He soon incurred the displeasure of Mr. Vansittart, the English governor, by issuing an order, subjecting all the three traders to the regular and equal payment of duties throughout his dominions, and commanding that all disputes occurring in his territories should be determined by his magistrates.

Mr. Vansittart immediately repaired to Mongheer, expostulated with Mir Kossim on the subject of his repeated violation of the company's privileges, and concluded with him a treaty, which regulated their mutual trade, and laid it under some restrictions. Against this treaty a general clamour was raised by the ambition and cupidity of the company, and it was voted by the board at Calcutta to be dishonourable, disadvantageous, and a breach of their privileges. They then deputed Mr. Amyat, and others of their body, to negotiate a new treaty with him. But Mir Kossim, grown confident in his strength, sternly refused to alter the stipulations of the treaty, and as the deputies were returning by water to Calcutta, they were fired upon and murdered by his troops, posted on the banks of the Hughly. In the mean time, Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, 300 miles above Calcutta, without assigning a justifiable reason, attacked the city, and made himself master of it. But while his troops were engaged in plunder, the governor and garrison returned suddenly upon them in their haste to take refuge in a neighbouring territory.

This act of Mr. Ellis was condemned as rash and impolitic, independent of its evident injustice. But it now became necessary to enter upon vigorous hostilities. Major Adams, who was invested with the chief command in colonel Coote's absence, being joined by a body of troops under major Carnac, marched rapidly towards Murshadabad, and having defeated an Indian army, posted to oppose his march, possessed himself of the city. The English general then marched his small army, while his troops were animated by success, in quest of the nabob. The army of Mir Kossim consisted of 28,000 men, armed with firelocks, provided with a train of artillery, and formed into regular brigades. They advanced to meet their enemy, and chose a strong position on the Nuna Nullas. Thus judiciously posted, they were attacked by the English army, which did not exceed 3000 men, and after maintaining the action four hours, were driven from the ground, with the irreparable loss of their artillery.

The remainder of the campaign was one continued train of success on the part of the English. When the nabob's forces did not dare to appear again in the field, the British generals attacked and forced their entrenchments at Anda Nulla. Then pursuing Mir Kossim to his residence at Mongheer, whither he had fled for refuge, they gained possession of that fortress, and afterwards closed their career with the reduction of Patna, the last place of strength which remained in his dominions.

When the company heard of the commencement of hostilities, they were greatly alarmed. In the extremity of their fear, they invested lord Clive and four other gentlemen with unlimited authority to examine and determine every public measure, independently of the council, so long as Bengal should continue in a state of war. Before this select committee arrived at Bengal, Jaffier Ali Cawn died, and nominated his son Naijem Doulah his successor, which nomination the council confirmed. He was allowed to keep no soldiers, but a few for parade; and they compelled

him to deliver up Nundacomar, his prime minister, and the instructor of his youth, and to accept one of their servants, who might act as a spy upon his conduct.

Mir Kossim, after his late disasters, had fled for protection to the court of Sujah al Dowlah, nabob of Oude, a powerful prince, who acted as vizier to the mogul, and had not only obtained his protection, but, by his weight at the court of Delhi, had engaged Shah Allum in his alliance. The council of Calcutta peremptorily demanded his surrender of the fugitive prince, with all his effects, and was answered by a warm and just expostulation on their ambition, injustice, and rapacity. The council, irritated by this remonstrance, determined to humble and chastise the intrepidity of the nabob; and sir Hector Munro penetrated to the territories of Oude with about 5000 men. He found a vast confederate army, posted near the junction of the Cammissary with the Ganges, having a morass in its front, and protected by the fortress of Buxard. An action ensued, which, after it had been fought three hours, terminated in favour of the English. The confederate Indians were routed, with the loss of 6000 men, and 150 pieces of artillery. Sir Henry Munro, after he had been foiled in an attempt to possess himself of the strong fortress of Chundageer, retired to Benares, and encamped his troops under the walls of that city.

In the Carnatic, Mahommed Ali had been by the conditions of the late peace acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic; and, in compliance with the company's wishes, he entered into a treaty with the rajah of Tanjore, guaranteed by the president and council of Madras, by which he received from the rajah, as the great mogul's representative was regulated and explained. Mahommed Ali was compelled to cede to the company in Jaghire, in consequence of their services, four districts, the revenue of which amounted to 14 lacks of rupees, or about £175,000. Mr. Pigot then resigned the government to Mr. Palk, who was appointed to succeed him, and embarked for England. The rajah of Tanjore died in the ensuing year, and was succeeded by his son, Tulja Ji, a prince as weak and profligate as his father, and whom the company soon experienced to be equally faithless. 1763. Usoph Khan, governor of Madura, a city dependent on the nabob of Arcot, having neglected to pay the stipulated tribute, Mahommed called upon the company for its support in enforcing the payment. In compliance with his request, a body of troops was sent to reinforce the army with which the nabob had invested Madura. Tulja Ji, in order to lull the suspicion of the company, had sent auxiliaries to the besieging army, while he secretly encouraged Usoph to resistance by promises of support, and permitted a body of French troops, which had served in his army, to enter into the service of the revolted Khan. His treachery proved the destruction of the individual whom he meant to serve. Merchand, a French officer, willing to gain the favour of the nabob, betrayed his trust, seized the person of Usoph, and delivered him up to Mahommed, by whom he was instantly put to death. Such was the conclusion of a war, as destructive to the English, and as expensive to the nabob, as trivial in its cause.

CHAPTER XIX.

GEORGE III.

[1763 to 1771.]

Imposition of Duties on the Americans—The Stamp Act—Universal Discontent of the Colonies—Riots in Spitalfields—Affairs of the East India Company—Election of Wilkes for Middlesex—His Expulsion, and Re-election—Arguments adopted by both Parties—Address of the City of London—Intrepidity of Beckford.

1765. IN the beginning of the succeeding year, an unbounded love of power, which was the predominant feature of the cabinet, laid the foundations of those differences between Great Britain and her colonies in North America, which ended in the independence of the latter. The parliament passed a law, in the beginning of the year 1764, which, while it rendered the intercourse of the Americans with other colonies in some respect legal, loaded the most advantageous part of it with such heavy duties, as amounted to a total prohibition. Not satisfied with imposing this hardship, it ordered all the money arising from these duties to be paid in specie to the British exchequer; a regulation which must have exhausted the colonies of the trivial portion of money which remained in their hands.

IN this session, the celebrated act for levying a duty on stamps on the British colonies of North America, was brought forward by the minister, but did not pass the lower house without long and warm debates. The right of the parliament to tax the colonies, and the expedience of that act, were disputed. It is difficult to determine on particular points, when the question in debate is neither justified nor condemned by precedent. But a prudent statesman will not, unless the occasion be urgent, bring forward an obnoxious measure, when the minds of men are in a state of irritation, which excites them to oppose it. This was the case in the present instance. The bill was founded on the principle of making every part of his majesty's dominions contribute to the support of the government by which it is protected. But the imposition of the tax tended to establish a power in the British legislature, to tax the colonies without their consent, which they were apprehensive might be abused to the purposes of oppression. The great and decisive argument in favour of their resistance rested upon the simple and obvious proposition, that those who are not represented in the great council of the nation cannot be subjected to taxation If many individuals in England be subjected to the payment of a considerable annual contribution to the revenue, their patrons and advisers, all whom they are accustomed to regard with reverence, upon whom their interest is dependent, or who are qualified and authorised to illustrate their views, have access to the national assembly, and are able to express their wishes, and support their rights. But the colonies were condemned to submit to the decisions of the English senate, unaided by council, unsupported by their own proper representatives; and were in the same situation as that to which the Irish people would have been subjected to the prerent day, had they possessed neither a parliament of their own, nor a share in that of the country, with which they are connected. The minister, who was the author of the measures respecting American taxation, deferred the proposition of the stamp duty some months after his intention was announced, in order that the colonies might have time to deliberate on the subject,

and might offer a compensation for the revenue which the tax would produce. He informed the agents that he was prepared to receive proposals from the colonies for any other tax, which might be equivalent in its produce. But it was not to the amount of the tax that the Americans objected, but to its principle; the proposal only tended to exasperate their resistance, and having evinced no indication of acquiescence, the bill was hurried through the house, and received the royal assent.

On the arrival of intelligence at Boston, the rage of the populace was accompanied by the most evident expressions of sorrow and discontent. The colours of the shipping in the harbour were displayed half-mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells rang muffled; the act itself was printed, with the decoration of death's heads, and cried publicly about the streets, under the title of *the Folly of England, and the Ruin of America.* The provincial assemblies deriving boldness from the unanimity displayed in the southern provinces, sanctioned the proceedings of the multitude, by declaring that Great Britain could claim no right to the imposition of taxes, without their free consent. The assemblies deputed a general congress, to be held at New York, which petitioned his majesty for redress of grievances.

The indisposition of the king, and his paternal regard to the welfare of his people, induced him to propose a regency bill, by which he might be enabled to appoint, in case of his decease, the queen, or some other person of the royal family, guardian of the realm, and of the heir apparent; the princess dowager of Wales, the mother of the king, was particularly mentioned as worthy of the regency. While this measure was under consideration, the journeymen silk-weavers of London assembled, by beat of drum, in Spitalfields and Moorfields, and proceeded, with flags expressive of their grievances, to St. James's. Conceiving themselves injured by the free use of French silks, they surrounded the palace, and houses of parliament, and presented a petition for the redress of their complaints. As the weavers in the country were reported to be approaching to join their distressed brethren in London, considerable apprehensions were entertained for the public tranquillity; but, after breaking the windows of a few houses suspected of selling French silks, and compelling a nobleman who had treated their cause with harshness to abscond, the clamour was appeased. The distress of the weavers did not so much arise from the importation of French silks, as from a deficiency of the usual sale of their manufactures in the colonies. This conclusion was suggested by the privy-council, and impressed the mind of his majesty with an unfavourable opinion of the talents of the ministry. When to these circumstances it is added, that the ministers had come to an open rupture with the earl of Bute, by dismissing his brother, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, and his friend lord Northumberland, from their employments, it can excite but little surprise that their authority was nearly at an end. The Rockingham administration next succeeded, and the marquis was appointed first lord of the treasury, in the place of Mr. Grenville. The duke of Grafton and Mr. Conway were made secretaries of state; Mr. Dowdswell chancellor of the exchequer; and the duke of Newcastle lord privy-seal. The prevalence of party spirit was at this period so general and so violent, as to weaken the authority of government, at home and abroad. Foreign nations were averse to enter into negotiations with a cabinet, of which the councils were so fluctuating; and the inferior ranks of the English nation lost the respect and reverence for their rulers, which was necessary for the regular and efficient management of public affairs. The duke of Cumberland, employed in the formation of a ministry, had failed in his negotiation with Mr. Pitt and lord Temple, who were unwilling to lose their popularity, by sharing their power with the earl of Bute and his party; but the royal duke was more successful in his application to lord Rockingham, who, having no political character to risk, was less rigid. Besides those which have been mentioned, many of the other principal offices were filled with men, who were new to the ministerial list, and the duke of Newcastle was the only old statesman who strengthened the party. The youth and inexperience of the ministry were the chief objections by which it was attacked; but the most effective motive of discontent, with the great body of the people, was the exclusion of Mr. Pitt. The arrangement of this ministry was the last public act of the duke of Cum-

berland, by whose intervention it was formed; his royal highness being taken suddenly ill, at a private council, expired almost instantaneously in the 45th year of his age.

Scarcely had the new ministers entered into office, before they endeavoured to appease the clamour of the Americans, by the most judicious and conciliating conduct. By preserving a wise medium, by suspending their own judgment, and abstaining from violent measures of coercion, they neither urged their fellow-subjects to unpardonable acts of desperation, nor prevented the legislature from embracing pacific councils. In the mean time, the affairs of America became the subject of general discussion, and numberless pamphlets were published on both sides of the question. The advocates for the colonies carried their ideas of liberty to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; and their antagonists seemed to imagine that every privilege, every birthright of an Englishman was forfeited by crossing the Atlantic. Those who affected the greatest candour and impartiality alleged, that the former, by considering the colonies as states, allied, rather than subjected, to the mother-country, furnished the strongest argument for giving an early check to this licentious spirit of freedom, and convincing them of their dependence on the mother-country; and that the latter, by displaying their power, opulence, and population, sufficiently evinced the necessity of treating them with cautious tenderness; since, if their calculations had any solid foundation, it must be impossible to retain them long in subjection.

When the change of ministry became known in America, the spirit which had been so long repressed burst into open violence. At Boston, the fury of the populace was directed against the officers of the crown. Their houses were pillaged, their furniture was destroyed, and their persons endangered. The governor assembled the council of the province, and found in them no inclination to suppress the riots. He attempted to muster some companies of militia, but they refused to obey his orders. The stamp officer, seeing the danger of the employment he was required to exercise, resigned his office. In the other colonies no duty could be levied, and the act was completely inefficient. Deputies from nine of the thirteen colonies assembled on the 1st of October, to hold a general congress. After several days of debate and deliberation, the delegates drew up a declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonies. The declaration set forth that they owed the same allegiance to the sovereign as the people of Great Britain, and all due subordination to parliament. That they were entitled to the same rights, privileges, and immunities, as their fellow-subjects; that no taxes could be imposed on freeborn Britons, but by their own consent, or that of their representatives; that the colonies were not and could not be represented in parliament; that all supplies to the crown were free gifts from the people; that therefore it was unreasonable in the British parliament, to grant the property of the inhabitants of the colonies; and finally, that trial by jury was the right of a British subject. They next proceeded to their grievances; the stamp act tended to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonies. The duties imposed were unconstitutional in their principle, oppressive in their operation, and could not be paid. The British manufactures, which they were in the habit of purchasing, contributed greatly to the revenues; the restrictions imposed by the late acts would prevent them from purchasing these articles, and would consequently materially injure the finances; the increase and prosperity of the colonies depended on the free enjoyment of their rights and liberties.

The congress became the medium of universal concert and communication, among the leading and most able men of the colonies. The moderation of their proceedings, the plausibility of their professions, the tone of respect which pervaded their complaints to the king and the parliament, manifested a sound policy much more formidable than tumultuous violence. Associations were formed, for prohibiting the importation of British manufactures, until the stamp act should be repealed. Commerce was at a stand. The civil courts were unable to proceed; the customs could not be levied; and Mr. Grenville's plan of taxation, so far from improving the revenue, obstructed one of its principal resources.

Thus stood the affair, when the parliament met, on the 14th of January, at the request of the crown, which directed the fullest information to be laid before it, took the subject into consideration. The debates 1766.

turned upon two questions, the right and expediency of taxation. The ministers, who were joined by a great majority, affirmed the right, but denied the expediency. "The constitution of this country," said they, "has been always fluctuating, always gaining or losing: even the representation of the commons was not, till the reign of Henry VII., reduced to any fixed system. What does it avail then to recur to antient records, when the constitution is no longer the same; when no body can ascertain its state at the times which are quoted, and when there are, even in the great charter, things which are no more constitutional? Such misplaced industry is as idle as all that mass of learning and dissertation collected from natural lawyers, such as Locke, Selden, Puffendorff, and other speculative men, under whose arguments and refinements the subject has been almost buried. Beyond the era of Edward I. or king John, the mode of taxation is involved through the uncertainty of history in doubt and obscurity. Some of the writs upon record were conformable, some contrary, to law. Of the latter sort are those issued for raising ship-money and extorting benevolences. Can any just conclusion be drawn from such discordant, such opposite precedents? The marches of Wales did not long enjoy the privilege of taxing themselves; they were, upon the accession of the prince of Wales, annexed to the crown, and subjected to the payment of taxes, like the rest of England. Henry VIII. was the first who issued writs for the return of two members to parliament. Before his time, this point was left to the discretion of the crown; a circumstance, which caused the great inequality observable to this day in our representation. The same prince allowed Calais the right of sending one member to parliament; and one of the counties palatine was taxed for the space of fifty years, before it acquired the right of representation. Where then is the propriety of saying that representation and taxation are inseparably connected, or, at least, that they have been so in England since the first origin of the constitution? It is equally absurd to draw any inference from the case of the clergy; because they were at no time unrepresented. They had always a right of voting singly in the election of members; they had bishops and abbots as representatives in the house of lords, and they were obliged by petition to obtain the consent of parliament for taxing themselves. Any reasoning, founded on the conduct of antiquity to their colonies, is but an useless display of learning. None of the antients formed a regular system of colonization but the Romans; whose plan, being military, implied a boundless and uncontroulable authority. The states of Holland were not colonies; and nothing can be more different from colonies than that inundation of men, who poured into the Roman empire from the North. These barbarous emigrants renounced all connection with their native desarts and forests, which upon their departure remained generally unpeopled, till another race of savages was forced to occupy their place. But our colonies emigrated under the sanction of the crown and parliament; and, though their governments were modelled by charters, grants, and statutes, they were never emancipated, much less dismembered. They do not themselves deny their dependence on the crown. How then can they help acknowledging their dependence on parliament, when both are inseparable, and constitute one single, undivided, and indivisible authority? As soon as the commonwealth parliament was formed, it discovered great jealousy of a separation of the colonies, and passed an act establishing their authority over them. It is a question whether this act be not still in force; and if it should not, constant usage, without any express law, is sufficient to determine the point. For have not the colonies submitted since their first origin to the jurisdiction of England? Have they not appealed to the privy-council in all questions concerning property; and have they not been decided, not by the law of the colonies, but by the law of England? They have been frequently at variance. New Hampshire and Connecticut have been in blood about their limits; Virginia and Maryland have taken up arms against each other; circumstances, which shew the necessity of one supreme jurisdiction, to which all the inferior may recur. As the constitutions of the several colonies are composed of different ingredients, they must, from the nature of things and their particular relations, remain dependent upon the mother-country or suffer a total amputation. No man entertained a contrary opinion, till the trumpet of sedition was lately blown. Acts of parliaments, restraining and

regulating their trade have been passed, not only without the least doubt of their legality, but with the greatest applause. The navigation-act shut up their commerce with foreign nations, and made it centre in the bosom of that country, from which they derive their origin. Port duties, cramping and diminishing their trade, have been imposed without murmur; and regulations, such as the post, directly affecting their interior commerce, have been embraced with alacrity. Till of late, none entertained the most distant suspicion that they were not to be taxed, regulated, and bound by parliament; protection on the one side necessarily implying obedience on the other. Any corporation in England may claim the privilege of taxing itself as well as the colonies; for they are virtually, if not actually, represented as fully as the majority of Englishmen. A tenth of the people have no voice in elections. Every objection, therefore, drawn from this source is equally conclusive against the constitution. But such reasonings have but a sandy foundation; since a member chosen for a borough represents not only the constituents or inhabitants of that particular place, but the inhabitants of the whole kingdom. In the same manner that he represents London and all the commons of the island, he represents the colonies; and is in duty and conscience bound to consult their interest. The distinction of external and internal taxes is entirely false and groundless. If we have a right to lay the one, we must have the same to lay the other; since the effects of both are the same, and they differ only in the places of collection. A tax is like a pebble dropt into a lake, and making circle after circle, till the whole surface, from the centre to the circumference, is agitated; for nothing can be more evident, than that a tax laid upon tobacco, either in the ports of England or Virginia is as much a duty laid upon the inland plantations of Virginia, as if it were collected an hundred miles up the country, on the spot where the tobacco grows. Besides, were there no other argument, the unwarrantable proceedings of the colonists will justify any exertion of power; for they have absolutely forfeited their charters by appointing deputies to a general congress, which was only another name for an universal conspiracy against the dignity and legislative rights of Great Britain."

Those who embraced the opposite side of the question, among whom were Mr. Pitt and lord Camden, argued with more force as well as eloquence. "We acknowledge," said they, "that the constitution has been always in a fluctuating state, and that the earlier periods of our history are not without obscurity. But does it hence follow that we are to form no analogical reasonings upon them? Because we know not the whole, must we make no use of what we do know? Had our ancestors argued in this manner, and built their arguments upon the actual state of the constitution, they would have crouched beneath the rod of tyranny, when it happened to be shook over them, and would never have made a single effort to recover their just rights. We might now have groaned in vain beneath the yoke of despotism. This doctrine is equally pregnant with absurdity and mischief. Let the actual situation of affairs be ever so bad, we must not look up to our forefathers for precedents, because the struggles between privilege and prerogative prevented them from being regular and uniform. What, then! are there no general maxims, no principles congenial to the constitution, to guide our researches in this region, which you represent as obscure and perplexed? What is become of that unalienable right of a British subject, which secures him from being taxed or judged, but by the common consent of his peers? This is the first, the vital principle of our liberty, which is antecedent to all political charters; for it is the charter of human nature, and is inherent to all freemen. Nor can it be forfeited, even by slaves; they may resume it, whenever power reverts into their hands. Our great charter, the bill of rights, most of our writs for electing members, bear witness to this truth, without which, as a clue, our history cannot be unravelled. Can it then be conceived that the colonists did not emigrate with this right, which does not depend upon particular charters, but upon human nature? Their charters are only the exterior model of their constitution; but this undefeasible claim, this general right of a British subject is the great internal principle, or soul, by which it is actuated and invigorated. Such is the doctrine of Locke, Selden, and Harrington, men, whom we shall always be glad to find on our side. Those who would ridicule their authority, would do well to postpone their

attacks till their names are become equally respectable. The people of this country have too much sense to be more influenced by titles and high station than by sense and argument. The case indeed is so plain and evident, that there is no occasion for their authority. What does it avail to observe, that one of the counties palatine was taxed for the space of fifty years, before it sent any members to parliament, since that right was at last confirmed; and proved more clearly than if it had never been contested, the justness of the claim? The rest of the counties palatine, as well as the marches of Wales, continued to be taxed by their own assemblies or parliaments, till they were at different periods melted down into our present form of parliamentary representation. The observations upon the representation of the clergy are equally insignificant. The bishops and abbots did not sit with the lords as deputies of the clergy; that idea is inconsistent with the nature and constitution of that house; they sat there, like the lay peers, by virtue of their baronies. And it is apparent, that the inferior clergy were not fully represented in the lower house, but in the convocation. Else how could they be excluded from that house, or allowed to tax their own body? Many entertain too high an idea of parliamentary authority, when they suppose it capable of effecting every thing. It must have the concurrence of the people to establish this omnipotence; else it would be arbitrary and uncontrolable; a power, as dangerous in a small body of men as in a single individual. This right of taxing themselves, which the colonists derive from the same source as the English, is one of these sacred points, which a parliament cannot without profanation touch. By this rule of right, the charters of the colonies are, like all other crown-grants, to be interpreted for the benefit, not the prejudice of the subject. These charters they accepted through mere necessity; and as it was not of their creation, they cannot be obligatory; the obligation ceasing with the necessity, which was its parent. But suppose them bound by these charters, they are only bound to that allegiance, which the supreme head of the realm may claim indiscriminately from all subjects. Being originally expelled out of their native country by civil and religious persecution, they settled their present abodes at their own risk and expence; all ties, therefore, except those common to all mankind, were dissolved between them and her; obedience and protection being reciprocal duties, they were absolved from the former, as she neglected the latter. What can be more absurd than that the legislature, which had not power to shield them from the violence of the crown, should claim from them that submission, which it would itself refuse to any other? When the people of Britain contended with tyrants, it could not be with a view of copying their usurpation. If liberty be the just right of those who have sense enough to know its value, and courage enough to undergo every danger and fatigue for its preservation or recovery, the Americans have a better claim to it than the English; since besides facing, in the wilds of America, enemies much more dreadful than any to be encountered by the friends of independence in the fields of Britain, they had not only renounced their native country, and all its tender endearments, so congenial to the human mind, but braved all the perils and hardships of a long voyage, and, after escaping the fury of winds and waves, run the risk of perishing on shore by a slow famine. If, in the first years of their existence, one of the colonies was guilty of some intemperate sallies, and all were exposed to enemies, which obliged them to request assistance from the English, that necessity was now superseded by their own internal strength. Whatever support they had received in their infancy from England, they must have received it from motives of humanity and fraternal affection, or with the view of being one day repaid; and not as the price of their liberty and independence. At least, the colonies cannot be supposed to have accepted it on any other terms; as slavery, to which they have such an unconquerable aversion in every shape, must have been doubly odious to them from the hands of a presumed, but insidious, friend. If the former were the motives, have they not always discovered the strongest gratitude? If the latter, have they not made ample returns by actual assistance, and by the balance accruing from the many restrictions laid on their trade? It is only owing to misinformation, that we lay to their charge the expence of the last war, which indeed took its rise in America, but was entirely a British quarrel, or rather a contention

with France for empire. The Americans had no disputes with the French or Indians, either about the limits of Nova Scotia, or the territories on the Ohio. Till the defeat of Braddock they were never attacked, and the reason is evident; they are not concerned in the Indian trade; it is entirely carried on by British merchants, and with British manufactures. The colonists are chiefly farmers and planters: scarce any article which they raise is an object of commerce with the savages. So that the war, being commenced for the defence of territories belonging to no American, and for the protection of a trade purely British, had nothing American in it but the name and scene of action. Yet the different provinces contributed largely towards bringing it to a happy conclusion; and were as forward in their endeavours to render the British arms triumphant, as they were, when they sent 3000 men to assist in the expedition against Carthagena, and as they will always be, wherever the interest of the British empire is concerned. Their past conduct proves that they make no distinction of wars, but are willing to co-operate with the head of the empire as far as their power extends. Had the first inhabitants of the colonies renounced all connection with the mother-country, they might have renounced their original right by positive institution, but not that derived from nature. But as they emigrated under the authority of the crown, and with the national sanction, they quitted Britain, in possession of this great privilege, by virtue of both principles. As they fled, from the heavy hand of power, to climes which they hoped to find more friendly to their principles of civil and religious liberty, it has been universally received as law, that acts of parliament, and particularly those which specify any penalty, are not binding on the colonies, unless they are particularly named. The inhabitants of the colonies, once removed from the domestic legislation of Britain, are no more dependent on it in the general system than the Isle of Man is, or than, in the feudal system, many subordinate principalities were dependent on the jurisdiction of the lord paramount, to whom they owed only a limited obedience. We mean not, by what has been said, to deny Britain the right of laying external duties and restrictions on their commerce. To these they voluntarily submit, because they esteem them necessary to the trade carried on with us; and because the colonies of all the maritime powers in Europe stand in the same predicament. The duties of the post being solely calculated for their own interest, and an useful regulation rather than a tax, they have always encouraged on the same principle. But before real internal taxes can be justly imposed upon them by the supreme legislature, they must be represented in that assembly; an event, which the nature of things and the order of providence have rendered impracticable. Nothing can be weaker than to allege that they are virtually represented. The Americans cannot in that respect pretend to equal the Irish. Not to speak of the many Englishmen possessed of large estates and great places in Ireland, nor of their immediate descendants settled in that country, many Irish noblemen and gentlemen sit in both houses of parliament; and many more still reside in England. Yet, notwithstanding this virtual representation, the parliament has relinquished all claims of taxing Ireland. Why should America be treated with more indignity? Because they have hitherto submitted to laws enacted by the British parliament? They are no more affected by these precedents, than the English are by their tameness under the dictates of the Tudors, or the rod of the Stuarts. But the fact is, that they never did acquiesce in the parliament's right to tax them. The resolutions of the Virginian assemblies are clear and strong against the exercise of this arrogated power. Their protests may be seen in the journals of their house; and it is probable that, upon enquiry, similar acts may be found in the records of the other provinces. It is ridiculous to advance that they are like boroughs, which have only a right to make bye-laws, but are bound by all statutes. All boroughs have representatives; the colonies have none, and therefore cannot be bound by the acts of an assembly, of which they make no part. By the original constitution of their charters, indeed, their laws must not be inconsistent with those of England; but this circumstance gives the parliament no more authority over them, than as if they had lain under the same restraints with regard to the laws of Scotland, or of any other country. Equally futile is the objection drawn from their toleration of slavery. If they be judged on that account

incapable of legislation, they will only be placed on a level with the antient Romans, Spartans, and other nations, who were the most renowned for wisdom and political knowledge. But had the parliament ever so good a right to tax the colonies, it has no right to impose taxes which are in their consequences attended with injustice and tyranny. By the stamp-act, the prosecutor may bring an action against the supposed delinquent in a court situated at one extremity of America, though the trespass was committed at the other extremity, at the distance perhaps of 2000 miles; and yet the defendant, though he should cast the plaintiff, is entitled to no damages, if the judge certifies that there was a probable foundation for the prosecution. Besides the judge has an evident interest in giving a verdict for the plaintiff, as he is allowed a large share of the penalties by way of commission. Was there ever an act so full of iniquity, so totally subversive of all law and justice! Could the most despotic tyrant expect that the most abject vassals would submit to such an humiliating yoke!"

NOTWITHSTANDING the force of these arguments, the right of taxation, in its fullest extent, was declared in both houses, without a division. The more sober and sensible part of the men who voted for this declaratory act, did not embrace that measure so much from any opinion of its future use in regular taxation, as from a sense of the evil consequences which would flow from the contrary doctrine. They saw that the general reasonings employed against that power gave a rude shock to our whole legislative right; and they imagined that it could not be yielded to any arguments without a virtual surrender of all our authority. "If," said they, "this particular power of levying money in the colonies be not retained in our hands, as a sacred trust, to be used, not in the first instance for supply, but in the last exigence for control, it is obvious that the presiding authority of Great Britain, as the head, the arbitress, and directress of the whole empire, must vanish into an empty name, without energy or operation; all unity and subordination will be at an end; if the power be habitually exercised, no trace of freedom can remain to America." A great people, whose property is in all cases, and without reserve, at the disposal of another people, at an immense distance, can never be persuaded that they live in the enjoyment of freedom. It will be no easy matter to shew to men in such a state, which of the usual parts of the definition or description of a free people is applicable to them; and it is neither wise nor pleasant to attempt to prove, that they have no right to be comprehended in such a description. Whether all this be reconcilable to legal speculation is a matter of little moment. It is reconciled in policy; and politics ought to be adjusted, not to human reasoning, but to human nature; of which the reason is but a part, and by no means the greatest part.

THE grand committee, which had brought in the resolution, on which the foregoing bill was grounded, had also passed another for the repeal of the stamp act.

BUT the opposition, far from being discouraged, seemed to gather new strength from the late act. So many instances of the inexpediency of taxing the Americans had already occurred, that the question was hardly controvertible. They changed therefore their ground, and founded their defence upon the bill for securing the dependency of the colonies. According to them, "the total repeal of the stamp-act, while such an outrageous resistance continued, would not only lessen our authority, but render it contemptible. Such submission of the supreme legislature to subordinate provincial assemblies, established only by prerogative, which had no such powers to bestow, will discover so much weakness and timidity, as will necessarily breed fresh insults, and produce in the end a total separation. The power of taxation is the most essential branch of all authority; and it cannot be equally extended to all the members of the state, in proportion to their respective abilities. Suffer a part to remain exempted from a share of those burdens, which the public exigencies require to be imposed on the whole, and you destroy by your partiality that confidence, on which all government should be founded. It is in vain that you assert the inability of the colonists to comply with the terms of the stamp-act. The state of their finances overturns your argument. Of the debt contracted in the last war, they have in three years payed off £1,755,000, and the remaining £763,000 will be discharged in the course of two years more. What other proofs are wanting to shew that

they are able, though not willing, to ease the mother-country of her heavy burdens? Nothing could be more fatal to the colonies than the parliament's renunciation of its authority, which from long usage has become constitutional; a total dissolution of government would ensue. It is easy to foresee, that from the discordant heterogeneous principles, of which their different governments are composed, there would be no end of feuds and factions, when there existed no power of sufficient force or authority to terminate their mutual differences. A new form of government, or subjection to a foreign yoke, must be the necessary consequence. At any rate they will have reason to lament the hour, in which they renounced their dependence on parliament, whose authority has hitherto rendered their own governments extremely mild to the subject, and at the same time secured them from the heavy hand of the executive power, which, in consequence of this new plan, will find it an easy matter to turn the arms of one province against another, and, in the end, to involve them all in the same general slavery."

THE ministry argued with more force and conviction. "We have," said they, "sufficiently provided for the honour, dignity, and superiority of Britain, by the declaratory act, which has secured it from the least imputation of weakness or timidity, and consequently from any fresh insults, excited by the insolence of success. We readily admit the propriety of levying on the whole empire a proportionable share of the general expence: but the heavy debt contracted by the Americans, in the course of the war, demonstrates that they have not been wanting in that point. The act of parliament, by which part of their disbursements has been since refunded, unanswerably proves, that you were of opinion that they had contributed beyond their abilities. As to any dangers arising from their various governments, and the want of an umpire to settle their differences, they will trust to their own wisdom and prowess rather than submit to a master. Hitherto they have had little occasion to apply to an intermediate power. Having weathered the storm in their infancy, can you expect to persuade them that they will not prove equally successful in their manhood? This remarkable interposition of parliament in their concerns has not impressed on their minds the most favourable ideas of its justice or wisdom. Their disobedience to this act is universal. Nothing, therefore, but a strong military as well as naval force, can reduce the seditious to reason. Nor will it be sufficient to send it to one place; every province of America must be traversed and subdued. Were such a measure embraced, little doubt can be entertained of success. A year or two, at most, would complete the conquest, And if the question was about reducing a foreign nation, a case in which every successful stroke would add to our power, and take from that of a rival, a just war, with such undisputed superiority, would certainly be an adviseable undertaking. But four millions of debt, due to our merchants from the Americans, the total cessation of a trade annually worth four millions more, a large foreign traffic, much home manufacture, a very capital revenue, arising immediately from colony imports, and indeed the produce of all our revenues materially depending on the same cause; all these circumstances accumulated, are very weighty considerations, at least well to be weighed, before we draw that sword, which even by its victories must produce all the pernicious effects of the greatest national defeats. How public credit must suffer in such a crisis, needs not be told. If the condition of the nation, at the close of the last foreign war, was so deplorable as you represent it, this civil war will be found a bad couch, on which to repose our wearied virtue. Far from being able to enter into new plans of œconomy, we must launch into a new, a boundless sea of expence. Such an addition of debt, with such a diminution of trade and revenue, will leave us in no want of your dolorous lamentations, to aggravate the picture of our distresses. Our trade at this moment feels these mischiefs to its vitals; and we ought to sympathise with the feelings of the whole body of our merchants and manufacturers, whose numerous petitions uniformly declare that their trade is entirely at a stand, and that it will be totally ruined, if this obnoxious act be not repealed. Will any wise senator laugh at their universal alarm, as an ill-grounded or a pretended panic? No; he must allow great weight to their unanimous opinion, in every commercial question; nor will he slight their advice in points relating

to the revenue. Nothing is more quickly or more deeply affected by the taxes than trade; and if an American tax afforded any real relief to England, no part of the community would be sooner, or more materially, relieved by it than our merchants. But they well know that our trade is more burdened by one penny raised in America, than by three in England; and more than by ten, if that penny be raised with the confusion, murmurs, and discontents of America. The colonies were evidently founded in subservience to our commerce. Hence the whole system of our laws concerning them is a system of restrictions. We have established a double monopoly, a monopoly of their whole import, which must be all from Great Britain; and a monopoly of their whole export, which, as far as it can be of any service to us, must be no where but to Great Britain. On the same principle it was contrived that they should send us all their products raw and in their first state, and that they should receive all our goods in the last stage of manufacture. Can such a people be deemed a just object of taxation or revenue? The original purpose of their foundation must first be eluded; every restrictive trade-law must first have become useless and ineffectual. The Americans are rather factors and servants to this island than subjects, who, being on an equal footing, should bear an equal share of public burdens. They are always in debt to our merchants, because the balance of trade, and consequently the course of exchange, is vastly against them. They have therefore much of the merchants' money to trade with as a capital. They are entrusted with many talents, and they do not hide them in a napkin; they return them ten-fold. Are they not then to be considered as labourers to our merchants; as tributaries to this kingdom? In this light they have always appeared to every man conversant in commerce; and there are the surest grounds for concluding, that the greater the sums are, with which they are entrusted by our merchants, for improving their plantations and staple commodities, the greater will be the advantages which will accrue to this nation. What then can be more impolitic than to levy, by an internal tax, in the laying of which we are, through our ignorance and distance, liable to commit so many mistakes and oppressions, what must finally centre amongst us by the nature of our commerce? Though the American seas are covered with ships, it is with our ships, our sailors, our merchandise. They all labour for us; we are the masters, they the servants; and the principal share of the profit remains in our hands. We have every thing but the *peculium*, without which even slaves will not work. What then shall we say to those reasonings which infer, from the many restraints under which we have already laid the colonists, that they are to be subjected to all manner of restraints? True policy and a little prudence would have taught us, that we ought rather to compensate so many restraints by every indulgence not incompatible with our interest. We have the management of a great empire, composed of a vast mass of heterogeneous governments, all more or less free and popular in their forms, all to be kept in peace and out of conspiracy with one another, and in subordination to this country; while the whole is pervaded by the spirit of an extensive and intricate trading interest, always qualifying and often controling every general idea of constitution and government. It is a great and difficult object; heaven grant that we may have wisdom and temper enough to manage it as we ought. Its importance is infinite. Sixty-two years ago our whole trade to the plantations exceeded but a few pounds, in exports, that which we now carry on with the single island of Jamaica, and fell a third short of it in the value of the imports. Our dealings with most of the European nations is but little increased; these nations have since that time remained pretty much at a stand, and we have rivals in their trade. Our intercourse with the colonies is a new world of commerce, which we have in a manner created. It is grown up to this magnitude within the memory of man; its parallel cannot be found in history, and it stands upon principles of its own; principles, that ought not to be sacrificed to any little consideration of extorted revenue; much less to a revenue like this, which is more speculative than real, which is better calculated for enriching a swarm of ministerial creatures than for replenishing the treasury. The vast extent of the country, and the many temptations thence arising to smuggling, must render such a number of collectors necessary, that, after they are paid, hardly the value of a pepper-corn will reach the exchequer. And what is worse,

ten times the amount of the tax will be raised on the Americans; as the great distance of the distributors of stamps will often oblige them to take a journey, which will cost them four or five pounds, that the treasury may gain six-pence. Do you recollect that the subjects of this imposition are the descendants of Englishmen; men of a high and free spirit, whom it will neither be wise, nor long practicable, to keep under a government made up of nothing but restraints, penalties, and taxes, in the establishing of which they have no share? People must be ruled in a manner agreeable to their temper and disposition; and above all people of a free and independent character. The British colonist must see something, which will distinguish him from the colonists of other nations. Will he therefore submit without murmur to a tax, which, if not unconstitutional, is at least impolitic? He must have been sensible that he payed before his full quota of public burdens. Where is the necessary or convenience of life, which he did not receive from this island? Did he not therefore pay every tax, with which these necessaries and conveniences are loaded? Nothing is more evident. Not a single manufacture, not a single article of commerce enters an American port, without being charged with all our taxes; for the suppression of manufactures in that country comprises every species of taxes in one, and makes the colonists in reality the supporters of a large share of our public burdens. But what do we say? The suppression of manufactures in that country? Alas! that was once the case, but is now so no more. There was a time, when the colonies and this island laboured mutually for each other, and pursued these objects, for which they were severally fitted by their situation and respective improvements. Now, thanks be to the late ministry for it, they are striving to undo each other, and are in a state of open rivalry. It is not the fault of the same senators, if they are not soon in a state of open enmity and hostility. The evident tendency of their speeches is to hurry us into rash and violent councils. But it is to be hoped that we have more wisdom, more knowledge than to widen those breaches which they have made, or to render incurable those wounds which their folly and their wickedness have inflicted. These names are due to the treachery with which they withheld from our view all dispatches, all remonstrances from America against passing the act, as they rendered by these means the wisdom of parliament as improvident as their own temerity. They are due to their obstinate perseverance in error; as they would urge us to chastise, as rebellion, that despair which is totally owing to their own blindness and precipitance."

In consequence of these arguments, the stamp-act was repealed, by a majority of 276 to 167, and some time afterwards a bill was passed to indemnify those who had incurred the stipulated penalties. In order still more fully to gratify the wishes, and restore the tranquillity of the nation, the cyder-act was repealed; general warrants and the seizure of papers were declared to be illegal; and many important regulations were established, with respect to the general system of our commerce with the colonies. A treaty was concluded with Russia, very advantageous to the English merchants. The ministers adjusted, to the satisfaction of the owners, the dispute respecting the Canada bills, due to our merchants by the French government. They procured an act for restraining the importation of foreign silks, thus exciting the gratitude of the British manufacturers; and promoted many other acts conducive to the general welfare of the community. Yet the administration, with all its merits, was unable to acquire security or stability. The Whigs who had not been included in the dispensation of offices, and the friends of the prerogative, who acquiesced in the ascendancy of lord Bute, were equally opposed to the continuance of their power. The lord chancellor Northington, being consulted on a sketch of a constitution for the government of Canada, framed by Mr. Burke, not only condemned it, in the most unqualified terms, but represented the ministers, to his majesty, as totally inexperienced in business, and unfit for office. His opinion accorded with the wishes of the king, and measures were adopted for the arrangement of a new administration.

Overtures were proffered by lord Bute, for a coalition between the court party and lord Temple, which that nobleman positively rejected. Advances were then made to Mr. Pitt, and he was offered a *carte blanche* for the state appointments. Mr. Pitt acceded to this proposal, taking the place of privy-seal,

which was to be accompanied by an earldom to himself, while the earl of Temple was designed to fill that of first lord of the treasury. The latter, finding, from a formal interview, that, while he was to have the most responsible station, Mr. Pitt was to retain the uncontrolled administration of affairs, left the conference in disgust. Mr. Pitt next made overtures to several persons, whose influence might have compensated the loss of earl Temple, but with such an air of conscious superiority, as prevented their acceptance. At length, the duke of Grafton, who had been secretary of state in the marquis of Rockingham's administration, was made first lord of the treasury; and general Conway, another member of the Whig party, was continued secretary of state. His colleague was the earl of Shelburne, a nobleman of considerable abilities, a zealous admirer of Mr. Pitt, and possessing a great extent of literary and political information. Mr. Charles Townsend was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; lord chief justice Pratt, created lord Camden, was made chancellor; his predecessor, the earl of Worthington, was made president of the council; and Mr. Pitt himself took the privy-seal. His acceptance of the title of earl of Chatham, with a pension, and his apparent partiality in these appointments to individuals, acceptable in the eyes of the favourite, undermined the popularity of that illustrious statesman. Yet his age might justify a retreat from the active business of state to the more tranquil exercise of his influence in the upper house; his services demanded remuneration, and a just regard to the interests of his family induced him to accept it. His selection, indeed, of the members which composed his ministry was unfortunate for his country and himself. The countenance of the favourite rendered the individuals of his election superior to his influence. A victim to chagrin and regret, he proved by his own example how necessary are moderation in prosperity, and the milder graces of life to the satisfactory enjoyment of splendid talents. The conflict of his passions exasperated the violence of his gout, and brought him to the brink of the grave.

The weakness and incapacity of the administration, no longer guided by his powerful intellect, was soon exhibited in repeated changes and disputes. To conciliate the friendship of the duke of Newcastle, who was united with the marquis of Buckingham, in opposition to the court, lord Edgecombe was dismissed from the office of treasurer of the household, and Mr. Shelly, his grace's near relative, appointed his successor. The expedient exciting the resentment of lord Edgecombe and his friends, the duke of Portland and several other individuals immediately resigned. Sir Edward Hawke was appointed first lord of the admiralty; lord Le Despencer was made post-master; and Mr. Jenkinson, the earl's private secretary, was introduced to the admiralty board.

Soon after the formation of the new ministry, several tumults were occasioned by the distresses of the poor, from the high price of provisions; many lives were lost, and the magistrates were at length obliged to call in the military to the aid of the civil power. On the 11th of September, a proclamation was issued against forestallers, secreters, and engrossers of corn; and, as the price of wheat continued to increase, another proclamation was issued on the 26th, prohibiting the exportation of grain, and laying an embargo on all ships outward bound, and laden with corn. A law was enacted, by which the governor, council, and assembly of New York were prohibited from passing any act, till they had in every respect complied with the requisition of parliament, by supplying the British troops with necessaries in their quarters, conformable to an act of the last session; to which the inhabitants of the country had determined to pay no obedience. At the rising of parliament, lord Chatham relinquished all public business; and the ministry were further weakened by the death of Mr. Townsend in the month of September. He was succeeded in the chancellorship of the exchequer by lord North, and soon after a coalition was effected with the Bedford party, in consequence of which earl Gower was appointed president of the council. The earl of Hillsborough was made secretary of state; and lord Weymouth secretary for the American plantations; an office lately created. 1766. 1767.

In the course of the session, the affairs of the East India company had occupied the sedulous attention of the government. The wealth and revenue of the company had been

much extended by the treaty concluded with the great mogul, which constituted the company his duans, or receivers of his revenue, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. It was naturally expected, therefore, that as our Indian possessions had so much increased in value, there would be a proportionable rise in the dividends. The proprietors solicited the directors to declare an increase of the dividend, now payable at only 6 per cent.; and, on their refusal, proceeded to vote to that effect by a great majority. When the affairs of the company were brought before the house, several members, and among them lord Chatham, denied the right of the company to have territorial possessions, as they were not conveyed by their charters, and were totally foreign to the nature and object of a trading corporation. The supporters of the opposite opinion denied that the charter restricted its holders from acquiring territory. After many debates and representations, the company engaged to pay to government £400,000 yearly, for two years, by half-yearly payments; during which time the territory and revenues, lately obtained, were to continue in the hands of the present possessors; but if they should be deprived of any of them by a foreign power, a proportionable abatement was to be made in the annual payments. The company having held a general court on the 16th of May, the half-yearly dividend was declared to be 6¼, being one fourth more than that of the preceding half-year. The ministry, understanding this design, sent an intimation, advising the company not to increase their dividend till their affairs should be examined; but finding that the communication was disregarded, a bill was brought in to rescind the resolutions of the general court, till some security should be obtained for the fulfilment of the company's engagements with the state.

The parliament was dissolved in the spring of the succeeding year, and writs were issued for the election of a new one. The influence of Indian wealth was never more shamelessly and strikingly displayed than in the scenes of bribery and corruption which universally occurred. The public interest and anxiety were divided between the progress and results of the election, and the proceedings in the case of Wilkes. He returned home at this period, notwithstanding his outlawry remained in force, and offered himself a candidate for the county of Middlesex. Availing himself of the marquis of Rockingham's appointment to the treasury, he attempted a reconciliation with the government, through the medium of Mr. Burke, but his concessions were not such as could be expected. His application to the duke of Grafton, with whom he had lived in habits of familiar intercourse, and upon whom he had conferred many obligations, was equally unsuccessful. Incensed at this contemptuous treatment, he became the bitter enemy of that nobleman, and gratified his revenge by a severe and sarcastic exposition of his character and habits. An exile from his country, destitute of personal respectability, notorious for his licentiousness and dishonesty, surrounded by clamorous and defrauded creditors, the people so far forgot his personal frailties, in the ardour of their enthusiasm for the cause of liberty, that notwithstanding his defeat in the city of London, he offered himself to the county of Middlesex, and was returned by a great majority. Every indication of attachment was displayed on the part of the populace; and their enthusiasm was increased by the reversal of his outlawry. But the two verdicts against him, on his trials for the circulation of libel, were affirmed, and he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, to pay a fine of £1000, and to find security for his good behaviour for seven years. He was rescued as the civil officers were conducting him to prison; but he prudently surrendered himself to the marshal of the king's bench. Though a body of guards were stationed in the approaches to his apartments, no disturbance occurred till the 10th of May, the day on which the new parliament was summoned. On that day great numbers of people crowded about the gates of the king's bench, expecting to see their favourite proceed to the house of commons, and intending to conduct him in triumph. After waiting for some time, they became clamorous, which some of the magistrates construed into a riot, and embraced the opportunity of reading the riot act. This proceeding, scarcely justified by the occasion, exasperated the resentment of a multitude already inflamed with resentment. Stones and brick-bats were thrown at the justices as they read the act; and the soldiers in their turn became enraged. Some of them singled out a supposed offender, and

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pursued him to a considerable distance; but, in his stead, shot dead a young man of the name of Allen, in his father's cow-house, at the very instant he was supplicating for mercy. A circumstance, apparently so atrocious, alarmed the neighbourhood, which, prompted by curiosity, crowded to enquire into the cause of such barbarity. The Surry justices, supposing their authority to be despised, directed the soldiers to fire upon the people, of whom above twenty were killed or wounded. The friends of Mr. Wilkes were deeply offended at the thanks which were returned, in the name of the king, to the detachments employed on this melancholy occasion. Soon after the commencement of the session, Wilkes was charged, by lord Weymouth, in the upper house, with a breach of privilege, in publishing a libellous preface to the letter of his lordship, addressed to the chairman of the Surry quarter-sessions. Lord Barrington, in the lower house, immediately moved, that on this ground alone he should be expelled, and his motion was carried by a large majority.

The electors of Middlesex had been called upon to make another choice in the room of Cooke, who did not long survive his return as the colleague of Wilkes. Sir Edward Beauchamp Proctor, an unsuccessful candidate at the former election, resolved to try his fortune once more. The turbulence and violence of the people were commensurate with the arts employed to inflame their imaginations, and to confirm their prejudices. They assaulted and endangered the inferior officers of justice, and all who endeavoured to repress the atrocities of popular outrage. *Bludgeon-men* were actively employed on all sides; and, in one of the tremendous scuffles to which the drunkenness, the misplaced enthusiasm, and the involuntary irritation of the populace gave rise, a person named Clarke was unfortunately killed. Two of the supposed assassins were apprehended, indicted, convicted, and condemned to be hanged for murder. Such, however, was the prevalence of the popular fury, that the verdict of a jury of surgeons reported, that it did not appear to them that the deceased person had died by the blows which he received. In consequence of their representation, a doubt arose in the royal breast respecting the guilt of the convicts, who received a free pardon; a circumstance which excited the real or pretended suspicion of the opponents of government, though no satisfactory reason can be advanced, why the friends of the sovereign should not possess the same claims upon his mercy with the enemies of his throne, and the opponents of the government.

On the expulsion of Wilkes, he was again elected, and was again expelled. The determination of the county of Middlesex was now so well ascertained to be decidedly in his favour, that at first no gentleman could be found to oppose the idol of the people. Mr. Wilkes was therefore elected without opposition; but the election being declared void, at the instigation of the ministry, colonel Luttrel, son of lord Irnham, offered himself a candidate. A few dependants of the court gave him their votes, but Wilkes was re-elected by a majority of 1143 to 296. Notwithstanding this result, a resolution was passed in the house of commons, that Mr. Luttrel ought to have been returned a knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex, and the return was amended by erasing the name of Mr. Wilkes, and replacing it with that of his competitor. A petition of the freeholders being presented against this proceeding, the merits of the case were warmly and elaborately discussed. The speeches of the ministry were more distinguished by sophistry, than by sagacity or justice. "Those," said they, "who enquire whether a smaller number of legal votes can elect a representative in opposition to a greater, must from every tongue receive the same language; they must be answered in the negative. The question, therefore, must be, whether a smaller number of legal votes shall not prevail against a greater number of votes not legal; and here it is to be considered, that those votes only are legal, which are legally given; and that those only are legally given, which are given for a legal candidate. Nothing then remains to be determined, but whether a man expelled can be so disqualified by a vote of the house, that he shall be no longer eligible by lawful electors. Now here it is evident, that the expulsion infers exclusion or disability. For the expulsion and the writ happened in the same session; and, since the house is by the law of parliament bound for the session by a vote once passed, the expelled member cannot be admitted. He that cannot be admitted,

cannot be elected; and the votes given to a man ineligible, being given in vain, the highest number for an eligible candidate becomes the majority. The disability is no more than what was included in the expulsion; it is only a declaration of the house, that they will no longer permit him, whom they thus censure, to sit in parliament; a declaration made in consequence of that right, which they necessarily possess, of regulating their own house, and of inflicting punishment on their own delinquents. They have therefore no other way of enforcing the sentence of incapacity, but that of adhering it. They cannot otherwise punish the candidate so disqualified for offering himself, nor the electors for accepting him. But if he has any competitor, that competitor must prevail; and if he has none, his election will be void, for the right of the house to reject annihilates, with regard to the man so rejected, the right of electing. The vote of the commons has so far the force of law, as that force is necessary to preserve the vote from losing its efficacy. If they had only the power of dismissing for a few days the man, whom his constituents can immediately send back; if they can expel but cannot exclude, they have but a nominal authority without virtue or energy, and perhaps it may be never obeyed. The representatives of our ancestors entertained a very different opinion; they fined and imprisoned their members; on great provocation they disabled them for ever; and this power is maintained by Selden himself. Why should not the commons have the same authority over their members, which the upper house claims over the peers? They expelled Bacon and Macclesfield from their assembly, and excluded them for ever from re-assuming their seat. Have not we a just right to exclude for seven years, when they can exclude for life? It is surprising how any friend to the people can thus propose to abridge our privileges, which are in fact the privileges of the people; since, the more important we become, the more importance they must acquire in the state, the constituents and their delegates being virtually the same. He who would divide them, must be an enemy to the constitution, which warrants incapacitation as well as expulsion; precedents and the law of parliament declaring in our favour."

"It is true," said the opposition, "that those, who would effect a breach between the commons and the people, are enemies to the constitution. But those, who would invade the rights of the people, are guilty of this crime, not those who would preserve them. Nor shall we deny, that the constituents and their representatives are the same, and that the importance of the one increases that of the other; but we must observe, that can only be the case, when they pursue the same interest. Nothing can be more futile than to pretend, that an expelled member cannot be admitted, because the house is bound for the session by a vote once passed. Those expelled by act of parliament, for accepting places, are admitted; and the journals of the house prove, that members expelled for other reasons have sat in the same session. Besides a member does not sit in consequence of a vote, but of his election. It is not the act of the commons, but of the constituents, which creates his right. Their vote, therefore, is not at all concerned in the question. This reasoning, which is in fact begging the question, is as absurd and ridiculous as that which says, that the right of the house to reject, annihilates, with regard to the person so rejected, the right of electing. It would be more rational, as well as constitutional, to assert, that the right of the freeholders to elect, annihilates, with regard to the person so elected, the right of rejecting. When was it ever heard, that the house of lords rejected a peer elected by the sovereign? How then can the commons pretend to reject a representative chosen by the people, the proper electors? In order to overthrow the whole of this new-fangled doctrine, we need no other arguments but those furnished by the common law. The freeholders, as such, are prior in existence to either house, being antiently the assessors of the barons, and having a right to a vote in the great national assemblies. Their rights, therefore, are coeval with the constitution, and cannot by any power be taken away without their own consent, nor indeed even by that, as the act of the father would not be binding on the son, and could not deprive him of unalienable property. The commons, indeed, are the representatives of the people, and transact for them what they managed formerly in person. But the commons cannot shew that they have been entrusted with the right of choosing representatives, much less

of rejecting them, when chosen by the constituents. Could they even point out any period, at which they exercised, or were allowed, such a privilege, no inference could be drawn from it to the prejudice of the people, who have an undoubted right to overturn every pernicious precedent. What, then! say you, are not the customs, precedents, and decisions of every court a law? Never; it is not a course of precedents and decisions, that constitutes any thing a law; but the just grounds, the rational principles upon which it is founded. One would have thought the fate of general warrants might have settled this point, and deterred every class of men from building on so sandy a foundation. If then an uniform course of precedents be not sufficient to establish a law, how much less will that effect be produced by a series of the most fluctuating, absurd, and contradictory precedents, that the world ever saw; precedents, which became such a shame and reproach to the commons, that, in order to extricate them from an inextricable labyrinth, an act was found necessary to set aside all their decisions relative to any election but the last. No man of sense ever calls in precedents to his assistance in any argument, but as comments and explanations. Being only declarations of other fallible men's opinions, they must ever give way to principles; and were the commons governed more by principle, and less by party rage, personal animosity, and interested views, they would not be so ready to have recourse to engines, which may be applied to any purpose, to the destruction as well as to the improvement of the constitution; engines, which, like a two-edged sword, cut either way, and may be twisted and turned, like a nose of wax. What then becomes of the law of parliament, which is founded on precedent? Must it be annihilated? No; but it must never stand in competition with the common law, which is prior and paramount to it, which is a law to parliament, and as binding upon it in a judicial capacity as upon the lowest court in the kingdom. By this law no subject can be disfranchised, but by an act of the three estates of the realm; nor can even they disfranchise such a body as the electors of Middlesex, because, as we have shewn, such an act would be a subversion of the constitution, and a dissolution of government. Many authorities have been produced to prove the exclusive jurisdiction of the commons in determining the rights and qualifications both of the electors and the elected. But suppose this jurisdiction allowed in its fullest extent, what inference can be drawn from it to establish their right to create an incapacity? None; it only establishes their right of determining these points according to law, the estate and birthright of the people. Various classes of men are said to be disqualified by the sole votes of the commons; and these votes are alleged as proofs of their disqualifying power. Nothing can be worse founded than this allegation; an examination of all the cases, upon which it is built, will shew, that all the resolutions, which give the least colour to the argument, were grounded on the principles of the constitution, and derived all their efficacy from that source; so that they were nothing more than declarations of what before was law, and therefore of more or less authority, as they were more or less sanctioned by that supreme rule. In the present case, Mr. Wilkes is adjudged incapable of being elected. But how is he incapable? Not by any legal disability, not by any law prio to his expulsion; but by a vote of the commons, by the very act of expulsion. Is then a vote of the commons equivalent to a law? No; far be such blasphemy from every senator's mouth; and, were it so, it could not supersede the most sacred law of the land; it could not disfranchise a subject, and in him the whole people of England. But perhaps the word expulsion implies, that an expelled person shall never become again a member of the same parliament? Strange magic this, in a word, indeed! May not any relation, though dissolved, revive again in the same manner that it was at first created? The masters of a school, the governors of a college or club, have the power of admission, and therefore of constituting, dissolving, and renewing the relation of the members. The commons do not stand in the same predicament; they do not make themselves, and therefore cannot create a member. That power the electors possess; and, as it is by their election that the relation is at first created, so by the same process may it, after cessation or dissolution, be revived. Thus, upon a false return, or void election, a member is really and substantially expelled. Yet he may be

re-chosen, and so may one ejected for accepting a place. What clearer proof can be desired, that expulsion does not imply a total and perpetual exclusion from the expelling parliament? An arbitrary Tory-parliament first broached this idea of incapacity resulting from expulsion. A doctrine propagated by such a class of men deserves the patronage of our present ministers, who are their avowed disciples. Yet even these tyrannical despots did not proceed so far as our modern race of dictators; they did not vote Taylor chosen upon the exclusion of Walpole. Their principles indeed led them to this step; but they durst not venture their brittle bark on such a dangerous rock; they foresaw it must split on such novel, such unconstitutional ground. Without the gift of prophecy, one may safely aver, that our present adventurers will be wrecked on the same shelves. But to what purpose do they produce Walpole's case to authorise the late decision? It has the same weight as a determination of the star-chamber would have in a case relating to the liberty of the press. It is not one or two precedents, even in good times, without principles; much less precedents contrary to principles, and in bad times, that will establish a law. Many reasons might be urged against all expulsions. If they are necessary to one house, why not to the other? The lords have sustained no great loss from the want of this privilege; much less would the commons, whom the next election will in all probability free of any member that is justly obnoxious. As every representative is, with regard to his election and seat, independent of the rest, he ought to be liable to no other expulsion but a recal from his constituents. As long as he pleases them, he ought to please his fellows. But as custom has established the right of expulsion, let it, for God's sake, be confined to its antient limits, that the representative assembly may not be garbled and stript of its most valuable members, according to the dictate of an arbitrary minister or tyrannical king. If the house has a right to incapacitate one man, it has the same right to incapacitate two, three, or any number; that is, it can disfranchise all the electors of England; it, that cannot make a law to deprive the meanest subject of the lowest right, can take from the whole nation its noblest inheritance, the very foundation of all its rights! No such power was, or could be delegated to it; and as it did not make itself, it cannot make its own power. Where then is there any foundation left for this strange claim? Shall it be said, that the end of expulsion cannot be answered but by perpetual exclusion? The suggestion is true, were the satisfaction of the rage and malice of a majority the only end intended. But that is not the case. The only rational ends are to secure to the constituents a proper representation, to preserve the purity of the house, and to punish offending members, for the preservation of order and the prevention of crimes. But is incapacity necessary for these purposes? No; the first end is fully obtained by simple expulsion, without incapacity, because it gives the opportunity of a new choice to the constituents, who ought to have the power of affirming or reversing the sentence of the representatives, as a proper check upon their interested views or intemperate zeal. Had it not been for this circumstance of giving the people a new election, it may be questioned, whether the commons would ever have numbered the power of expulsion among their rights. Certain it is, that they could never have formed the least pretensions to it, if the right of recalling deputies had been exercised, as the nature of the service requires. The constituents are the best, and indeed the only judges of the qualifications necessary in their representatives; their decision, therefore, ought to be ultimate, and subject to no appeal. The contrary doctrine is pregnant with the highest arrogance and presumption, as it treats the people of England like minors, who are incapable of appointing their own guardians. As to the third end, the preservation of the purity of this immaculate house, it will not be saying too much if we assert, that the laws of the land are sufficient. If any extraordinary case should occur, we may, as in former times, impeach. The lords have no other power in their hands, for this purpose, but the laws, which have hitherto preserved them from any signal disgrace. Are not we equally capable of employing the same engine? The third end, which is punishment, is sufficiently answered by expulsion. If the disgrace which ensues be not thought an adequate punishment, we presume the majority will allow the expence of a second election is so. For what other reason are they so violent

against a dissolution? It is to be hoped they are not afraid of losing their wages. If the member be re-elected without expence, and incur no disgrace, it is no great sign in favour of the expulsion; there is reason to suspect its justice and expediency. Supposing both equally fallible, it is much more rational to allow the judgment of the electors to prevail, than that of the commons, as the former must know their own affairs best, and the latter are in these points too often influenced by private views and ministerial arts. "But shall they be at liberty to restore, who had no power to expel?" The answer is, Shall they be at liberty to expel, who have no power to restore nor to create? The question is convertible; and there is no absurdity in saying that they, who ought to have the right of recalling, ought also to have the power of expelling.

"But suppose the people, not their deputies, convened, may not a member, by indecorum, treachery, or immorality, forfeit his right to a seat in their assembly; and are not the majority the sole judges of his fitness to continue a member? If they judge him unfit, can he regain his seat against the sense of the majority?" In answer, Suppose the freeholders of Middlesex assembled to choose a representative, can they exclude a single member from voting? No; he holds his freehold independent of them, and can be disfranchised only by law. "Admit then, that incapacity was not a necessary consequence of the expulsion; yet the express declaration of incapacity, by the resolution, was binding on the electors." Excellent logic this! Though the house could not, in the first instance, make a resolution equivalent to a law of incapacity, they could declare it such in the second instance; justifying in this case the old proverb, which says, that two blows are better than one. I suppose we shall bye and bye hear of two acts of parliament being necessary on every occasion; one to lay the foundation, another to declare the meaning. Thus, though the house cannot make the law, it can declare it; and whatever it declares to be law, is law, because there is no appeal from its jurisdiction. At this rate, were the house to resolve that London has no right to send four members to parliament, and then to declare that this was law, it must be so. Precedents and decisions would be no longer necessary; a resolution and declaration would do every thing. What an absurd and monstrous doctrine! Such a judicature would be a basilisk to kill the law, whenever it should dare to look it in the face. But you will find yourselves mistaken, if you think that there is no appeal from your jurisdiction. You, and every other court, are answerable to the people of England, who will not tamely see their rights invaded, nor their understandings mocked, by evasions and subterfuges. They may be called, if you will, low mechanics, sturdy beggars, and the scum of the earth; but, let their name be what it will, if the gauntlet be once thrown, they will decide the fortune of the field. That matters may not be carried to this extremity, no wise, no good, no honest man will vote for this expulsion."

NOTWITHSTANDING the force of these arguments, and the perseverance of the freeholders of Middlesex, in presenting their petitions, the house agreed in a vote, importing that they could not, according to the law of parliament, reverse in the same session a resolution that had once been passed. The dissatisfaction excited by this resolution was exasperated by the apparent remissness of the government, in permitting the French, partly by intrigue and partly by force, to obtain possession of Corsica, notwithstanding the gallant exertions of Paoli, and the resistance of the people. Yet it may be reasonably doubted, whether the value of that possession was equal to the expence of blood and treasure squandered in its conquest, and whether the people of Corsica were either sincerely desirous of liberty, or capable of enjoying it.

ONE of the first acts of lord North was the bringing in a bill for the repeal of so much of a late act of parliament as related to the imposition of a duty on paper, painter's colours, and glass, imported into America. The tax upon tea, which was imposed by the same act, was still continued. It was insisted on, by those members who had uniformly opposed the imposition of internal taxes on America, that the act which imposed these duties should be at once totally repealed. To this proposal the minister replied, that the conduct of the Americans had been too violent and disaffected to deserve any additional demonstrations of tenderness and forbearance. The object of the minister was not the mere increase of

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the revenue, but by the most secret and apparently unimportant steps, to obliterate from the minds of the Americans the antipathy they had conceived against internal taxation; and in effecting this, an essential service was meant to be rendered to the East India company, who sensibly felt the diminution of their exports to America. In the year 1768, they had exported to the continent teas to the value of £130,000; in the next year their exports declined to £44,000, and they continued to decrease in the same rapid manner. The company paid a duty of 25 per cent. on their exported teas, which greatly enhanced the price at a foreign market, and enabled the Dutch to supply the colonies much cheaper. This duty was therefore discontinued, by which measure the price of teas in America was so much reduced, that it was expected the Americans would submit, without reluctance, to the continuance of the duty of three-pence per pound on that commodity.

Before this bill had passed the lower house, Mr. George Grenville brought in a bill entitled, "An act for regulating the proceedings of the house of commons, in controverted elections." It stipulated, that instead of bringing the merits of a contested election before a general committee of the house, upon a petition being received, a day should be appointed to hear the merits, and for the petitioners, their witnesses, and council to attend. On the day appointed the house should be counted, and if it was not found to have 100 members present, the business should stand over till that number were assembled, at which time the names of the members in the house were to be put into six boxes or glasses, to be drawn alternately and read by the speaker, until forty-nine members were drawn. The sitting member and petitioner may nominate one each. Lists of the forty-nine members, thus selected, are then to be given to the parties, who, with the clerk of the house of commons, are to withdraw, and to strike off one alternately, beginning on the part of the petitioner, till the number be reduced to thirteen; who, with the two nominees, are to be sworn a select committee, to determine the matter in dispute. The introduction of this bill was unwelcome to the ministry; but as it met with the approbation of the house, it passed into a law. In the next session of parliament, the benefit of this measure became apparent. A contested election, for the borough of New Shoreham, being brought before a select committee, a long-established plan of corruption, which had prevailed in that borough, was revealed. In consequence of a report made to the house, a bill was framed, to incapacitate eighty-one freemen of Shoreham, by name, to vote at the elections of members to serve in parliament, and for preventing bribery and corruption in that borough. An address to his majesty was voted, imploring him, that the attorney-general should be directed to prosecute five persons, who were the principal agents in the sale of the borough.

The city of London, having taken the lead in every measure which opposed the conduct of the house of commons, in seating colonel Luttrel as member for Middlesex, and excluding Mr. Wilkes, could not quietly contemplate the dismissal of that great national question without further discussion. Mr. Beckford, who was then, for the second time, lord mayor, had long been distinguished for the warmth with which he maintained the right of the people to choose their representatives, without the control of parliament. The livery of London were convened in common hall, and it was there resolved to present an humble address, remonstrance, and petition to his majesty, in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, praying for a dissolution of parliament, and the removal of evil ministers. In this piece, of which the title and contents seemed at variance, great freedom and spirit were indulged. His majesty was told that "under the same secret and malign influence, which, through every successive administration, has defeated every good, and suggested every bad intention, the majority of the house of commons have deprived his people of their dearest rights. They have done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles I., or the dispensing power assumed by James II.; a deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament; for the acts of the legislature itself can no more be valid, without a legal house of commons, than without a legal prince upon the throne. Representatives of the people are essential to the making of laws; and there is a time, at which it is morally demonstrative, that men cease to be representatives. The

time is now arrived; the present house of commons do not represent the people. We owe to your majesty an obedience, under the restriction of the laws, for the calling and duration of parliaments; and your majesty owes to us, that our representation, free from the force of arms or corruption, should be preserved to us in parliament. It was for this we successfully struggled under James II.; for this we seated, and have faithfully supported, your majesty's family on the throne. Under James II. the people complained, that the sitting of parliament was interrupted, because it was not corruptly subservient to his designs; we complain now that the sitting of this parliament is not interrupted, because it is corruptly subservient to your majesty's ministers. We call God and man to witness, that as we do not owe our liberty to those nice and subtle distinctions, which places, pensions, and lucrative employments have invented, so neither will we be deprived of it by them; but as it was gained by the stern virtue of our ancestors, by the virtue of their descendants it shall be preserved."

His majesty, in his answer, told them, that he should always be ready to receive the requests, and to listen to the complaints of his subjects; but it gave him great concern to find that any of them should have been so far misled, as to offer him an address and remonstrance, the contents of which he could not but consider as disrespectful to him, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution. The day on which this address was delivered, lord Chatham made a motion in the house of lords, for an address to the throne, praying his majesty to dissolve the parliament. He stated the public discontents in England, Ireland, and America, affirmed that the people reposed no confidence in the existing house of commons, and shewed, from the situation of public affairs, the necessity of having a parliament in whom the people could place a proper confidence. The motion was overruled by a great majority.

The next day, a member in the house of commons moved to address the king, praying that a copy of the city address, as well as his majesty's answer, might be laid before the house. A very animated debate ensued. The lord mayor, who was one of the members for the city, instead of shrinking from the contest, avowed the part that he had taken in the remonstrance, maintained its propriety, and declared that he should ever glory in it. Mr. Treecothick, another city member, and the two sheriffs, Townsend and Sawbridge, who were members, supported the chief magistrate against the weight of the house; they justified the language used to his majesty, and declared themselves ready to enter into the merits of that transaction. This brought on a long and animated debate, in which the right of the subject to petition the throne was discussed. The house was much divided in sentiment, not only concerning the propriety of the city of London presenting a petition to the throne, for the purpose of censuring the conduct of the commons of Great Britain, but more particularly concerning the expressions made use of in the remonstrance; and many members, who approved of this mode of conveying to the royal ear the grievances of the people, reprobated the terms employed on this occasion. Others, with great animation, endeavoured to excite the house to inflict some signal punishment on the principal instigators to a corporate act, which they asserted to have insulted the throne, and to have been performed with all the circumstances of tumultuous parade; which tended to alarm the minds of the peaceable, and inflame the passions of every misguided member of the community. The motion for an address was at length carried by a great majority; and when, in consequence, the remonstrance was laid before the house, after the journals and other records had been examined, the house passed a resolution to address his majesty, and to obtain the concurrence of the lords. The address was accordingly presented on the 23rd of March. It 1771.
acknowledged the right of the subject to petition the throne, but censured very severely the indiscreet manner in which that right had been exercised by the city of London; the direct tendency of which was to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and subvert all lawful authority. Many people expected, that new instances of expulsion and incapacitation would have ensued; but more moderate measures prevailed, and with the address the business was dismissed.

A few days after the rising of parliament,

another humble address, remonstrance, and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and council of the city of London, was presented to his majesty. It expressed the deep concern which the city of London felt, in his majesty's answer from the throne; and, after recapitulating the grievances complained of in former addresses, concluded with a prayer, that his majesty might reign, as kings only can reign, in and by the hearts of a loyal, dutiful, and free people. His majesty informed them, in his answer, that he should have been wanting to the public, as well as to himself, if he had not expressed his dissatisfaction at the late address. After which, the lord mayor requested leave to reply; which being granted, his lordship addressed his sovereign, and begged leave to declare, in his royal presence, on behalf of his fellow-citizens, how much the base apprehension of his majesty's displeasure would at all times affect their minds. The declaration of his majesty's dissatisfaction had filled them with inexpressible anxiety, and with the deepest affliction. He supplicated his majesty not to dismiss them from his presence without some comfort, and prospect, at least, of redress. No answer being returned, the lord mayor, and those who accompanied him, withdrew.

The birth of a princess occasioned the city of London to present a congratulatory address to his majesty, on that event, a week afterwards, when the lord chamberlain acquainted the lord mayor, that, as his lordship thought fit to speak to his majesty, after his answer to the late remonstrance, he was directed to inform him, that as it was unusual, his majesty desired that nothing of that kind might happen for the future. This was the last public transaction in which Mr. Beckford was engaged. He died, three weeks after, of a fever. As he possessed a very ample fortune, was splendid and munificent in his manner of living, had a strong and agreeable elocution, and steadily opposed the measures of the court, he was the object of general confidence and esteem. His influence was exerted to check and restrain the jarring interests which prevailed among the leaders of opposition in the city. A society had been formed, under the title of *the Supporters of the Bill of Rights*, of which the principal object was to exonerate Mr. Wilkes from his debts. Soon after Mr. Beckford's death, violent dissensions broke out. Many of the members seceded, and called themselves *the Constitutional Society*. These two bodies of men entertained the utmost aversion to each other, and the object of procuring redress for the violated rights of the electors of Great Britain, which had at first united them, seemed lost in private animosity.

CHAPTER XX.

GEORGE III.

[1770 to 1771.]

Falkland Islands seized on by the Spaniards—Preparations for War—Negotiations—Resignations—The Dispute with Spain adjusted—Probable Motives which led to that Event—Situation of France—Meeting of Parliament—Misunderstanding between the two Houses—Proceedings of the House of Commons against certain Printers—Conduct of the Magistrates of London—The Record of their Proceedings erased by order of the House—The Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver committed to the Tower—Resolutions respecting Mr. Wilkes—Bill to enable the East India Company to raise a Military Force.

LORD Chatham, who had strenuously exerted himself towards the close of the session, had predicted, that a great blow either was or would soon be struck in some part of the world. The event proved how well that consummate statesman was acquainted with the resolutions which were formed in foreign cabinets; for in the month of June 1770, a squadron of Spanish ships sailed from Buenos Ayres, for the purpose of seizing upon Falkland islands, where the English, a few years before, had made a settlement, by erecting a fort, which they called Egmont, and where two sloops then lay. The Spanish commander, Don Madariaga, summoned the fort to surrender to the catholic king; which being refused, he proceeded to possess himself of it by force of arms. Captain Farmer, who commanded in the fort, having remonstrated in vain against the insult offered the king, his master, in a time of profound peace, was obliged to submit. A capitulation was signed; after which the captain and garrison were detained twenty days, and the rudder of his ship taken away, before he was permitted to return home.

THE islands are situated to the eastward of the straits of Magellan, and are the most desolate and dreary of habitable regions, although not so high, in southern latitude, as the island of Anglesea lies to the north; but many reasons induced our court to form a settlement there. It was in contemplation to encourage a whale fishery in the southern parts, from North America; and the possession of this spot was thought beneficial, for the purpose of exploring the South Sea, which at that time was a favourite pursuit The French had claimed these islands, in consequence of M. Bougainville having visited them before commodore Byron; he gave them the name of Malouines, and his court transferred their right of them to the Spaniards; but the English claim was founded upon their discovery in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

THAT the court of Spain should look with a jealous eye on a settlement, made by the English, in a part of the world from which the Spaniards had excluded all other nations, is no ways surprising. But that she should be hardy enough to deprive us by force of that possession, in violation of the peace which then subsisted, and when she had so lately felt the force of our arms in every quarter of the world, which in less than a twelvemonth had opened to themselves a way to all her resources of wealth; that she should risk the irritating of such a power argued great temerity; an utter oblivion of the moderation and lenity which dictated the last peace, on the part of Great Britain, and a

full persuasion that her late victorious adversary, from some secret cause, operating strongly on every department of the state, was sunk into a condition which made her no longer formidable. It was remarked, that the expedition against Port Egmont did not appear to have been a sudden ill-concerted enterprise, but to have been conducted, not only with the usual military precautions, but in all the forms and ceremonies of war. A frigate was first employed, to examine the strength of the place, a message was sent by Don Francisco Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, demanding immediate possession, in the catholic king's name, and ordered our people to depart; at last a military force appeared, and obliged the garrison to surrender.

News of this expedition arrived at Cadiz the latter end of August; immediately upon which Mr. Harris, our *charge des affaires* at the court of Madrid, sent advice of this transaction to lord Weymouth, secretary of state, which arrived about the same time, that the prince de Masserano, the Spanish ambassador, had acquainted his lordship, that he had good reason to believe that the governor of Buenos Ayres had taken upon him to make use of force, in order to dispossess the English of their settlement at Port Egmont, in Falkland islands; adding, that he was directed to make this communication, to prevent the bad consequences which might arise by its coming through other hands; and expressing his wishes, that whatever the event at Port Egmont might be, in consequence of a step of the governor, taken without any particular instruction from his catholic majesty, it might not be productive of measures at this court, dangerous to the good understanding that subsisted between the two crowns. Lord Weymouth hereupon asked the Spanish ambassador, if he was ordered to disavow the conduct of M. Buccarelli, the governor, which was answered in the negative, until he should hear from Madrid.

When Mr. Harris applied to M. de Grunaldi, the prime minister of Spain, for a disavowal of this hostile measure, his answer was very unsatisfactory; he said, the British court had reason to foresee such an event would happen, since our establishment there was notoriously disapproved by Spain. *He could not*, he said, *blame the conduct of M. Buccarelli, as it was founded on the laws of America;* but added, that *his catholic majesty was very desirous of peace, having so little to gain and so much to lose by a war: therefore he would avoid it, at any rate consistent with his own honour, and the welfare of his people.* A few days after, he acquainted Mr. Harris that the king, his master, was resolved to do every thing in his power to terminate this affair in an amicable manner; that therefore he admitted our demand, and that he assented to it in every point consistent with his honour, which, as well as ours, was to be considered; that, however, as this matter could be determined only in London, and not at Madrid, orders had been given to prince Masserano to lay before lord Weymouth all the ideas which had been suggested on this head; and as they differed only in the terms, and not essentially, he trusted some one of them would be adopted.

Prince Masserano, upon receipt of these dispatches, proposed a convention between the two crowns, in which he would disavow, in the name of the king, his master, any particular instruction given to M. Buccarelli on this occasion; at the same time that he acknowledged him to have acted agreeably to his general orders, and his oath as governor; the restitution of Falkland islands was to be thereby acceded to without any injury to his catholic majesty's right to those islands; but the king of Great Britain was at the same time called upon to disavow, on his part, a menace of one of his captains, which was said to have occasioned the steps taken by the governor.

This mode of adjusting the difference, by convention, was rejected as totally inadmissible; notwithstanding which, our ministry did not despair of an accommodation at the time the parliament met. Indeed, before the news of the capture of Port Egmont had been officially known, sixteen sail of the line had been put into commission; admiral Keppel was appointed to command the fleet, and press-warrants were issued for manning it. The people of England are ever ready to draw the sword, when either their interest or their honour appears to be attacked. On this occasion the nation felt itself insulted, and called for vengeance; but our natural strength was not found adequate to great undertakings; our navy, the pride and the protection of

England, during an eight years' peace, had been suffered to fall into decay; and when the surveyor of the navy, to whom, under the first lord of the admiralty, this important trust was committed, found his delinquency revealed, he eluded the resentment of his country by a sudden death. The sailors, who had been ever ready, in former contests, to embark in a war with Spain, were now backward to engage in the service; this was chiefly owing to the ill-treatment which both the soldiers and sailors received, who went on the expedition against the Havannah, the last and most destructive service in the late war; in which the common men scarcely received any proportion of the vast wealth which was acquired; owing to a secret regulation being settled at home, before the expedition set forward, by which the commander-in-chief of the fleet and army were to receive one third, instead of one eighth, of the prize money.

In the king's speech it was observed, that *the honour of the crown, and the rights of the people, were deeply affected by an act of the governor of Buenos Ayres.* This expression was much animadverted upon, and the minister was severely censured, both in parliament and without doors, for causing his royal master to represent to his people an open act of hostility, authorised by the catholic king, as an act of the governor. Nor were the subsequent parts of the speech less criticised; this act, it was said, to avoid the mention of a regular siege and surrender, passes under the piratical description of seizing by force, and the thing taken is described, not as a part of the king's territory or proper dominion, but merely as a "possession," a word expressly chosen in contradiction to, and exclusive of, the idea of right. But the caution used, in the manner of wording the speech, may be very well defended. Our right to the wretched spot, for which we had contended, had ever been disputed by Spain. When lord Anson returned from circumnavigating the globe, he recommended a settlement being made on Pepy's or Falkland islands, which would actually have been carried into execution, but for the remonstrances made by the court of Spain; in compliance with which it was totally laid aside, until lord Egmont was placed at the head of the admiralty, in 1764; a nobleman whom one of the ablest advocates for the conduct of the administration in this business, describes as possessing a vigorous and ardent mind, whose knowledge was extensive, and whose designs were magnificent; but who, by indulging romantic projects and airy speculations, had somewhat vitiated his judgment. But however this may be, the new settlement was made with great caution, the commanding officer at Port Egmont being instructed to warn off any other European power, who might attempt to make a settlement on Falkland islands; but if he found any already settled there, he was then to make a joint settlement with them, if they refused to depart after due warning; referring the decision of right to their two sovereigns.

There appears to be a moderation, not unmixed with firmness, in the administration during this contest, which renders the conduct pursued on this occasion dissimilar to that which had been adopted on all our disputes with Spain, in former reigns; if it did not resemble the spirited attacks made by queen Elizabeth, as soon as she discovered the intentions of the Spanish monarch, it was equally unlike the abject condescensions of her pusillanimous successor. It had nothing of the greedy thirst of spoil which led Cromwel to wage an unjust war with Spain, nor of that decisive boldness, which at one stroke made us masters of her navy, in the reign of George I.; but then it was as free from any thing like Walpole's apparent indifference to the interests of the nation. The contest was not for dominion, or for any valuable commercial object, but for a point of honour; whether we should hold a barren island in the vicinity of the Spanish territories, of which we had taken possession, in the presumption that we had a prior right thereto, but which right, as already observed, had always been disputed by Spain.

Nor is it difficult to assign reasons for this moderation in the British cabinet. It seems to have been a settled principle, from the very commencement of the present reign, to keep clear of foreign war as much as possible. The long reign of George II. was considered as having thrown too much weight into the scale of the people; it was represented by those who possessed the royal confidence, that a turbulent, factious spirit was gone forth; that the insolence of the

vulgar exceeded the example of former times; that all respect for lawful authority was lost, and the licentiousness of the press had levelled all distinctions, whether of birth, fortune, or talents, traducing, with a bold effrontery, the characters most eminent for wisdom and virtue. The body of the English gentry adopted these sentiments, and were ready to concur with the court in restraining the violence of the lower orders of the state; the manners of the age being formed by wealth, luxury, and refinement, made the tumults of a mob more dreadful than the encroachments of a minister; and the stability which government seemed now to have acquired, notwithstanding the strong opposition which had been formed against it, pointed out the present as the most proper season for introducing internal regulations. Whilst a time of peace was necessary to effect these objects at home, it was still more requisite for pursuing the measures which were thought expedient to bring the American colonies under due subordination to the parent state. These considerations probably induced our ministers to continue the negotiation with the ambassador and court of Spain, during the months of September, October, and November. At length, lord Weymouth informed Mr. Harris, that from the conduct of prince Masserano, he saw but little reason to expect an amicable termination of this affair; and advised him, if possible, to convey a hint of this to the governor of Gibralter, and the consuls at the different ports of Spain. The governor of Gibralter was also ordered to embark immediately for that fortress.

Such was the posture of affairs when the parliament adjourned for the Christmas recess, during which lord Weymouth resigned his post, and was succeeded by the earl of Rochford, who a few days after his appointment wrote Mr. Harris a letter of recal; but a month after, he directed him by another letter to return to Madrid, as there were reasons to believe, that fresh propositions of satisfaction would be made for the injury done.

On the day the parliament met, after the recess, a declaration was signed by prince Masserano, and an acceptance thereof by the earl of Rochford. By the former the ambassador, in the name of his master, disavowed the violence used at Port Egmont, and stipulated, that every thing should be restored there, precisely to the same state in which they were before the reduction; but at the same time declared, that this restoration was not in any wise to affect the prior right of sovereignty over the islands; and by the acceptance, the performance of these stipulations was to be considered as a satisfaction for the injury done to the crown of Great Britain.

When the declaration and acceptance had been laid before parliament, an address was presented, for copies of all claims and propositions made by the court of Spain, relative to Falkland islands, from the first settlement of it, together with the answers. This produced nothing previous to the demand which the governor of Buenos Ayres made, the 30th of November, 1769, for the English to quit the island, and no one paper, relative to the claims or representations made by the court of Spain, since the first settlement there, nor the answer given to the first of lord Weymouth's letters, which was dated September 12th, and was marked No. 10. Neither did the papers laid before parliament explain in what manner the negotiation had been resumed. The answer given to the enquiries was, that no other papers could be found. However, the subsequent conduct of government proved, that there were secret stipulations on the part of Great Britain, which the ministry did not choose should meet the eye of parliament. For though Falkland islands, Port Egmont, its forts, and other dependencies were restored to the English on the 16th of September, 1771, in conformity to his catholic majesty's declaration; yet in 1774, orders were sent out for evacuating the place, which was done accordingly, and no settlement has since been made there. The sudden resignation of lord Weymouth may be supposed to have been occasioned by a dislike of this compromise.

The conduct of Spain, throughout this transaction, was extremely mysterious; and, as it was never elucidated by authentic documents, we are left to form conjectures merely. The consequence naturally to be expected from such a forcible seizure of an English colony, was an immediate rupture with Great Britain; and although the Spanish government had taken every possible method of defending their distant settlements from all

future attacks, yet that kingdom was so unequal to a naval contest with us, and the wealth annually drawn from the New World would be thereby so much hazarded, that to precipitate a war appeared to be a folly of the first magnitude. Against these motives for a pacific system in Spain, may be placed the national character, haughty, vindictive, and brave, which takes fire at any supposed insult, and renounces interest at the call of honour. Such national propensities to war were not checked but promoted by the disposition of their monarch, who loved the clang of arms, although he possessed none of those talents which are necessary to form a military prince; and the antipathy of the king was supposed to have subsisted ever after the year 1740, when, being king of Naples, a British fleet compelled him to withdraw his troops from the Spanish army, and sign a treaty of neutrality, in order to save his capital from destruction.

The close connexion which subsisted between the two branches of the house of Bourbon, leaves no room to doubt, that the court of Versailles was to have become a party in the war, had it broke out, although the kingdom of France was not in a situation to begin new quarrels. The misconduct of Lewis XV. had been the chief cause of the defeats, disgraces, and bankruptcy, which had attended the last war; as weak kings are frequently the most tenacious of despotic rule, this monarch was fond of exercising every attribute of absolute sovereignty, and demanded from his parliament an implicit acquiescence in his edicts. Whilst the English nation besieged the throne with complaints against the house of commons, the French were excited to a ferment, almost as violent, against their king, for his authoritative control over their parliament; and the noble stand which those assemblies made, against the mandates of a tyrant, was admired and respected by the whole nation. Nor was this the only source of discontent against the sovereign; notwithstanding the vast revenues of France, yet the interest payable on the debts contracted during the last war, together with the expences of government and the crown exceeded the income, in the beginning of the year 1769, by upwards of three millions and a half sterling, annually. By forced reductions of interest, which only an arbitrary government is able to make, but which must inevitably destroy all confidence, and deprive the state of relief on future emergencies, some savings were made, and new imposts on the people furnished some provision for this annual waste. Although such was the exhausted state of France, yet the duke de Choiseul, who was prime minister, appeared inclined to enter into a war with Great Britain. When lord North was asked, in the house of commons, whether France had interposed or not in the dispute with Spain, he did not choose to answer that question; and, as Choiseul had quitted his employments a little before the court of Spain came into the terms insisted upon by the British cabinet, it is highly probable that this concession was forced from it, by her ally having adopted a new system of conduct.

During this session of parliament, a circumstance, in itself trivial, caused a great misunderstanding between the two houses. Before the Christmas recess, the duke of Richmond made a motion for an address, for quickening our preparations, and putting our valuable possessions in the West Indies, and the Mediterranean, in a proper state of defence. In his speech, he expatiated on the defenceless state of Gibralter, when he was interrupted by a proposal being made, that the house should be immediately cleared; this was objected to, and a great clamour ensued. Eighteen peers, disgusted at the proceedings of the ministerial party, quitted the house in a body; and, soon after, several members of the house of commons, who attended at the bar of the house with a bill, were ordered to withdraw. Many of the peers, who had withdrawn from the house of lords, proceeded to that of the commons, and were there when the members, who had been excluded the upper house, returned to their seats, and represented the treatment they had just received. A gentleman on the treasury bench hereupon moved, that the house should be cleared, peers and all, which, after some opposition, was carried; so that those very lords who had quitted their own house in disgust, at finding themselves unable to prevent the members of the house of commons being excluded from thence, were driven from the other house by the resentment which that very exclusion had excited. Much recrimination arose between the two houses, from

this conduct. The lords soon after issued strict orders that no one whatever should be admitted into their house for the future, except such members of the house of commons as should come to present bills, and they also to retire as soon as they had made the usual obediences. This misunderstanding continued during the remainder of the session. A protest against this order was entered on the journals, signed by sixteen peers.

The apprehensions of foreign war being now removed, fresh internal contentions disturbed this season of repose. The house of commons, in the case of the Middlesex election, had themselves defined their own privileges, and had maintained them against the clamour and discontent which the nation expressed against a power self-created, till then unknown in the latitude in which it was in that case exercised. The alarm which this innovation had spread was at length so much subsided, that no farther commotions were to be apprehended from the establishment of the precedent; when, all at once, the house was drawn into a disgraceful contest, not upon a national question, but with a few inconsiderable individuals, which terminated very unfavourably to the dignity of parliament.

The printers of certain newspapers had inserted, in those publications, what they called the speeches of particular members of the house of commons; this presumption the members, on whom the speeches were fathered, complained of it to the house, and the printers were ordered to attend, which order they did not think proper to comply with; the messengers reported, that they had not seen the printers, and the house made an order, that the leaving the summons at the printers' houses should be deemed a sufficient notice of attendance. The practice of retailing, in periodical publications, the substance of what was delivered in parliament, guarded, however, by feigned names, and a slight transmutation of circumstances, had prevailed for near forty years; and the writer, who afterwards rose to the highest eminence, and who, on account of the magnitude of his conceptions, and the great compass of his knowledge, has been styled the *Colossus of Literature*, was one of the first who regularly gratified the public with the debates of the senate. Individuals were frequently displeased with the liberty which was taken with their harangues, and were solicitous to confine their sentiments within the walls in which they were delivered; and there are instances, in which the house of commons, in a body, have adopted the sentiments of such members, and ordered into custody the publishers of their speeches. In the present instance, the gentleman, Mr. Onslow, who lodged the complaint, stated, that he had been grossly misrepresented, and that the speech, given in the newspapers as his, had the tendency to injure him greatly in the opinion of his constituents. This brought on a debate on the liberty of the press. It was said, that ministerial writers were publicly encouraged in the most flagrant abuses of the press, and that, while this was done in one instance, whereby some of the most respectable characters in the kingdom were mangled, without regard to shame and truth, it was in vain to curb it in other cases, or to say to licentiousness, So far shalt thou go, and no farther; and that although misrepresentations of any member were undoubtedly infamous, yet they ought to be legally punished by the person injured, and not by the authority of the house; which, however well supported by precedent, not being conducted by the ordinary forms of legal proceeding, had ever an odious and oppressive appearance. It was maintained, that except the instances in which the house of commons is a court of judicature, to which, from the nature of their office, a coercive power must belong; and, excepting such contempts as immediately interrupt their proceedings, they have no authority to imprison a man for any supposed violation of privileges whatsoever. The privilege now claimed has never been defined or confirmed by the statute; neither can it be said, with any colour of truth, to be a part of the common law of England, which had grown into prescription long before we knew any thing of the existence of a house of commons. The power of creating new privileges has been long formally renounced by both houses, and there is no code in which we can study the law of parliament. To establish a claim of privilege in either house, and to distinguish original right from usurpation, it must appear that it is indispensibly necessary for the duty they are employed in, and also that it has been uniformly allowed. There is no precedent from the year 1265 to the death of queen

Elizabeth, of the house of commons having imprisoned any man, not a member of their house, for contempt, or breach of privilege. They never took the power of punishing into their own hands; they either sought redress by petition to the sovereign, or applied to the house of lords; and when satisfaction was denied them, or delayed, their only remedy was, refusing to proceed on the king's business.

As the subject of privilege, as claimed by the house of commons, now became agitated, the principles of the constitution, particularly as they affected the right assumed by the representatives of the people, were enquired into, and much valuable knowledge communicated from the press. A writer of distinguished abilities insisted, that the greatest and most exceptionable parts of the privilege of parliament, now contended for, were introduced and asserted by a house of commons, that abolished both monarchy and peerage, and whose proceedings could be no ways reconciled to the form of the constitution. It is a leading maxim of the laws of England, and without it all laws are nugatory, that there is no right without a remedy, nor any legal power without a course to carry it into effect. Let the power now in question be tried by this rule. The courts of criminal justice are open to prosecutions, which the attorney-general may commence by information or indictment. A libel tending to asperse or vilify the house of commons, or any of its members, may be as severely punished in the court of king's bench, as a libel upon the king; and the house will consult its real dignity much better by appealing to the laws, when they are offended, than by violating the first principle of natural justice, which forbids us to be judges when we are parties to the cause. It was, however, the opinion of a very great majority, that the dignity of that house must be supported at all events, and that the delinquents should be taken into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, for contempt of the orders issued by the speaker.

At any other time, the offenders would have been left to feel the severity of that power, whose authority they had trifled with; but it cannot be doubted but a plan was now formed, to shew to the world how little able the commons of England were to support that controlling power over the subject which they had assumed, whenever the civil magistracy had refused its concurrence. Those who were most interested about the decision on the Middlesex election, were undoubtedly the chief instigators to this contest; and the refractory printers were emboldened in their contumacy by a junto, who aimed at disgracing parliament. The language which these held was, We have nothing to apprehend from prerogative, but every thing from undue influence. Formerly it was the interest of the people, that the privileges of the parliament should be left unlimited and undefined; at present, it is not only their interest, but necessary even to the preservation of the constitution, that the privileges of parliament should be strictly ascertained, and confined within the narrowest bounds the nature of their institution will admit. Upon the same principle that prerogative was resisted, privilege must be resisted. It is immaterial, whether the crown, by its own immediate act, imposes new, and dispenses with old laws; or whether the same arbitrary power produces the same effects, through the medium of the house of commons.

In consequence of the orders given to the serjeant-at-arms, that officer went to the houses of the parties, but they were constantly denied to him; and their servants even accompanied their answers with contemptuous sneers, which the officer reported to the house; whereupon it was determined to petition the throne, praying his majesty to issue his royal proclamation against the delinquents, and offering a reward for apprehending them; which was accordingly inserted in the gazette, and £50 a-piece offered for taking them.

Wheble, one of the printers mentioned in the proclamation, was apprehended and carried before alderman Wilkes, at Guildhall, and was by him discharged and bound over in a recognisance to prosecute the captor, for an assault and false imprisonment. The officer was also obliged to give bail for his appearance at the next sessions, to answer for his offence. The magistrate then wrote a letter to the earl of Halifax, secretary of state, informing him of his proceeding, and the motives which led him so to act. Wheble, he observed, was not charged with any crime in the proclamation, and without some crime being charged and proved, it was violating the rights of an

Englishman, as well as the chartered privileges of the city of London, to take such a man into custody.

Thompson, the other printer, was apprehended in like manner; and in like manner discharged by Mr. Alderman Oliver. Certificates were given by the two magistrates to the parties who apprehended Wheble and Thompson, testifying their having brought the persons described in the proclamation before them, whereby they might lay claim to the reward offered in the proclamation. The claimants had literally executed the business, for which the reward was promised, in carrying the persons described before proper magistrates, as was directed to be done; but the whole was evidently a mere collusion, and utterly repugnant to the spirit of the proclamation. The lords of the treasury refused to pay the reward for a transaction so nugatory.

The house of commons seemed to grow more determined upon being thus baffled. Six other printers were now named; and a motion was made, seconded, and agreed to, that they should be proceeded against. Miller, the printer of the London Evening Post, one of the six, was apprehended by a messenger of the house of commons, in his own house. He immediately sent for a constable, whom he charged to take the messenger into custody, and carried him to the Mansion-house, before Brass Crosby, the lord mayor, where the aldermen, Wilkes and Oliver, likewise sat. The deputy serjeant-at-arms attended, and demanded, in the name of the speaker, that both the messenger and the printer should be delivered up to him; this was refused by the lord mayor, who asked for what crime and on what authority the messenger had arrested the printer; it was answered, that he had done it by warrant from the speaker. It was then asked, if that warrant had been backed by a city magistrate; which being answered in the negative, the warrant was demanded, and, after much altercation, produced; and its invalidity being argued by the printer's counsel, the three magistrates present discharged him from confinement. Miller then proceeded to lodge a complaint against the messenger, for an assault and false imprisonment; and, having proved the facts to the satisfaction of the court, the messenger was asked for bail, which the serjeant having refused to comply with, a warrant for his commitment to prison was made out, and signed by the lord mayor and the two aldermen; which was no sooner executed, than the serjeant consented to the giving of bail, which was admitted.

The boldness of this proceeding, and the open defiance which was hurled at parliamentary privileges, when claimed independent of law, astonished the nation; whilst the indignation of the house, at the insult which their officer had received, rose to a height which seemed to threaten severe chastisement to the magisterial triumvirate. The lord mayor and Mr. Oliver, being members of the house, were ordered to attend in their places, and Mr. Wilkes at the bar of the house. The two members were accordingly in their places. The lord mayor was much indisposed; he defended his conduct by the oath of office he had taken, by which he was obliged to observe inviolable the franchises of the city of London. He farther alleged, that the city charters excepted citizens from any law process, being served by any other than by their own proper officers He pleaded that these chartered privileges were recognised by an act of parliament. Such being his obligations as chief magistrate, it became his indispensible duty to act as he had done, and prayed to be heard by counsel; but this was not permited, it being observed, that it was absurd for counsel being suffered to plead at the bar of that house, against its privileges; the rejecting this request, to be heard by counsel, was also supported by a precedent drawn from the time of Henry VIII.

The lord mayor's clerk was then ordered to attend with the book of minutes; and being ordered up to the table, a motion was made and carried, that the recognisance of Witham, the messenger, which was there entered, should be erased out of the book; after which a resolution was passed, that there should be no farther proceedings at law in that case.

Considering the disposition that was shewn to dispute the authority of the house of commons, the permitting the clerk to attend with the minutes, in consequence of an order from the speaker, will appear to be giving up the point, for which they contended in that

instance. Indeed the order might have been complied with for the purpose of ensnaring the house, on the supposition that more disgrace would accrue from erasing a public record, than from reiterated contempt being shewn to its summons. But the true reason was, that the alderman who then sat was not disposed to maintain the contest.

This new kind of *noli prosequi* was strongly inveighed against by many members. It was, they said, assuming and exercising a power of the most dangerous nature, with which the constitution had not entrusted any part of the legislature; and that the stopping the course of justice, and suspending the law of the land, were among the heaviest charges that could be brought against the most arbitrary despot.

The advocates for the privileges of the house maintained, that the charter of the city of London being granted by the king, no rights thereby conveyed could interfere with the inherent privileges of that house; as the crown itself had no power to make such grants, the privileges of the house of commons being a check upon the other branches of the legislature; that consequently their cause was the cause of liberty, and of the people at large; and if the powers of the house of commons were weakened, the security to liberty would be equally so. It was then resolved, that the discharging of Miller from the custody of the messenger was a breach of privilege. The numbers—272 for the resolution, against 90. The house then resolved that it was a breach of privilege to apprehend the messenger executing his warrant, under pretence of an assault; and that it was a breach of privilege to hold the messenger to bail for such pretended assault. The business, when advanced to this stage, detained the house till one o'clock in the morning. Mr. Oliver was then asked, what he had to advance in his defence? He replied, that he owned and gloried in the charge; no justification he knew could avert the punishment intended for him; he was conscious of having done his duty, and he was indifferent about the consequences; and, as he thought it vain to appeal to justice, so he defied the threats of power.

Hereupon it was moved, that Mr. Oliver should be sent to the Tower; which, after much warm debate, was carried by 170 to 58, and he was accordingly conveyed thither at that hour, by virtue of the speaker's warrant. The lord mayor being at that time much indisposed, the proceedings against him were deferred.

Whilst these matters were depending in parliament, a court of common council was summoned to Guildhall, when alderman Treeothick officiated as *locum tenens* for the lord mayor. Public thanks, in writing, were there voted to the lord mayor and the two aldermen, for having supported the privileges and franchises of the city, and having defended our excellent constitution. A committee of four aldermen and eight commoners was also appointed to assist them in making their defence, with instructions to employ such counsel as they should think proper upon this important occasion, and power to draw upon the chamber of London for any sum not exceeding £500.

Two days after the commitment of Mr. Oliver, the lord mayor, with his committee, attended the house of commons to receive his sentence. The populace, on this occasion, assembled in crowds, and many violences were committed on such members as had incurred their resentment. The whole strength of the civil power was exerted to repel the popular fury; and, at length, by the interposition and persuasion of some members of the house of commons, who stood on the best terms with the people, the mob were prevailed upon to retire to a greater distance from Westminster-hall, which they had in a manner closely besieged. The military power was not called forth upon this day's tumult, although a large body, both of horse and foot, were in readiness, if exigencies demanded their interposition.

The house being assembled, the lord mayor said, he looked upon his case as prejudged, and would therefore add nothing to what he had already urged in his defence. The house, however, on account of his ill state of health, were inclined to shew him some indulgence, and it was moved, that he should be taken into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, instead of being sent to the Tower; but the magistrate disclaimed all such lenity, and said, that whatever might be the state of his health, he gloried in undergoing the same fate with his friend. The question for his commitment to the Tower

was then put, and carried by 202 against 39. On his way thither, although it was now midnight, the populace took his horses from his coach, and drew it to Temple-bar. When they arrived there, they shut the city gates, and insisted on the deputy serjeant-at-arms quitting the coach, and proceeding no farther. The lord mayor was obliged here to interpose, and, by assuring them that the gentlemen with him were his particular friends, removed their apprehensions. They then proceeded to drag the carriage onwards to the Mansion-house, where the ovation ended. His lordship, as soon as the mob dispersed, proceeded quietly to the Tower.

The two prisoners were soon after brought up, by the writ of habeas corpus, to the court of common pleas, when, after a full hearing of their counsel, the judges were unanimously of opinion, that the court was not competent to judge of the conduct of the house of commons; whereupon the prisoners were remanded, and continued in confinement to the end of the session, receiving addresses of thanks and congratulation from various parts of the kingdom.

It required no uncommon share of discernment to foretel, that the inflexibility of the city magistrates would entangle the house of commons in a dispute, in which they had every thing to lose and nothing to gain; but the disgraces which this precipitate conduct drew after it, were not completed by the commitment of the lord mayor. The supporters of parliamentary edicts were now extremely embarrassed how to proceed against the other culprit, Mr. Wilkes; they had already experienced both his firmness and abilities, and appeared really afraid of encountering a man of unconquerable spirit. Those who wished farther to involve the house asked, why that gentleman was allowed to triumph in his contumacy? Was he above or below the law? Was it fear or contempt that dictated such a conduct? These sarcasms occasioned an order to be issued, that Mr. Wilkes should attend; but instead of obeying the summons, that gentleman addressed a letter to the speaker, in which he observed, "That in the order for his attendance, no notice was taken of his being a member of the house, and that he should attend in his place, which circumstance, he said, according to the settled form, ought to have been mentioned. In the name of the freeholders of Middlesex, he again demanded his seat in parliament, being ready to take the oaths prescribed by law, and to give in his qualification as knight of the shire. When thus admitted to his seat, he would give the house an exact detail, which would necessarily comprehend a justification of his conduct relative to the late illegal proclamation; equally injurious to the honour of the crown and the rights of the subjects, and likewise to the whole business of the printers. He had acted, he said, entirely from a sense of duty to the great city, whose franchises he was sworn to maintain, and to his country, whose noble constitution he revered, and whose liberties, at the price of his blood, to the last moment of his life, he would defend and support."

This letter a member presented to the speaker, while the house was sitting; but the sense of the house being taken, it was neither received nor admitted to be read. Other orders were issued for his attendance, to which he paid no regard. At length, a few days before the recess at Easter, the house hit upon an expedient to get rid of this business, such as fully proved the deep dilemma into which it was plunged; they issued an order, that he should attend on the 8th of April, and then adjourned to the 9th. So much had the dignity and importance of the house of commons, from whence these proceedings originated, been lost in the contest!

Such members as had at the first opposed these measures, did not fail to utter the most mortifying reproaches against so ignominious a conclusion of this unfortunate business. They said, every exertion the house had made, in defence of their privileges, had only tended to lower the estimation in which their power was held by the world. Their commands were not obeyed, nor their punishments dreaded; for the people having converted them into marks of honour, they must be considered as conferring a reward. The majority in the house not only felt, but acknowledged the propriety of these remarks; but they were desirous of taking some measures, by which these consequences might be avoided, and the power and privileges of the house of commons be established on a respectable basis. Accordingly a special committee was chosen, by ballot, for asserting and

maintaining their dignity. The result of such an appointment excited great expectations in the public, and nothing short of expulsion and disqualification was expected to fall on the imprisoned members, while the punishment that awaited Mr. Wilkes was more doubtfully augured. After the committee had sat a considerable time, they reported to the house the various cases which appeared upon the journals, in which that house had exercised the power of apprehension and imprisonment, and concluded with recommending to the house, that J. Miller should be taken into custody; which measure, however, the house did not think fit to adopt, and this long-protracted and disgraceful contest was finally given up. Not but many able speakers laboured to bring the house to exercise the power of which it was possessed, of expelling its refractory members; and as it was an offence committed immediately against that legislative body, they urged the greater propriety of expulsion, in this case, even than in the late expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, who at that time had not filled up the measure of his iniquity, by adding contempt of parliament to his other crimes; but the ministry were unwilling to make so bold a use of the precedent so very lately established; it appeared to many to be extremely doubtful, whether it would be in the power of government to make head against the clamour and discontent such a proceeding would excite; and, as the least of two evils, the house of commons was left to bear its disgrace, rather than the nation should be plunged into a state of anarchy.

The newspapers from henceforth threw off all restraint, and in the course of the next session, the daily proceedings of parliament were circumstantially related in the prints of the next morning; and whether the sentiments and expressions of each member were fairly given, or grossly perverted, depended on the capacity or humour of the writer, for the house no longer fulminated its maledictions against traducers.

Towards the close of the session, a bill was brought in, to enable the East India company to raise and support a military force, for the defence and protection of their settlements. That body was to be empowered to raise 2000 men, who were to be paid by the company, but the officers were to be appointed by the crown. This force was to be composed of 600 German protestants, 700 Irish catholics, and 700 were to be raised in England. These troops were to be subject to the military laws, during their continuance in England, and 1400 of them were to be annually sent to the East Indies. It farther empowered the company's officers to recruit, by beat of drum, in the manner practised by the regular troops.

Among the numerous instances of the departure of governments and inferior communities from those principles, upon which they were at first formed, the transformation of a body of merchants into sovereigns, virtually possessing a large, rich, and populous kingdom, is the most singular and remarkable. Fourteen years had not elapsed, since their principal settlement in Bengal became subject to a barbarous enemy, and their governor, council, and chief officers were driven, like a herd of cattle, into a noisome dungeon, miserably to perish. It then hung nicely suspended in the scales of fate, whether the company should possess a foot of land in those very territories, over which, in less than a twelvemonth afterwards, they gained a controlling power.

The possession of the territorial revenues of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, had opened such inviting prospects to ambitious and rapacious men, that the original mode, of carrying on a beneficial traffic with the natives, by conciliating their good will and confidence, was entirely lost in an intemperate rage for conquest, and establishing the power of the sword, in violation of justice and humanity. The representations which the company's servants made, of the state of affairs there, appeared to be so congenial to the interests of the proprietary, that the revenues of the country became an object as eagerly sought after as its manufactures; and as grants extorted by force of arms, must be held by the same means, a continual supply of fresh troops from Europe became necessary, the climate being much more fatal to the common men, than the enemies against whom they were led.

The application which the company now made to parliament, was supported by the weight of government. The imports of the country brought large sums directly into the exchequer; and the Asiatic wealth which

centered in the nation, greatly increased every branch of the public revenue, in the course of its circulation; and what government, now subsisting, would sacrifice such important objects of finance, for the preservation of public virtue, and the honour of the national character?

Many weighty objections, however, were made to this bill; that it was unconstitutional to keep an armed power in the kingdom, which was independent of parliament for its pay; that the introduction of foreign troops was contrary to the act of settlement; and that it was highly dangerous to establish such a precedent. The replies made to these objections were chiefly directed to shew the expediency of the measure, in order to remove the inconveniencies the company laboured under. It was observed, that a greater number of men was sent off every year, and that was provided for by this act; but many were obtained in an indirect and unwarrantable manner; such were the arts practised by the kidnappers, and the compulsions used in lock-up houses, and that it was with a view of rendering these means of recruiting unnecessary, that the present plan was formed. Indeed the idea of procuring German soldiers was, after some time, abandoned, and many restrictions, as to the regulation of the troops while in England, were proposed; but after the bill had been twice read, and a great majority each time procured for it, it was thrown out on the third reading. The parliament rose on the 8th of May.

The death of lord Halifax, which happened soon after the rising of parliament, occasioned some alterations in the arrangement of the great offices of state. The earl of Suffolk was appointed secretary for the northern department, and the duke of Gordon succeeded lord Suffolk in the privy-seal.

CHAPTER XXI.

GEORGE III.

[1772.]

Seamen voted—Petition of the Clergy to be relieved from subscription to the thirty-nine Articles—Royal Marriage Bill—Lord Clive's defence of his Conduct—Bill for the Relief of Protestant Dissenters—Lord North's Financial Schemes—The Question respecting the Middlesex Election decided in the King's Bench—Changes in Various Departments—Sudden Failures in London, and their Consequences.

As little public business was likely to employ the two houses, parliament did not meet until the 21st of January 1772. The strength of the ministry was soon found to be increased by several members, who had, on former occasions, distinguished themselves by opposing the measures of administration, who were now induced to change their sentiments, and give their entire support to government. A state of public tranquillity imparts stability to a minister; and, as it frees him from those restraints which opposing sentiments create, it yields scope for the exercise of his talents, and the application

of them to the general interests of the state.

TWENTY-FIVE thousand seamen were voted for the service of the current year; and, although it was objected, that so large a number, in time of peace, would add half a million to the public burden, it was carried without a division. Sound policy dictates, that our grand national security should be assiduously attended to, even in the most quiet times; but sailors upon paper are destructive means of peculation. A great reform in the guard-ships was promised; the conduct with respect to them was declared to have been so shameful, that for many years back they had been considered merely as jobs; and, it was said, that at the time of the late expected war, there were neither ships nor men fit for service; but that things were now so much altered for the better, that twenty of the best ships in the navy were kept upon that duty, and were in such complete condition, and so nearly manned, that a slight press would at any time enable them in a few days to proceed to sea; that the rest of the fleet was also in good condition, and that, in about a year, we should have near eighty ships of the line fit for service, besides those that were upon foreign duty.

THE halcyon days of peace, with which the nation was now blessed, afforded a favourable opportunity for introducing reformation in the state, and modelling legal establishments in conformity to the changes of times, and the fuller discovery of truth which had been made through a succession of ages. A petition was therefore presented to the house of commons, by sir William Meredith, signed by a great number of the clergy of the church of England, and members of the profession of civil law and physic, praying relief from the subscription to the thirty-nine articles of faith.

THIS petition stated it to be one of the greatest principles of the protestant religion, that every thing necessary to salvation is fully and sufficiently contained in the holy scriptures; that the petitioners have an inherent right, which they hold from God only, to make a full and free use of their private judgment, in the interpretation of those scriptures; that, though these were the liberal and original principles of the church of England, and upon which the reformation from popery was founded, they had been deviated from, in the laws relative to subscription, by which they are deprived of their invaluable rights and privileges, and required to acknowledge certain articles, and confessions of faith and doctrine, drawn up by fallible men, to be all and every of them agreeable to the scriptures.

SUCH subscriptions were farther represented as a great hindrance to the spreading of true religion, as they discouraged free enquiries into the real sense of the sacred writings, tended to divide communions, and to cause mutual dislike among fellow-protestants. That the diversity of opinions, held upon many of these articles, occasioned great animosity and ill-will among the established clergy; that they afforded an opportunity to unbelievers to charge them with prevarication, and with being guided by interested and political views, in subscribing to articles which they could not believe, and about which no two were agreed in opinion; and that they afforded a handle to papists, to reproach them with their inconsistency, by departing from the principles on which they had grounded their separation from them, and now admitting of human ordinances, and doubtful and precarious doctrines, though they pretended that the scripture alone was certain and sufficient to salvation.

THE two professions of civil law and physic, complained of the hardships they suffered, at one of the universities particularly, where they were obliged, at their first admission, or matriculation, and at an age so immature for disquisitions and decisions of such moment, to subscribe their unfeigned assent to a variety of theological propositions, in order to be able to attain academical degrees in their respective faculties; and that their private opinions upon those subjects can be of no consequence to the public, as the course of their studies, and the attention to their practice neither afford them the means nor the leisure to examine into the propriety or nature of such propositions. They also lamented the misfortune of their sons, who, at an age before the habit of reflection can be formed, or their judgment matured, may be irrecoverably bound down, in points of the highest consequence, to the opinions and tenets of ages less informed than their own.

SIR William Meredith, after having brought

up the petition, said, that the prayer of it was of such importance, as highly merited the most serious consideration; that it was repugnant to that liberality of sentiment, which happily prevailed in the present age, to oblige people to subscribe to the truth of articles which they could not believe; that such injunctions tended to establish, under a religious authority, habits of prevarication and irreligion; and were productive of great licentiousness in the church, and had a farther tendency to destroy Christian charity. The removal of these unworthy shackles, he affirmed, would give a firmness of strength to the established church of England, which nothing could shake; nor could any danger rise from such a reformation, whilst the hierarchy and the bishops existed.

Sir Roger Newdigate was the great champion of the high church party upon this occasion. He considered the petition as a prayer to put an end to the very being of the church of England, as he knew not where to find it, as a national church, but in its thirty-nine articles and book of common prayer. He understood, he said, that the greater number of those who had signed the petition were clergymen, who must therefore have subscribed these exceptionable articles, so that however tender their consciences are at present, they could quiet them in that instance. It was such tender consciences that subverted the church of England in the last century, and he foretold, that similar consequences would now ensue, if the house granted the indulgence prayed for. The house had no power to dispense with oaths; nothing could relieve those who had already subscribed. He maintained, that the house could not receive the petition, for to comply with it would be a direct breach of the articles of union, by which England and Scotland are now knit together. Our king, as third part of the state, is bound by oath never to admit any alteration, either in the liturgy or in the articles.

Mr. Hans Stanley spoke next, with much more moderation, though totally against the petition. He expressed himself desirous of shewing all due respect to so serious a subject; but he perceived a sort of contradiction in the petition, which rendered it an unfit subject of future deliberation for the house. Indeed, to alter the religion of a country was not entirely a new proposition; it had been done here in the reign of Edward VI. If a change of religion takes place in the governing powers, it authorises such an alteration; but he observed, that there was a seeming contradiction in the inferior number coming to the majority, to solicit a material alteration in religion. He had heard it pretty generally said, that it was the original intention of the subscribers to object to certain articles of the thirty-nine, and to certain parts of the litany; but not being able to agree among themselves, upon the particular parts to be expunged, they had brought the house, as well as themselves, into a very embarrassed situation. These gentlemen apply to become members of an ecclesiastical community, namely, the church of England; and, in the same breath, they desire the foundation, on which that constitution is built, to be removed.

He declared himself as warm a friend to toleration as any one within those walls, but he considered toleration as a relative term, signifying a community which had a national church, and tolerated inferior sects. Every one should certainly believe and profess that, which, in his own mind, appears best and most acceptable to the Supreme Being; but these petitioners, he said, seemed to wear the garb of private sectaries. If they have a mind, under a sanction of toleration, to teach what they please, allow them so to do, but let them not, under the garb of the church of England, teach such doctrines. Such a conduct would be absurd, if it was followed by any particular sect; how much more so to be adopted by the established church! No reformer, he insisted, whose name has been transmitted down to us, with any honour and approbation ever formed so wild an idea, as that of putting all religious creeds upon a level.

The first question is, Do you believe the holy scripture? The second is, In what sense do you understand them? If all the founders of religious systems, said he, were alive at the same time, I am persuaded that they could compose as numerous an army, as that with which Alexander subdued the Persian empire, yet every one of them would derive his tenets from the scriptures; but the wisdom of all countries has rather chosen to trust to explanations, derived from the mature labour and consideration of a venerable and pious hierarchy, than to the crude fancies

and notions of every assuming dogmatiser, who desires to make himself famous for the singularity of his sentiments; on this account, systems and creeds have prevailed all over Christendom. Where is the great hardship to persons, who, from scruples of their own, (which they may be very much in the right to indulge, if they are sincere,) for them to take to other virtuous employments, if they cannot accept of church preferments on the terms upon which they are now to be taken? At the same time, it is allowed, that there might be many hard cases; but where are the general laws that can guard against inconveniencies to individuals?

He concluded with saying, that he thought the peace of mankind a fortieth article, which he valued and prized as much as the whole thirty-nine; and though there have been many disputes about the civil administration of this country, yet respecting its ecclesiastical affairs, we have, since the accession of the house of Hanover, enjoyed more peace than any other age or any other country can boast; he therefore begged the house to consider, how far it might be prudent to agitate this matter, and how far the corrosives of religious controversy, thrown in, when other heats have prevailed too much, may be likely to produce fatal consequences. It is inconsistent, it is dangerous, to bring such a business before parliament; for though a free country may alter any law, (for law is the creature of the legislature, and can be altered,) yet there are laws so fundamental, that they cannot be altered, without shaking the basis of the state.

Mr. Weddirburn, (solicitor-general) was also of opinion, that to subscribe a belief of some certain articles of faith was necessary for the clergy in any establishment; the church of Geneva, one of the most liberal establishments in Europe, he said, imposed such forms on their clergy; the objection to granting the petition, because it would violate the act of union, he, however, shewed to be ill-founded, as it had been in that sense violated, both with respect to England and Scotland, the legislature having exerted a power of altering church government since the union, by the act against occasional conformity in England, and that which destroyed elective patronages in Scotland, by the latter of which the people at large were deprived of the power of electing their pastors.

It was observed by Mr. Burke, that the church subsisted before the thirty-nine articles were framed, and consequently the thirty-nine articles could not be essential to the existence of the church of England; the articles of the church at first consisted of forty-two; why then might they not be farther reduced, as good sense and liberal sentiments gained ground? But what, says he, are we to understand by the holy scriptures, which these gentlemen desire to make a profession of their belief in? This appears to be a very indeterminate idea. The Romish canon admits of the books of the Apocrypha; the canon of Luther excludes some parts of the Pentateuch, and the whole epistle to the Hebrews; and some antient fathers have rejected the book of Revelation. Mankind are as likely to be of one mind on this point, as on any other.

Sir George Saville observed, that we, protestants, derive that appellation from the first adherents to those principles which we profess, having protested against forms prescribed by human authority; and shall we maintain the necessity of prescribing modes of faith, when our principles reject the idea of any such power belonging to human beings?

Mr. Thomas Pitt represented the hard case of the clergy, compelled by the constitution to give a formal assent to points of faith which they cannot possibly believe; and asked, what would that house, or any honest man say, if a judge, who by his oath is bound to administer justice conformably to the law of the land, should be obliged, at the same time, to interpret that law plainly contrary to its true spirit and meaning?

The house in general seemed to be of opinion, that the professors of law and physic being bound in matter of subscription, was of small concernment to the public; but it was expressed as a wish, on all sides of the house, that the universities would grant them relief in that respect, as well as to young students at the time of matriculation.

Lord George Germain insisted on its being a heavy grievance, for a youth at college to be required to sign his assent to, or belief of, the thirty-nine articles, earlier than the age of

sixteen, when it was not to be supposed that he could understand them, or had formed any sentiments about them. A considerable time before, the meaning of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy was thought likely to be intelligible, and consequently was not administered. He informed the house, that the university of Cambridge had been applied to for a repeal of this statute; the practice being founded on a bye-law of their community, might be laid aside at pleasure; but notwithstanding the power being vested in them, they evaded compliance with the request, pleading that, as a standing rule, they ought not to dispense with it.

The same speaker undertook to defend the character of the petitioners, from the imputation which had been thrown out against them, that they renounced their principles, when, by subscribing the articles, they accepted of church benefices. He said, he lived in a county where many of the neighbouring clergy had signed the petition, whom he knew to be worthy, conscientious, and pious men; many had assented to the articles, with that forced construction which was put upon them by those who could not believe the truth of some of them. The sentiments which many entertained at the time when they gave their assent to those articles, had been by farther reflection changed, and their conscientious scruples, being awakened, by such a different view of things, rendered the step they were now taking highly laudable, and acquitted them of all imputation of dissimulation in their former conformity.

Mr. Soame Jenyns, in behalf of the university of Cambridge, said, that the practice of enjoining a subscription to the thirty-nine articles, being founded on a royal statute, ordained at the instance of king James I. the university did not consider itself at liberty to annul it.

Towards the close of the debate, lord North delivered his sentiments on the question; he said, when he came down to the house, he hoped to have seen nothing in the petition, to prevent him from recommending that it should be laid upon the table, meaning to oppose every attempt to go farther. Hereby designing to pay a compliment to the petitioners, out of respect to the principle upon which the petition was grounded, and then to move, that the farther consideration of it might be put off for six months; but in the course of the debate he said, a stronger objection had arisen in his mind against bringing it up, and which outweighed every respect which he wished to have paid to the importance of the subject, for he thought it repugnant to the act of union, and if such indulgencies should be granted, there would, after that time, be nothing that could exclude a man from the church of England, but popery; and he was convinced, that to make any innovations in the forms now prescribed to the clergy of the established church, would occasion such contentions in the nations, that neither poppy nor mandragara could ever medicine it to its former repose.

Mr. Dunning replied to this, that he never knew till then, that it was a principle of sound policy to narrow the means of access to emoluments; and he had always thought, that every good subject ought to be considered as entitled to a proportiona' chance for obtaining posts of profit and honour. In the course of the debate, he said, he had remarked, that the same premises had led different members to very opposite conclusions; one member observed, that our reformation from popery was affected by the spirit which this petition was designed to promote; and another member asserted, that the granting this petition had a direct tendency to bring us back to popery. He could not foresee that the quiet of the nation would be endangered by granting the prayer of the petition; but if the repose now enjoyed partook at all of that torpid state of insensibility, which his lordship's mandragara had diffused through that house, he should wish to see it broke in upon as soon as possible; for it was an alarming symptom, which, instead of betokening health, was the forerunner of destruction. The debates were continued till after midnight, when, on a division, there appeared for receiving the petition 71, against receiving it 217. The petitioners, by aiming at too much, lost every thing; had nothing farther been asked, than an exemption from subscription to some of the articles, such a request might probably have been attended to. The importance of this discussion has led me to be circumstantial in the relation of it. The debates are given from minutes which were

taken in the house at the time, and were never printed.

The marriages of the two royal brothers, which had taken place during the summer, occasioned messages to be delivered from his majesty to both houses of parliament, in which he observed, that "being desirous, from paternal affection to his own family, and anxious concern for the future welfare of his people, and the honour and dignity of his crown, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family, which ever has belonged to the kings of this realm, as a matter of public concern, may be made effectual, recommends to both houses, to take into their serious consideration, whether it may not be wise and expedient to supply the defects of the laws now in being; and, by some new provision, more effectually to guard the descendants of his late majesty, other than the issue of princesses who have married, or may hereafter marry, into foreign families, from marrying without the approbation of his majesty, his heirs, and successors, first had and obtained.

In compliance with this message, a bill was brought into the house of lords, which discovered the fullest disposition in that house to gratify every wish of his majesty in that respect. It acknowledged the legality of the powers claimed by the crown in the message, and enacted, that all marriages, entered into by any descendants of king George II., except only such as were particularly excepted in the message, without the previous consent of the king, or his successors on the throne, signified under the great seal, and declared in council, should be null and void. But if such descendants, having attained the age of twenty-five years, shall persist in his or her resolution to contract a marriage, disapproved of by the reigning prince; then, upon giving the privy-council twelve months previous notice of their design, they may, after the expiration of that term, enter into marriage with the person before proposed and rejected, without the royal consent; unless both houses of parliament shall, within that time, expressly declare their disapprobation of it; and whoever shall knowingly solemnize a marriage by this act forbidden, or assist at the celebration of such unlawful marriage, or any such matrimonial contract, on being duly convicted thereof, are declared to incur the pains and penalties ordained in the statute of provision and præmunire, made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard II.

The judges, having been consulted when the business was first brought into the house, declared it to be their opinion, that the care and the approbation of the marriages of the children and grand-children of the king, and the presumptive heir to the crown, (other than the issue of foreign families,) do belong to the kings of this realm; but to what other branch of the royal family such care and approbation do extend, they do not find precisely determined.

This bill met with great opposition in both houses; but notwithstanding every clause was strongly objected to, and a division of the house was called for on every part, yet it was carried through the house of lords in less than a fortnight; the numbers for the bill being 90, against it 26. It produced, however, two protests, one of which was signed by fourteen peers. The bill was therein reprobated, for the following reasons. The maxim laid down in the preamble, that because marriages of the royal family are of the highest importance to the state, they are therefore entrusted to the kings of this realm, is founded on a doctrine absurd and unconstitutional, but which hereafter will have the force of a parliamentary declaration of the law, the immediate tendency of which is to create as many prerogatives in the crown as there are matters of importance in the state; and, indeed, to extend them in a manner as vague and exceptionable as had ever been done, in the worst and most despotic period in the history of this nation; and they apprehended that some future, and even more dangerous use may be made of this preamble, as it is more extensive than is necessary for any purpose avowed in the bill; and this declaratory preamble is used, notwithstanding nine of the judges, in their unanimous opinion, delivered to the house of lords, do not find any authority in support of the prerogative, in that extent in which it is assumed. The descendants of George II. in course of time may become very numerous, and it is conceived to be an intolerable grievance, that the marriage of so many subjects, perhaps dispersed among the various ranks of civil life, should be subject to the restrictions of this act; the extensive power

of which may, in time, render the first families in the kingdom totally dependent on the crown.

The age of twenty-one years appears to be the limit which the laws of this country, and the spirit of the constitution, have, with great wisdom, given to minority. It seems indecent to the royal family, to suppose they will not arrive at the age of discretion as soon as the lowest subject of the realm; and why may they not be as capable of choosing a wife at the age of twenty-one years, as of being entrusted with the regency of the kingdom, of which, by the law, they are at that age capable? Besides, the deferring their age of minority, as to marriage, till twenty-six, is impolitic and dangerous, as it may tend to drive them into a disorderly course of life, which ought the more to be guarded against in men of high rank, as the influence of their example is the most forcible and extensive.

The right of conferring a discretionary power, of prohibiting all marriages, was asserted, in the same protest, to be above the reach of any legislature, because contrary to the original inherent rights of human nature; which, as they are not derived from, or held under civil laws, by no civil laws whatever can be taken away; for though the legislature has a power of prescribing rules to marriage, as well as to every other species of contract, yet there is an essential difference between regulating the mode in which a right may be enjoyed, and establishing a principle which may tend entirely to annihilate that right. To disable a man, during his whole life, from contracting marriage, or what is tantamount, to make his power of contracting such marriage dependant neither on his own choice, nor upon any fixed rule of law, but on the arbitrary will of any man, or set of men, is exceeding the power permitted by the Divine Providence to human legislatures; it is directly against the earliest command given by God to mankind, contrary to the right of domestic society and comfort, and to the desire of lawful posterity, the first and best of the instincts planted in us by the Author of our nature, and utterly incompatible with all religion, natural and revealed, a mere act of power, having neither the nature nor obligation of law. This protest concluded with saying, "we cannot, therefore, on the whole, avoid expressing our strong disapprobation of an act, which shakes so many of the foundations of the law, religion, and public security, for ends wholly disproportioned to such extraordinary efforts, and in favour of regulations so ill-calculated to answer the purposes for which they are made; and we make this protest, that it may stand recorded to that posterity, which may suffer from the mischievous consequences of this act, that we have no part in the confusion and calamities brought upon them."

Another protest, which chiefly objected to the bill as a violation of the natural rights of mankind, and contrary to every principle of religion and humanity, was signed by six other peers, viz. Temple, Radnor, Clifton, Lyttleton, Abingdon, and Craven. The opposition of the bill was yet stronger in the house of commons. The preamble to the act was much objected to, as acknowledging and confirming the prerogative of the crown asserted in the message. A motion was made to omit that declaratory clause, when, after a very long debate, the motion was rejected by a majority of 36 only, when the house consisted of 364 members.

A motion was then made to insert a clause, "That the act should continue in force during the reign of his present majesty, and three years after his demise, but no longer;" but it was rejected by a majority of 18 only. Sir Joseph Manby remarked, that the title of the bill was not sufficiently expressive; to remedy which, he proposed that it should run, "An act" for enlarging and extending the prerogatives of the crown, and for the encouragement of adultery and fornication, under pretence of "regulating the marriages of the royal family." The bill continued for three weeks to engage the attention of the house, but was then passed, without any material alteration, by a majority of 50.

Mr. Sullivan, deputy chairman to the East India company, made a motion in the house of commons, March 30th, for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the company's servants and concerns in India; the object of which bill was, to establish a great variety of new and important regulations in those remote territories. It aimed at restraining the governor and council of Bengal from all concerns in trade, went entirely to change the court of judicature, and the manner of

administering justice there, and gave the court of directors a fuller control over their servants. This drew from lord Clive a long and laboured defence of his conduct, during his last expedition to India. He declared, that the sole motive which led him to expose his feeble constitution, broken as it was, in the service of the company, to the sultry climate of Hindostan, and to the fatigues and dangers of war, was, a desire of doing essential service to the company, under whose auspices he had acquired his fortune and his fame. That, instead of increasing his fortune, he was several thousands poorer thereby. He had been charged with establishing a most destructive monopoly of salt, beetle-net, tobacco, and other commodities in Bengal, which was a principal cause of dreadful famine and sickness, which prevailed there, and swept away some millions of the inhabitants. In speaking to this charge, he confined himself to the duties laid upon salt; which, according to the population which he reckoned to be in the country, and the proportion each individual paid towards the tax, furnished data to calculate the yearly produce, which appears to have been the enormous sum of £437,500 sterling. The reason he assigned for these imposts was, that the company's servants might receive an equivalent for the deductions made from their incomes, by the directors having absolutely forbidden the receiving of presents, and being deprived of a lucrative trade in salt. He acknowledged to have received 5-56ths share, which yielded him £32,000, which sum he distributed among his secretary, surgeon, and another gentleman, together with £5000 more. The establishing of a new gold currency in Bengal, during his lordship's presidency, had been represented as a measure calculated to enrich those concerned, to the great loss and injury of the province, as well as of the company. He exculpated himself by saying, that he knew nothing of the mixture of metals, and solemnly declared, that he reaped not a shilling profit by the coinage. He charged the directors very roundly with having, either through obstinacy or ignorance, deranged and frustrated the best concerted plans of regulation in Bengal. He attributed the unlooked-for embarrassments of the company's affairs to four causes: a negligence in administration; the misconduct of the directors; the outrageous behaviour of general courts; and the disobedience of the company's servants in the East Indies. When the business of the company came before parliament some years before, the object, he said, was not how to secure so beneficial a trade, and so great an empire, for a perpetuity, but to make an immediate dividend of £400,000 to the public, and £200,000 to the proprietary. The directors suddenly stopped prosecutions, restored the suspended, and undid every thing that had been done; and yet, by the bill which was then moved for, they were willing to disable themselves from ever withdrawing prosecutions for the future. They had erred likewise in being so eager to secure their annual election; the first half of the year, he said, has been consumed in freeing themselves from the obligations contracted by their last election; and the second half has been wasted in incurring new obligations, and forming an interest among the proprietors; but, in spite of all these manœuvres, the direction has been so fluctuating and unsettled, that fresh and contradictory orders have been sent out with every fleet; had they been less fickle and absurd, their concerns would have been much more consistently and uniformly managed. The malversation of their servants may justly be charged upon the fluctuation of their own councils; had they not concurred in restoring suspended and persecuted men, the governor and council would never have deliberated whether they should obey, or not, the orders of the direction. Fundamental principles being thus overturned, the whole system tumbles to the ground.

His lordship stated, that the clear net revenue of Bengal, for 1771, amounted to no more than £171,000, whilst the claim of government was £400,000. During his presidency, the largest net sum was brought into the treasury. The expences of the military establishment, as it is called, since that period, has gradually increased, until it rose to the present enormous sum of £1,800,000 per annum; the company's servants having found out the way of making fortunes, by charging exorbitantly in all contracts for furnishing the troops with provisions and other necessaries. Hence the revenue falls short, though the sum levied amounts to little less than four millions. The temptations to amass wealth, by indirect means, he said,

were so great, that flesh and blood could not withstand them. He concluded with observing, that Bengal was the brightest jewel in the British crown.

Governor Johnstone replied to lord Clive's defence, in which he very ably arraigned his lordship's conduct, exposing the flimsiness and futility of the arguments brought in defence of it. He stated, that the highest duties that ever were collected on salt in Bengal were £72,000 a-year; the general medium was £40,000. The whole had been farmed for £32,000 a-year. The company, he insinuated, lost £300,000 in the progress of the frauds, as he called them, in the coinage. He did not mean, he said, to impeach his lordship's veracity, but he always understood, that the president had a certain per centage on all coinage; no doubt, as his lordship had said it, he made no profit of the great opportunity that occurred, but that he left that likewise to his friends; yet he could hardly admit, after such recent instances of his abilities, that he was so entirely ignorant of the mixture of metals, as his modesty would incline the house to believe. Do not all men know, continued he, that the purity of coin is a principal consideration in government, and that it is of the most dangerous consequence to tamper with it by any fraudulent mixtures? He asked, if his lordship could deny, that money was coined with 30 per cent. alloy? He objected to the bill before the house, and said, the British legislature should not move in the affairs of Asia, unless it acted with dignity and effect.

The bill was read a second time, and then laid by. The season was too far advanced for a business of that magnitude, and so complicated in its nature, to be properly discussed. A sensible and well-informed writer says, it seems pretty evident, that administration had no serious intention of entering deeply into that matter for the present, and that the subsequent movements, during the remainder of the session, were only intended to keep it alive, and to make, or find, some openings for that great revolution which it has since established in the affairs of the company. It was perhaps farther necessary, that this business should be so far entered into, as that the company should continue entangled in the hands of the parliament during the recess. However this may be, it is more than probable that no part of this plan was understood by the gentlemen who were the immediate actors in bringing the affairs of the company under consideration, and that they were actuated by very different motives.

So much light had been thrown on the transactions in India, and the conduct of the East India company's servants there, that the expediency of setting on foot a strict enquiry into the abuses of power, which had been long practised with impunity, was very evident, as well as that some salutary and effectual regulations should be adopted for the future prevention of those evils. Many were led to infer, from the facts which had come to light, how unequal a company of merchants were to the superintendance of such vast concerns of a civil nature, in which the lives and fortunes of millions of people were involved; and that the government of such opulent and extensive dominions should be subordinate to the superintendance and control of the state.

At length, a select committee, consisting of thirty-one members, was chosen by ballot, to enquire into the nature and state of the East India company, and the affairs in the East Indies. The objects of their enquiries were so various and extensive, that, before the rising of parliament, they applied for leave to sit during the recess.

While Mr. Sullivan's bill was before the house, a motion was made by sir Henry Haughton, for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of protestant dissenters, with respect to subscription to articles of faith. This attempt to gain an exemption from human imposition in matters of belief, was suggested by the favourable disposition which many members of the house of commons shewed, in the course of the debates on the clerical petition, to dissenting ministers, who were compellable by law, under heavy penalties, to subscribe to the doctrinal articles of a church, to which they did not belong, and from which they could derive no advantages, either in promotion or emolument.

By the act of toleration, which was passed immediately after the revolution, the free exercise of religious worship was allowed to such protestants as dissented from the establishment of the church of England, and their principles were allowed to be taught in private schools, on condition that such ministers and

schoolmasters subscribed, before a justice of peace, to the doctrinal parts of the thirty-nine articles, a non-compliance with which exposed them to heavy pains and penalties, if they officiated either as pastors or tutors. So that, in fact, the liberty hereby granted reached only to such as adhered to the doctrines taught by Calvin, and who were, on that account, called Calvinists, which was almost the universal persuasion at that time; but, in the course of almost a century, great changes have taken place in the sentiments of protestants of all denominations, and as the principles of dissenters allow a greater latitude of opinion, and lead them more directly to free enquiries into the doctrines derived from scripture, such changes of sentiment were more likely to spread among them, than in the established church, whose tenets carry with them a prescriptive right to our assent. It is true, the penalties enacted against such dissenters, as did not subscribe in the manner enjoined, were not inflicted; but the same candour and moderation, which suffered them to become absolute, dictated their total repeal. The bill was carried through the house of commons by a great majority; but, upon a second reading in the house of lords, it was thrown out by 102 lords, including proxies, against 29.

On the 1st of May, lord North entered on the business of ways and means, for raising the supplies for the services, which had been voted early in the session, by opening his budget. The grants which had been made were calculated to amount to £5,886,253, and a million and a half 3 per cent. consolidated bank annuities, and South sea annuities, were paid off at £90, with a douceur of four lottery tickets, at £12 10*s.* each, for every £100 stock subscribed. The land-tax was brought back to 3*s.* in the pound; exchequer bills were continued to the usual amount; the East India company's annual payment was brought in aid, and the produce of the sinking fund was anticipated from the 5th of April, 1772, in the sum of £1,856,723.

His lordship, on this occasion, spoke with great exultation of the state of the kingdom, and the happy prospect which presented itself of a long continuance of peace; the probability of that happy event, he said, was greater than he had known it in his time; and should it continue for ten years, the expectation of which was no ways chimerical, seventeen millions of the national debt might be discharged, by pursuing the plan which had then been laid before the house. The diminution of the annual interest, payable on the national debt, arising from these regulations in the finances, would raise the income of the sinking fund, so as that, in conjunction with the ordinary taxes upon land, malt, and so forth, to make the yearly revenue amount to seven million. If, when arrived at that point, the nation should be forced into a war, it is not likely to cost us such enormous sums as when we stood single against France and Spain, and at the same time protected two sovereigns. If, said his lordship, we embark no farther in expences, than we did in wars preceding the last, our yearly disbursements would be, at an average, about seven millions, so that we shall be enabled to maintain such a war, without any additional taxes. We do not, said he, stand in need of any conquests, our dominions are at least as extensive as we could wish, and their improvement, not their extension, should be our chief aim. This opens to us a prospect, at least, of gradually reducing the national debt; a step, which will necessarily raise our credit and consequence in Europe, and terrify our enemies into pacific measures.

With this flattering picture, the house in general were extremely well pleased. In a time of profound peace, the national debt engages no one's attention, but a few speculating politicians, who look farther than the present moment. No stock holder wishes to receive his principal, but upon such terms of advantage, that he may replace his money in the public funds, at several per cent. profit. The terms on which this redemption was made, were lucrative beyond example; and the minister did not labour to conceal his opinion, that some persons might be more fortunate than others in an early subscription; but no one could set his name for more than £10,000 stock.

The house seemed wrapped in the contemplation of the permanent prosperity of the nation; and although nothing more erroneous than the general doctrine laid down, was ever delivered by a first lord of the treasury, yet the objections started were confined to the mode of discharging the million and a half. Besides the unnecessary profit which

was allowed the stock holder, the blending indiscriminately two stocks, which statedly and invariably preserved a difference of 2 per cent. in their market price, was censured as highly injudicious. It was observed, that it was a maxim with administration to increase our expences according to the increase of our income. The minister was asked, if he would not, in the course of ten years, talk of new establishments, or payments of civil list arrears?

It is worthy of remark, on what slight foundation the salutary effects of a ten years' peace were built. The revenue, during the preceding year, had not increased, but had rather fallen off; the condition of the East India company, which the house was in possession of only a week or two before the vaunt was made, afforded the strongest reasons for apprehending that they were in no condition to make good their stipulated annual payment in future; and without it, although the land-tax seemed fixed, in perpetuity, at three shillings in the pound, during peace, a rate unprecedented in former times, the ordinary revenue would be quite inadequate to the objects proposed.

But supposing a coincidence of fortunate events, to realize the calculations of the minister, and we should not have been forced into a war, until the yearly revenue amounted to seven millions, with what shadow of reason could even such an income be supposed equal to the expences which would then be incurred? At the commencement of the war which king William waged with Lewis XIV., the charges were defrayed by supplies, raised and paid within the year; all the loans were supposed to be temporary, and to end with the collection. Too soon, however, the pernicious mode of borrowing on the credit of the supplies was introduced; which created opposite interests between the governors and the governed, and a debt of thirteen millions was incurred during that reign. In the next the national debt was increased twenty-six millions more, in consequence of a war, which continued twelve years. Notwithstanding almost universal peace prevailed for the twenty-seven years which followed the treaty of Utrecht, yet the national debt had, in that space of time, increased six millions; and during three years' war with Spain singly, and five years' war with Spain and France united, thirty-two millions were added to the national incumbrance. So that the wars waged by king William and queen Anne may be said to have been maintained at the expence of about two millions per annum; and the first war in the reign of George II. at four millions per annum. According to the progressive increase of expences, in every department, since committees of enquiry and accounts have been overruled, similar exertions could not be renewed at a less charge to the nation than five millions per annum. How then would a revenue of seven millions be adequate to carrying on the war, when more than four millions was swallowed up every year in a peace establishment? The session of parliament was closed, on the 9th of June, by a speech from the throne.

The dispute concerning the Middlesex election had not subsided, except that sir George Saville, every session, made what he called his annual protest against the decision of the house on that business, which passed without much debate; however, it was now revived, by being investigated in a new mode.

A cause was tried before lord Mansfield, at Westminster-hall, upon an action brought by Mr. Alderman Townsend against the collector of the land-tax, for distraining a large quantity of hay belonging to Mr. Townsend, upon his refusing to pay the assessment of the land-tax, he not being fully represented in parliament, and consequently he considered the tax as an illegal imposition. After the matter of Mr. Wilkes's different expulsions, rejections, and final incapacitation had been stated to the jury by Mr. Serjeant Glynn, and the house of commons seating Mr. Luttrell, although he had the fewest votes, the serjeant told them, if they coincided in opinion with him, that the county of Middlesex was not fully and fairly respresented, they would find for the plaintiff; but if they thought the present house of commons had authority to impose such a tax, the defendant was justified. He then produced the evidence of the poll books, the sheriff's return, &c. to prove that Mr. Wilkes was the legal representative for the county of Middlesex. The attorney-general, who was retained for the defendant, did not appear. Mr. Wallace, who was also retained, made no other reply than by producing the act of parliament, under the

authority of which the collector had acted. Lord Mansfield then told the jury, that the question before them was, in fact, no other than, Whether there was at that time any legislative power in this country? If they acknowledged there was, then they must find for the defendant; and that as to the evidence offered to be produced by the serjeant, it was his opinion, that it was not by law competent, and was inadmissible. The jury, with little or no hesitation, found for the defendant. Mr. Townsend, who was present in court, then declared, that the affair should there end.

On the 14th of August, lord Hillsborough resigned his post of secretary of state for the American colonies, as well as that of first lord of trade, and was succeeded in both by the earl of Dartmouth. Soon after his retiring from these offices, he was advanced to the rank of earl of Great Britain. Lord Dartmouth, in parliament, had voted for the repeal of the stamp-act, and since that event had always opposed the taxation of America. From the advancement of this nobleman, therefore, it was concluded, that a new system of government would take place with respect to the colonies. The earl of Harcourt succeeded lord Townsend in the lieutenantcy of Ireland, when the latter was appointed master-general of the ordnance; on the death of the earl of Albemarle, general Conway obtained the government of the isle of Jersey, when sir Jeffery Amherst succeeded as lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and was afterwards called to the privy-council. Lord Stormont was appointed ambassador-extraordinary at the court of Versailles, in the room of the earl of Harcourt. Mr. Jenkinson was appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, and Mr. Charles Fox a lord of the treasury in his room.

The nation had now enjoyed a nine years' peace; and that active spirit, so prevalent in this country, and characteristic of the people, discovered itself in great and laudable undertakings, which tended to facilitate inland traffic, and to open a ready communication between great trading towns, by means of navigable canals. The commerce with America indeed languished, in consequence of the disagreement which had broke out between this country and these colonies; the beneficial commerce with Portugal was on the decline; the Levant trade too, once so profitable on account of the demand which it caused for our manufactures, as well as for the productions of our West India islands, and on account of the balance which accrued from it, was no longer important. The southern parts of France had for many years availed themselves of the advantage which their situation afforded, and undersold us in all the Turkish ports. But the loss of this trade was now compensated by the great increase of the commerce with Russia, in consequence of the advances made in civilization throughout that extensive empire; and the endeavours used by the empress to introduce, among the higher orders of the state, the arts and manners of the polished kingdoms of Europe. Notwithstanding this circumstance, our foreign trade, taken in the aggregate, was much on the decline; and the balance was against us in many parts of Europe, owing to the great increase of luxury throughout the kingdom; in proof of which, although our gold coin was reduced to a disgraceful state of deficiency, yet considerable quantities were clandestinely exported, particularly by the Jews.

Asia was the quarter of the world, from whence the nation enjoyed an influx of riches. Numbers of those who had acquired fortunes in India, returned every year to their native country; these in general being eager to purchase estates, the value of land rose to a height which it had never before reached; the public and private banks were full of cash; insomuch, that it has been said to have been in the contemplation of government, to reduce the legal rate of interest from five to four per cent., for notwithstanding these appearances of wealth in the nation, the public funds were considerably lower than they had been soon after the peace took place.

This state of the kingdom was very favourable to the enterprise and industry of the manufacturer and merchant, as it facilitated the procurement of money on personal security; but, at the same time, it encouraged a very destructive mode of raising money, by drawing and negotiating bills of exchange, and issuing notes of hand, for which no valuable consideration was given in the first instance; and the ease with which an imaginary capital was thus raised and maintained, occasioned the abuse to be carried to such an excess, as in the end threatened the destruction

of all confidence between man and man. People of no fortune, or even such as were actually insolvent, without having incurred the suspicion of it, were enabled to keep up an appearance of opulence for a time, and to pursue desperate schemes, under the vain expectation of speedily becoming rich. Dissipation and extravagance were at once the causes of such practices, and the effects produced by them. The mass of unthinking men grew unmindful of their expences, because they were enabled to raise present money to defray them; whilst others were driven to such expedients, when profusion had wasted their fortunes. Another practice, which was equally prevalent at the time now spoken of, was hazarding desperate stakes on the fluctuations of the public funds. It is true, that the mischievous practice of stock-jobbing has prevailed almost ever since the creation of a national debt; but the great fluctuation in the price of India stock, about this time, afforded greater scope than usual to the insatiate gamester. Sir G. Colebrooke, an adventurer, whose conduct was neither under the restraints of prudence nor of principle, and who had risen in a few years from the condition of a servant to be a partner and chief manager in a very respectable banking-house, having for some time speculated with success in the alley, and realised a fortune, became intoxicated with his elevation; he rivalled peers, and even East India nabobs, in his profuse mode of living; and, confiding in the supposed superiority of his penetration, made contracts for the delivery of India stock to an immense amount, at a short future day, fully assured of its falling considerably in the intervening time. In this expectation he was however deceived; the stock rose to a great height, and himself and his partners were involved in one sudden ruin. Commercial credit was greatly affected by this failure, especially as it was immediately followed by the ruin of other eminent bankers, and many considerable merchants. The concussion was dreadful; all the airy bubbles of substantial consequence in the trading world, now burst at once. In this state of general distrust and alarm, the bank of England refused to discount all bills; and many men of the most unquestionable property, who had embarked in large concerns, felt all the embarrassments of poverty, being unable to raise immediate money on any kind of security. Many wealthy families were totally ruined by the failure of others. The opulent tradesman was no longer considered as an object of envy by the country gentleman, who now beheld him as deriving all his consequence from precarious and delusive dependencies, while the landholder, although perhaps obliged to live in a manner more circumscribed, held his fortune by too permanent a tenure to be endangered by the indiscretions of others. This violent shock, however, in its consequences, served to place commercial intercourse on a more solid and beneficial basis, by inculcating wholesome caution and prudent reserve.

CHAPTER XXII.

GEORGE III.

[1772, 1773.]

Meeting of Parliament—Embarrassments of the East India Company—Plan for sending out Supervisors—Secret Committee chosen by the House of Commons, to enquire into the state of the Company—Report made by the Chairman—Discussion of the rights which the Company possessed by virtue of their Charter—Bill to restrain the Company from sending out Supervisors—Petitions of the Proprietors of India Stock to the House—Revenue drawn from the Company by Government—Abuses in Bengal—Conduct of Administration towards the Company arraigned—Proceedings of the House of Lords—Protest—Enquiry into the Expedition against the Caribbs—Condition of the Island of St. Vincent at the Peace—Augmentation of the Half-pay of Captains in the Navy—The East India Company apply to Parliament for a Loan—Regulations proposed by Lord North—Reports from the Select Committee—The Company permitted to export their Teas duty free—Remonstrance—Address from the Company to Parliament—Bill for regulating the Company's Affairs, as well in India as in Europe—Charges exhibited against Lord Clive—Reasons which probably operated to defeat the Enquiry—Protest of the Lords against the Bill for regulating the East India Company—The Loan refused on the Conditions prescribed—The Company compelled to accept it—Vast Influence acquired by Government—State of Finance for the Year 1773.

WHILST the commercial part of the nation was shaken by these unexpected events, the parliament was called to meet early in the winter, in consequence of the no less alarming state of the East India company.

1772. NOVEMBER the 26th, his majesty opened the session of parliament by a speech from the throne; in which he told them, that he had called them thus early together, that they might have an opportunity of being fully informed of the true state of the East India company's affairs, and that they might make such provisions, for the common benefit and security of all the various interests concerned, as they shall find best adapted to the exigencies of the case.

THE flattering prospects which the company's servants in Bengal had held out, of the immense wealth which would be derived to the proprietary, from the territorial acquisitions there, had proved no other than vain delusions. The company had accepted bills from India, to the amount of more than a million sterling, which was four times the amount which they had allowed the council to draw for; and, in consequence of the failure of returns from thence, was indebted to the bank for money borrowed, on the revenue of the customs, for duties on goods; and had not a sufficient sum in their treasury to make good their quarterly payment of £100,000 to government.

THE manner in which the company had been set at nought by its servants in India, whilst the most positive orders of the directors were either evaded or utterly disregarded, had led it to send out supervisors in the year 1769. These gentlemen were invested with very extensive powers, by the exercise of which, it was hoped, that a general reform would have been brought about, and a radical cure of these growing evils effected. But the ship, in which they were embarked, was never

heard of after she sailed from the cape of Good Hope, so that the mal-administration in Hindostan continued without restraint or control. The bill which Mr. Sullivan brought in during the last session of parliament, but which the house rejected, aimed at new-modelling entirely the government of Bengal. During the summer, the company had resolved on sending out supervisors to India, and six gentlemen were nominated to that important trust.

When the address, in answer to the king's speech, was moved for in the house of commons, by the honourable Mr. Fitzpatrick, he expatiated on the enormous abuses practised in India, and represented the company as being in a ruinous and desperate condition. Lord North drew a different picture. He said, that from every thing he could learn respecting the state of the company, their embarrassments, though grievous for the present, were not of such a nature as to weaken their stability; that their vast stock of teas, and the merchandize imported from their different settlements, all which were safely deposited at home, besides their property in India, and what were floating on the seas, proved that their present embarrassments were only temporary, and ought not to affect the credit of the company. He then made a motion, that a committee of secrecy, consisting of thirteen persons, should be chosen by ballot; which, after considerable opposition, was adopted by the house.*

This committee was furnished with full powers, and it was laid down to them, as an instruction to take into particular consideration, the measure of sending out a commission of supervisors to any part of our territories in the East Indies. The select committee, which had been chosen the last session, was then revived, more perhaps from a respect to the members who composed it, than from any views which the minister entertained, of accomplishing his purposes by its means.

The chairman of the secret committee reported to the house, on the 7th of December, that the East India company, notwithstanding their acknowledged distresses for want of money, were preparing to send out a commission of supervisors to India, the expence attending which was calculated at £120,000 per annum, which would still add to their distress, and recommended that a bill should be brought in to restrain them, for a limited time, from sending out supervisors; and a bill was brought in accordingly.

All the powers of eloquence, and force of reasoning, were called forth in the discussion of this momentous point. The attorney and solicitor-general contended, that the character of the company did not empower it to appoint supervisors. The malversations which had been so long practised with impunity in the East, were represented as too enormous for any effort of the court of directors to correct; and that the powers which government possessed were alone capable of restoring the inhabitants of Hindostan to the secure enjoyment of liberty and property, curbing rapacity and violence, and directing the revenues of that extensive country into their proper channels. The subject naturally led to the enquiry, whether a company of merchants, acting under a charter, have a right to conquer or retain dominions, and establish civil regulations there, independent of the state to which they belong.

In the progress of this restraining bill through the house, Mr. Sullivan delivered a petition from the East India company against it; in which, with all deference to the wisdom and supreme authority of parliament, they represent the bill as subversive of those rights which they hold under their charter, the privileges of which have been purchased by their predecessors from the public, for a valuable consideration, confirmed by several acts of parliament, the provisions of which the petitioners are not in any degree conscious of having violated.

It then complained, that the report of the secret committee, upon which the bill was to proceed, was erroneous, with respect to the calculation of the expences; and, if their affairs had been examined in a public manner, the petitioners might have had an opportunity of attending to their several interests. The report, which would then have been made, would have been very different from that which has appeared. It then stated, that

* The gentlemen chosen were, Mr. Alderman Harley, chairman, (whose great uncle, the first earl of Oxford, was an arbitrator, chosen to adjust the interests of the two East India companies, when they were united, 1701,) lord Frederic Campbell, lord Palmerstone, Mr. Rigby, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Burrell, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Eames, and Mr. Gilbert.

the expences of the commission was designed to have been defrayed from a part of the savings proposed to be made thereby, so that the creditors of the company could not have been injured in any degree, but must have been, on the contrary, greatly benefited. It suggested the dangerous consequences to the company arising from such a bill, which would prevent them from taking the necessary steps for the arrangement of their affairs, and deprive them of the means of fulfilling their engagements to the public; and concluded with claiming, with all humility, the benefit of the law of the land, and the public faith of the nation, for the free enjoyment and exercise of the rights and powers which they held under their charter, and prayed that they might be heard, by themselves or their counsel, against the bill.

Counsel being hereupon admitted, it was given in evidence at the bar of the house, that government had received, by the net duties and the stipulated £400,000, little less than two millions annually from the company, which, at the same time, had lost a million by the indemnity agreement upon tea, of which £700,000 went to government, and the remainder to the purchasers. The whole of the company's receipts of dividends, during the five last years, scarcely amounted to £900,000 more than 6 per cent. upon its capital, which was the lowest trading dividend that had ever been made, during the most expensive and dangerous war. It appeared upon the whole, that the company's mercantile profits, during the above period, amounted on an average to £464,000 annually, which would have afforded a dividend of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; so that while government profited to the great amount of two millions, the proprietary, instead of reaping any benefit, lost considerably that share of the dividend, which the profit of their trade only, independent of the territorial revenues, would have afforded.

These facts were much insisted on by the counsel, who were heard on the third reading. The abuses in India, particularly at Bengal, were represented with equal precision. In the military establishment there, the annual expence of 30,000 soldiers, not 4000 of whom were Europeans, amounted to above a million. At fort St. George, where an army of 23,000 men was maintained, of which 4400 were Europeans, the annual expence was near £300,000. By putting the Bengal army on a similar footing with that at fort St. George, the expence ought to be very little more than £400,000. If this reform could by any means be brought about, the saving to the company would exceed half a million annually.

The same gradation of profusion was observed in the civil establishment. At Bengal, 171 civil servants annually cost the company £300,000, and at fort St. George 114 civil servants cost only 50,000. These were said to be proper objects of regulation; and it was evident, that great savings, and such as prodigiously exceeded the expences of supervisors, might be made.

Besides the regulations necessary to be introduced into the civil and military establishments, other œconomical plans might be adopted. Great abuses had been committed in making additional fortifications, and building barracks. The whole expence of forts, since 1765, the time when the select committee at Bengal was first instituted, amounted to more than £1,200,000. The natives were likewise grievously oppressed, not only by heavy duties on all the necessaries of life, but by a tax called Malooi, which was levied under pretext of repairing bridges, roads, &c. the produce of which was divided among the committee.

Until the select committee of lord Clive had the direction of affairs, the civil and military expences of the company at Bengal had never exceeded £700,000. The next year, 1766, they came up to £900,000, and so on gradually, till at length, in 1771, they amounted to £1,800,000 sterling. This detail clearly demonstrated, that a commission of able and upright men, vested with just power and authority, might save the company sums, against which the expence of the supervisors would weigh but light in the scale. The counsel contended, that the company claimed a right of managing their own concerns, by the powers vested in them by their charter, and likewise in return for signal services which they had rendered to the nation.

Thus the evidence given in at the bar, and the pleading of counsel, served to establish facts which were not before doubted, namely, the great delinquency of the company's servants; but they did not tend to confirm the belief, that the company was competent to the redress of these abuses, especially as the

select committee at Calcutta, from whence these enormities had sprung, was formed for the purpose of correcting such evils.

The important question was, whether the present exigency and imbecility of the company were such as warranted the interposition of parliament. Lord George Germain acknowledged the bill to be a great stretch of parliamentary authority, and not to be justifiable, but by the most cogent necessity, which precedes all other law; but he saw, in that instance, the necessity pressing upon the house to interfere, in the clearest manner.

Lord John Cavendish was of a different opinion. He said, When extraordinary remedies become the ordinary engines of government, you may be assured you have a weak ministry. Men of superior, and even of common abilities foresee, and endeavour to prevent great evils; and if, in the fluctuation of human events, such evils should nevertheless arise, they know how to remove them, without offering violence to the general system; to those sacred institutions, which are to human society what gravitation is to the constitution of the universe.

On this occasion Mr. Burke displayed all those rare qualities of the head and heart, with which he was so eminently gifted. He observed, that in 1767, parliament took the state of the East India company's trade and revenue into consideration, for the doing which five reasons were assigned: the maintenance of the public faith—the support of public credit—the increase of the company's trade—the increase of its revenues—and the security of the stock-holders. This grand and salutary plan was entered upon. Books upon books, and papers upon papers, were brought up and piled upon the table. The subject was considered and reconsidered; debate succeeded debate, and resolution followed resolution. One and forty times did the house sit on this business, and more than once till four o'clock in the morning. What was the result? *Quid ferat hic tantum dignum promissor hiatu?* What did this mountain in labour bring forth? No mouse truly, but a fair round sum of £400,000 a year to government. In this manner did parliament provide for the maintenance of the public faith, and the support of public credit! In this manner did parliament increase the company's trade and revenue, and give security to the stock-holders! When the company came down handsomely, and furnished a reasonable sum to pay off the arrears of the civil list; arrears so honourably and usefully contracted, the five reasons were forgot. The eyes of parliament were dazzled, and could no longer see how to make any regulations for securing the permanence and stability, of that lucrative bargain which it had made. The company, without the aid of precedent, without the light of experience, without chart or compass, was allowed to steer at random through this perilous ocean. What wonder that they lost their course! The wonder would have been, if, assisted by no lights but by those communicated by servants, interested through the fear of past embezzlement, and the hope of future peculation, to mislead, they had not been bewildered and lost. The distress of the company arises from the improvidence of administration, and the short-sightedness of parliament, suitable to its form and constitution. He added, Or am I mistaken? Were the affairs of the company designedly left in confusion? Were the directors left without any effectual control over delinquent servants? Was the collection of the revenues left without any check? Was the tyranny of a double government, like our double cabinet, tolerated with a view of seeing the concerns of the company become an absolute chaos of disorder, and a means of giving government a handle for seizing the territorial revenue? I know that this was the original scheme of administration, and I violently suspect that it never has been relinquished. If the ministry have no sinister view, if they do not mean by this unconstitutional step to extend the influence of the crown, they will now speak out, and explicitly declare their intentions. Their silence may be justly construed into a confession of such a design, and they will thenceforth be considered as the determined enemies of the liberty of their country. God knows that the places and pensions and expectancies furnished by the British establishment, are too powerful for the small remains of patriotism and public spirit that remain in our island. What then will become of us, if Bengal, if the Ganges pour in a new tide of corruption? Should the evil genius of British liberty so ordain it, I fear this house will be so far from removing the corruption of the East, that it will be corrupted by it. I dread

more from the infection of that place, than I hope from the virtue of this house. Was it not the sudden plunder of the East that gave the final blow to the freedom of Rome? What reason have we to expect a better fate? I conjure you, by every thing which man ought to hold sacred; I conjure you, by the spirits of your forefathers, who so nobly fought and bled for the cause for which I now plead; I conjure you, by what includes every thing, by your country, not to yield to the temptations which the East, in the hands of the crown, holds out; not to sink into the gulph of corruption, and to drag after you your posterity, your country. I obtest heaven and earth, that in all places, and at all times, I have hitherto rejected the gilded hand of corruption, and endeavoured to stem the torrent which threatens to overwhelm this land. Upon the whole, the bill is dangerous in itself, as being the first step towards a total invasion of the company's territories in Bengal; and should we admit the motives which lead to it to be good, yet such a step is dangerous as a precedent; I do not, however, deny that the house has power to pass it, but you have not the right. There is a perpetual confusion in gentlemen's ideas, from inattention to this material distinction; from which, properly considered, it will appear that this bill is contrary to the eternal laws of right and wrong; laws that ought to bind all men, and, above all, men in legislative assemblies! Upon a division, the bill passed, by a majority of 153 to 28.

In the house of lords, it met with a faint opposition, but was productive of a protest, in which, among many other reasons assigned, it was opposed because it appears that the company were not only authorised by law, but bound in duty to appoint a commission for regulating their affairs, and correcting abuses. It might have been alleged against the company, that the neglect of applying legal powers for the ends for which such powers were given, was a matter of delinquency in that corporation, and might have subjected them to process in the courts below, or to an adverse proceeding in parliament. It is a government, the protesters conceive, full of deceit as well as violence, where men are to be punished if they decline, or to be restrained if they endeavour to exercise their lawful powers. The bill passed by 26 to 6. No sooner was this business dispatched, than the two houses adjourned for the Christmas recess.

When the parliament was re-assembled, the honourable Mr. Thomas Townshend moved for an enquiry into an expedition which had been made against the Caribbean Indians, dwelling on the island of St. Vincent in the West Indies. 1773.

This island, together with those of St. Lucia and Dominica, had been formerly considered, both by us and the French, as neutral, and the natives as lawful possessors of the soil. When St. Vincent's became subject to Great Britain at the peace of Fontainbleau, the French planters had settled in the northern or leeward parts, whilst the native Caribbeans occupied the windward or southern districts. When orders were issued from the treasury for the sale of lands in the ceded islands, the French possessors on this spot were required to pay certain stipulated sums for the lands which they occupied, the right by which they held them being considered as invalid; orders were given, that the Caribbs should not be disturbed in their possessions, whilst they observed a quiet and inoffensive demeanour. Among these Caribbs were about 1600 fighting men. The new settlers, who arrived from England, soon beheld with a jealous eye the fertile plains which were occupied by these people. They proposed an exchange of lands, by which these Indians would possess a part of the island equally convenient for their occupations of hunting and fishing, but, being overrun with wood, unfavourable for cultivation. This proposed exchange was approved by government at home, but rejected with great spirit by the Caribbs, who insisted on their right of retaining the lands which they possessed, in the same independent manner in which they had hitherto held them; declaring that they acknowledged no more subjection to the king of Great Britain than they had formerly done to the monarch of France. This firm maintenance of their natural rights was represented by the rapacious planters as a dangerous extirpating spirit, which exposed the new colony to continual danger of being overwhelmed; and it was submitted to government, whether it was not expedient to transport this unhappy people, either to the coast of Africa, or to the desart island of St.

Matthew. The latter scheme was at length complied with, on condition that they could not be brought to submit to the English government, and instructions were sent by lord Hillsborough to provide them with every necessary accommodation, and shew them the most humane treatment, both in their conveyance to, and establishment in their new settlement. But as the Caribbs were highly irritated at being thus dispossessed of their native possessions, and as there was no force on the island sufficient to execute the orders in April 1772, general Gage was directed to send two regiments from North America to St. Vincent's, and a force nearly equal thereto was collected from the other islands. The arrival of these troops, together with some men of war, which were designed to co-operate in the attack, no ways intimidated the Caribbs, who defended themselves with their bows and arrows, and other missile weapons, in the use of which they were very expert. The rainy season, which was then set in, and the want of proper huts to shelter the troops, caused great sickness among them, the accounts of which, that were transmitted to England, joined to the supposed injustice of the war which was waging, gave birth to enquiry; which, however, was deferred from time to time, in expectation of some official advices being received. It was not until the 12th of February 1773, that witnesses were examined at the bar, some of whom represented the Caribbs as a quiet, friendly, and fair-dealing race of men, who had been driven to acts of hostility by the injustice and avarice of the new settlers from England, whilst others described them as perfidious and cruel with violent passions, indulging a lawless freedom in the gratification of them, and from their attachment to the French, as dangerous neighbours, especially in a new settlement. The evidence being gone through, Mr. Townshend made two motions, the first of which was, "that this expedition to St. Vincent was undertaken without sufficient provocation on the part of the Caribbs, upon the representation of interested men, and must, if successful, end in their total extirpation. The second, "that the military were sent out in an improper season of the year, and that it was likely to end in the ruin of some of the best troops in the service."

After much debate, the house divided; for the first motion 88, against it 206; for the second 78, against it 99.

Whilst the subject was thus agitating in parliament, a treaty was entered into between the Caribbs and major-general Dalrymple, who commanded the king's troops, by which the former agreed to become the subjects of the king of Great Britain, to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance, to submit to the laws and government of the island, so far as related to their intercourse, and to all transactions with the white inhabitants; but in their own districts, and in all matters that related to each other, they were to retain their antient customs and usages. They by the same instrument ceded a large tract of valuable land to the crown, in consideration of those parts of the island, which they retained, being secured to them and their posterity for ever.

The sale of lands, in the ceded islands, was a measure which had drawn on ministry much censure. The exigencies of the state were urged in its defence, and the large sums which would thereby be brought into the treasury; but although the lands were sold, the sums received by government were very inconsiderable, so that the scheme evidently tended iniquitously to enrich individuals, without benefiting the state; notwithstanding which flagrant malversation, no enquiry was set on foot, so that it was not the East India company alone that was plundered by its servants.

February 9th, lord Howe brought up a petition from the captains of the navy, praying a small addition to their half-pay. Lord North informed the house, that no matter which was to affect the public revenue, ought to be agitated there, without the consent of the crown, given by some of its officers; he did not, however, mean to oppose the petition on that ground, and would give his consent to its being brought up, but he meant for many cogent reasons to oppose it through every stage.

Notwithstanding the authority which declared against the petition, and that the three most eminent naval commanders, Hawke, Saunders, and Keppel, were prevented from attending on account of indisposition, the house in general seemed heartily to enter into the interests of the petitioners.

Lord Howe stated to the house the grounds on which the request of the petitioners was founded, by taking a view of the manner of paying and providing for the captains of the navy, from the time of their having a permanent existence as a military body, to the establishment by which their pay was now regulated. He described the manner in which they were provided for in times of peace, during the reigns of Charles II., James II., king William, and queen Anne, and shewed, that until the year 1715, when they were put on the footing in which they had ever since continued, they were always highly rewarded, by posts of considerable profit, by particular gratifications, and by a half-pay double to what they now received. His lordship therefore moved, that the petition might be referred to a committee in order to consider the same, and report their opinion to the house.

Lord North acknowledged the merits of the petitioners, and their claims on their country for favour and support; but lamented that the present situation of our finances would not admit of any additional expences being incurred, however forcible the plea which might be urged for them. He observed, that by granting the petition this house would be importuned with many more. The military would next solicit relief; and he was informed that the shipwrights meant to prefer a petition for an advance of their wages, and it would be impossible for the state to comply with the request of such numerous bodies.

Sir Gilbert Elliot, treasurer of the navy, entered into an historical detail of the public provisions made for the navy, both in times of non-employment and actual service, from the reign of Henry VIII., when a naval force was first regularly established, to that of king William, and concluded with stating some pertinent facts which occurred in the latter reign. In the year 1692, the pay of a captain in the navy was 27*s. per diem*, with an allowance of twelve servants, at 6*d.* per day each, which made the whole 33*s.* The year after, a different arrangement took place; the pay was raised to 30*s.* and the allowance for servants struck off. During both these regulations the half-pay was 15*s.* The year 1699 was remarkable for a variety of œconomical reforms, among which the expences of the naval department were retrenched. The full pay of captains was reduced from 30*s.* to 20*s.* with which likewise the half-pay list was to conform. Soon after the peace of Utrecht it underwent another considerable reduction, which brought it to the rate at which it now stood. He did not however wish that the house should comply with the present application.

In support of the petition it was alleged, that not more than £5000 or £6000 per annum would be required to gratify the wishes of so respectable a body of men, to whom the nation owed the highest obligations; and it was asked, Is that a sum to affect a great opulent nation at the end of a ten years' peace, when France, notwithstanding her defeats, distresses, and public insolvency, had the good policy to make a provision for her navy captains. The large sums which, in the last session, had been voted for virtú, and other purposes of much less national concernment, were placed in contrast to the present parsimonious humour.

Upon a division, the petition was received by a majority of nine, the numbers being 154 to 145. Upon which occasion the first lord of the treasury found himself again in a minority. An address was soon after presented to his majesty, that an addition of 2*s.* a day might be paid to the half-pay of navy captains; which brought it to about £110 per annum. When the bill came out of the committee, lord North not only supported it, but proposed that it should be extended to increasing the pay of captains in the navy, commanding fifth and sixth rates, in actual service; but this amendment was overruled.

Notwithstanding the deplorable state of affairs in the East Indies, a twelvemonth had passed, in which parliament had directed its attention merely to negative the plans for reformation which the directors and proprietary had adopted; during which time, a wide scope was given to that spirit of rapacity which universally prevailed in India. The time was, however, at length arrived, for the minister to change his ground, whilst such events had occurred as tended to gratify every wish which the most ambitious statesman could form.

At a general court of proprietors of India stock, held on the 24th of February 1773, the question was decided by ballot, whether an application should be made to parliament for a loan of a million and a half, or so much

as should be wanted by instalments for four years, at £4 per cent. per annum, with liberty of repaying the same, as soon as the company may be able, by payments of not less than £300,000. It was carried 405 to 199.

In consequence of this resolution, a petition was presented to parliament for that purpose; and it was therein farther proposed, that the company should not make a dividend of more than 6 per cent. until one half of the proposed loan was discharged, when they might raise their dividend to 8 per cent.; and, after the whole loan was discharged, that the surplus of the net profits arising in England, above the said dividend, should be appropriated to the payment of the company's bond debt, until it was reduced to a million and a half, and from thence, that the surplus profits should be equally divided between the public and the company. It was also requested, that the company should be released from the heavy penal interest incurred by the non-payment of money, owing in consequence of the late acts for the indemnities on teas, and also discharged from the annual payment of £400,000 to the public, for the remainder of the five years specified in the agreement.

A committee of the whole house proceeded to take into consideration the affairs of the East India company. Lord North entered on the business by disclaiming the idea, that the company, in their present exigency, had a claim of right upon the public for relief. He represented the vast sums, which had been paid into the exchequer by the company, as bearing no proportion to the revenues drawn from the Asiatic territories. The depredations of their servants in India, neither the minister nor the house of commons were any ways accessary to, or answerable for; but the granting relief to the company was a matter of necessary policy and expediency, although in no degree a claim of right or justice. He then entered largely into the state of the company, and declared it to be a fact, that the directors had proposed a dividend at the very time when the company was in little better than an insolvent state, and before the next September the company would be deficient £1,300,425. To extricate this great commercial body from so alarming a situation, various plans had been suggested. One was, that the company might be empowered to borrow money, upon bond, to the amount of what they wanted; but he disapproved of that method, as they had already stretched their credit too far in that way. Funding the company's bills was another expedient named; but this, his lordship said, would not answer the purpose, because it would not bring immediate relief. So that, upon the whole, he thought it for the interest of the public, that the relief granted to the company should come from the public, at the same time taking the necessary precautions to prevent the like distresses befalling the company in future. He therefore proposed two resolutions to be adopted by the house, by which a loan of £1,400,000 should be granted, and not more than 6 per cent. be divided among the proprietors, until the whole should be repaid; that the company be allowed to divide no more than 7 per cent. until their bond-debt be reduced to a million and a half, and no more than 8 per cent. before the participation of profits between the public and the company shall take place. The latter proposition was rejected. At the same time his lordship waved the particular discussion of the question, concerning the company's claim of exclusive right to its territorial possessions, yet insisted on a prior right in the state, from whence he inferred the justice and legality of interposing its authority, in all cases, in the company's affairs, and supported his assertion by the opinion of very sound lawyers, whom he styled the luminaries of the age, who had declared, that such territorial possessions as the subjects of any state shall acquire by conquest, are virtually the property of the state, and not of those individuals who acquire them.

Although the question of right in the company, to receive the revenues from Bengal, was not at the time the subject of debate; yet such an opinion being incidentally delivered by the premier, drew forth replies, and it was insisted, that when the state makes a solemn and authentic delegation of its authority to a distinct and separate body, it cannot, consistently with justice and public faith, lay claim to possessions which that body may legally acquire. And it was insisted, that the company's possessions in India were not strictly conquests, but farms held from the prince, who was their proprietor and rightful owner, and that a question of property of that nature was to be decided in a court of justice,

and was not a proper subject of discussion for the house of commons, where the public, who was a party in the cause, would sit in judgment.

At length, after the subject in general had been much discussed, lord North informed the house, that, in answer to the petition of the East India company of the 2nd of March, the king had left the sole determination of the affair to that house. His lordship then proceeded to state the propositions which he had to make to the house; the first of which was, "That it is the opinion of this house, it will be more beneficial to the public, and the East India company, to let the territorial acquisitions remain in the possession of the company for a limited time, not exceeding the term of six years, to commence from the agreement between the public and the company."

"That no participation of profits shall take place between the public and the company, until after the repayment of the £1,400,000 advanced to the company, and the reduction of the company's bond debt to a million and a half.

"That after the payment of the loan advanced to the company, and the reduction of their bond debt to the sum specified, three-fourths of the net surplus profits of the company at home, above the sum of 8 per cent. upon their capital stock, shall be paid into the exchequer for the use of the public, and the remaining one-fourth shall be set apart, either for farther reducing the company's bond debt, or for composing a fund for the discharge of any contingent exigencies the company may labour under."

These conditions, proposed by the minister, differed in many particulars from those offered by the company. An essential difference was in the distribution to be made of the surplus profits between the company and the public, after the reduction of their bond debts, and being able to divide to the proprietary 8 per cent. per annum on their capital. Indeed, this was not the first instance in which parliament interfered to regulate the conduct of the company; for in the year 1730, an act passed, by which the interest on the company's stock was reduced from £5 to £4 per cent. but it was in compliance with a petition from the company. As the regulations now proposed were only the forerunners of very extraordinary innovations in the government of Bengal, many objections were made to them. Mr. Burke took a comprehensive view of the subject; or, as he himself afterwards called it, "a bird's eye view." I have studied, said he, God knows, hard have I studied, even to the making dog's ears in the statute books, and I now publicly and solemnly declare, that all you have been doing, and all you are about to do, in behalf of the East India company, is impolitic, unwise, and entirely repugnant to the letter as well as the spirit of the laws, the liberties, and the constitution of this country. I will venture to prophesy, that this company, viper-like, will in the end prove the destruction of the country which fostered it in its bosom. He founded his prediction on the total want of principle, so observable among all ranks and degrees of people, caused in a great measure by the profusion, dissipation, and profligacy of those who had brought with them the spoils of the East to contaminate their native country. The people, he said, were grown so indifferent to the welfare of their country on the one hand, and so grossly corrupt on the other, that there was no proposal, how destructive soever to the liberties of the kingdom, which a minister could make, but what the people would readily comply with. In the proceedings relative to the East India company, the people followed the cry of the ministry, changed as they changed, and varied their tones to keep even a discordant sameness with their masters. He added, Men have not strength of mind to think for themselves; the higher ranks are all supineness, all indolent acquiescence, all ignorance,—the vulgar are a set that will abuse at random, and are to be led on to commit crimes the most atrocious, if headed by some despicable wretch, who has an interest to promote by raising commotions. He observed, that to broach such sentiments was a conduct ill-suited to acquire popularity, nor did his opposition to the ministry arise from any latent view of getting into employment. It was dictated by the full assurance which he had that the measures then pursuing were such as had the completion of the plan of despotism for their end; that this plan he had hitherto opposed, and would continue so to do with all his powers; and he would sooner have the East India company totally overthrown, than

have the basis of the English constitution undermined, or a single pillar, which contributed to the support of so excellent a structure, receive the slightest shock. The propositions passed without a division.

The report of the select committee, which had been printed, brought to light such oppressive and tyrannical transactions in the East, as excited general indignation, and left the minister at full liberty to prescribe the mode of redressing these grievances.

In the further consideration of East India affairs, lord North moved that the house should allow the company to export such part of the tea at present in their warehouses, as they should think proper, to British America, duty free. He represented such a permission as highly beneficial to the company, who had seventeen millions of pounds weight of that commodity in their hands. Soon after a second petition from the East India company was presented to the house of commons, complaining that some of the most material articles of the propositions made to the house, on the 2nd of March, were substantially rejected. They therefore represent it as unreasonable for parliament to require any farther terms, after the loan which they had requested should be repaid. It stated the great losses which the proprietors had sustained, and the expences they had incurred, in acquiring and securing the territorial revenues in India, at the risk of their whole capital, while the public have reaped such good advantages. It complained of the limitation made of the company possessing the territorial acquisitions in India to six years, as an arbitrary act, and insisted that they had undoubted right to those possessions, against which right no decision exists, nor has any formal claim ever been made. The dictating in what manner the surpluses of their net profits, after dividing 8 per cent., shall be applied, they remonstrate against, because such disposal of their property, otherwise than by their own consent, by a general description, comprehending their trade as well as revenues, is not warranted even by the largest pretensions that have ever been formed against them. It concludes with praying, that any claims against the possessions of the company, that can be supposed to give rise to such restrictions, may receive a legal discussion, from which, whatever may be the event, they will at least have the satisfaction of knowing what they may call their own.

The minister, finding the house so well disposed to concur in any measures which he should propose, proceeded to lay before it his plan for regulating the affairs of the company, as well in India as in Europe; he therefore moved, that the court of directors should in future be elected for four years, six members annually, but none to hold their seats longer than four years. 2. That no person shall vote at the election of the directors, who has not possessed his stock twelve months. 3. That the stock of qualification, instead of £500, be £1000. 4. That the mayor's court at Calcutta should, for the future, be confined to small mercantile causes, to which only its jurisdiction extended before the territorial acquisition. 5. That, in lieu of this court, thus taken away, a new one be established, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges. 6. That these judges be appointed by the crown. 7. That a superiority be given to the presidency of Bengal, over the other presidencies in India.

In the course of lord North's speech, he hinted, that other regulations would be necessary, among which he particularly named, that the company should communicate their advices from Bengal to the treasury or secretaries of state, and that the company's servants should, under heavy penalties, bring all their fortunes home in the company's ships. He said, an entire reformation could not be looked for immediately; the interests of Bengal might perhaps require the annual care of parliament.

Such important regulations, in which an unprecedented stretch of power was justified by the necessity of the case, met with strong opposition; but every clause in the bill was carried by a great majority. The East India company, the city of London, and those proprietors who possessed votes, by holding £500 stock or upwards, but less than £1000, presented separate petitions, and counsel were heard in behalf of the company and of the £500 stock-holders. The case of the latter, indeed, was peculiarly hard, as the practice of splitting stock, by collusive transfers, which the new regulations were established to prevent, was confined to those who held several thousand pounds stock, who would

hereby continue to avail themselves as effectually of splitting stock as before. Where they formerly made two votes, they could now indeed make only one; but that single vote was of prodigiously more consequence, after 1200 voters were disfranchised. This was punishing one body of men for the faults of another, and changing the East India company from a democracy into an oligarchy. The act of power by which this innovation was made, might, upon the same principle of expediency, be exercised to disqualify freeholders of 40*s.* a year from voting for members of parliament, and fixing the qualifications at £10 per annum. The great decrease in the value of money, since the time when a freehold of 40*s.* a year was made a qualification for giving a vote for a member of parliament, has rendered such a possession very inconsiderable; but India stock has sometimes more than doubled its original value, which gives a much greater degree of consequence to the holders of it, than when the regulation was made in the year 1702.

WHILST this arduous business was thus advancing towards a completion, the house took into consideration the several reports from the select committee, and the committee of secrecy. Each of these committees had strictly enquired into the conduct of the proprietors' servants in India, from the commencement of the war with Surajah Dowlah in 1756, which had brought to light transactions of the blackest dye. General Burgoyne, as chairman of the select committee, said, that he looked upon the deposing of Surajah Dowlah, and bringing about a revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier, the signing a fictitious treaty with Ormichund, a black merchant, and confidante of Surajah Dowlah, together with the terms obtained from the new nabob, to be the origin of all those troubles, which have operated to the temporary distress, if not the total destruction of the company. The general then proposed the following resolutions, and said, that, if they met with the approbation of the house, he had another motion to make. 1. That all acquisitions made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, do of right belong to the state. 2. That to appropriate acquisitions so made to the private emolument of persons entrusted with any civil or military power of the state is illegal. 3. That very great sums of money, and other valuable property, have been acquired in Bengal, from princes and others of the country, by persons entrusted with the military and civil powers of the state, by means of such powers, which have been appropriated to the private use of such persons.

THE two great law officers maintained different sentiments on this subject. The solicitor general used a variety of arguments against the resolutions, whilst the attorney-general supported them. A general dissatisfaction prevailed. So long as the company were enriched by their settlements, the austerity of justice was relaxed; but when the plunderers extended their depredations beyond the property of Asiatic princes, and embezzled the revenues of their masters, their crimes appeared in all their enormous magnitude, and called aloud for exemplary punishment. The three resolutions were carried almost unanimously.

HOWEVER this zeal to punish abuses of power soon after subsided; for when general Burgoyne, some few days after, resumed the subject, and spoke of the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, and the various monopolies introduced, and stated the immense sums which the company's servants had received under the denomination of presents, or had extorted by taxation from the impoverished states of the Indian princes, at the time when they made these profuse presents, and moved the house to resolve, that the right honourable Robert lord Clive, baron Plassey in the kingdom of Ireland, in consequence of the powers vested in him in India, had illegally acquired the sum of £234,000, to the dishonour and detriment of the state, many leading members opposed the motion on a variety of grounds.

A CHARGE so directly brought, occasioned lord Clive to enter very fully into his own defence. With much address, he pleaded the thanks which he had received from the directors when he returned home, after his splendid victories, as an approbation of his conduct, in fabricating the fictitious treaty which deceived Ormichund, and which, he said, he would again have recourse to, were he placed in similar circumstances; whereas, in fact, the proprietary knew nothing of that transaction at the time when their thanks were voted. His lordship shewed the critical necessity which prevailed, in certain situations, where the English power and fortune in Asia depended

solely upon rapid, well-timed, and extraordinary measures.

Notwithstanding this grand delinquent was clearly proved to have acted fraudulently and rapaciously in some instances, yet he could be considered in no other light than as the deliverer of the East India company; his bravery, his address, his talents, so admirably suited to the occasion, his generosity and disinterestedness in most instances, together with the undisturbed possession in which he had so long enjoyed his vast fortune, all pleaded strongly in his behalf.

Perhaps other considerations operated to quash this enquiry. Much wealth would have indeed been acquired to the state, by the forfeitures incurred in consequence of a parliamentary process; but such a rigid scrutiny, although it would have produced a present advantage, would have been attended with many consequences, which the wisdom of the present times is solicitous to prevent. The fortunes which are to be acquired in India, by adhering invariably to the line of conduct which strict integrity chalks out, are perhaps in general very inadequate to the views of those who migrate to those distant regions, whilst a lust of power, and a passion for amassing immense wealth, to gratify the calls of ambition, are leading features in the character of the age. Riches have long been considered as a substitute for virtue, and it would have been highly unprofitable to have left the managers of the English East India company's concerns in the kingdom of Hindostan, and the peninsula of India, no other alternative than to have returned home with the more moderate acquisitions, honourably made by a long course of service; or, if grown wealthy by oppressions, to have clandestinely transported themselves and their plunder to a foreign, and most probably a rival country.

Evidence was heard at the bar of the house, to support the charges brought against lord Clive. His lordship's defence was likewise read, after which he made a short speech, and concluded with these words: "Take my fortune, but save my honour;" whereupon he immediately retired.

General Burgoyne then made the following motion; That it appears to this house, that Robert lord Clive, baron Plassey in the kingdom of Ireland, about the time of deposing Surajah Dowlah, nabob of Bengal, and the establishment of Meer Jaffier on the musnud, did, through the influence of the powers with which he was entrusted, as member of the select committee, and commander-in-chief of the British forces, obtain and possess himself of two lacks and 800,000 rupees as member of the select committee, a further sum of two lacks of rupees as commander-in-chief, a further sum of 16 lacks of rupees, or more, under the denomination of private donations; which sums, amounting together to 20 lacks, and 800,000, were of the value in English money of £234,000, and in so doing he abused the power with which he was entrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public. Mr. Hans Stanley moved, that the question be divided, and the latter part of the motion, which conveyed the censure, be left out, which, after warm debates, was agreed to, and the house, by merely establishing the fact, seemed by implication plainly to give it sanction. It would have been more for the credit of the nation to have rejected the motion entirely, than thus to have drawn the sting of it.

A motion was then made by Mr. Wedderburne, at five o'clock in the morning, that lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to this country, which passed in the affirmative, and finished the enquiry.

Whether the premier on this occasion chose to appear the friend of public virtue, although he was fully apprised that the measure which was calculated to serve it would not be adopted, or that, without exerting his influence as a minister, he followed the dictates of his feelings as a man, certain it is that he contended for the censure against lord Clive making part of the resolution.

A fortnight was wasted in this fruitless attempt to punish delinquents, after which the minister's bill to regulate the East India company was resumed.* Governor Johnstone said, that the appointment of a general council and judges by the crown, was in his opinion annihilating the company, and transferring the monopoly to the crown; a measure equally unjust to the company, and injurious to the nation. He was clear that the company could extricate themselves without accepting the loan from parliament. Although they had creditors, they were not clamorous ones. The treasury, indeed, might be impor-

* May 25th.

tunate, and against that the company must be prepared. On the 10th of June, the bill being gone through, and the blanks filled up, it was moved, that this bill do pass, which was agreed to, 131 to 21, and lord North was ordered to carry it to the house of lords. The salaries of the judges were thereby fixed at £8000 to the chief justice, and £6000 a year to each of the other three. The appointments of the governor-general and council were fixed, the first at £25,000, and the four others at £10,000 each annually. A clause was inserted, whereby every proprietor possessed of £3000 stock was entitled to two votes, of £6000 stock to three votes, and of £10,000 stock to four votes, at future elections for directors.

A few days after, a petition was presented from the East India company, declaring that they were determined to submit to the temporary difficulties which might attend the present situation of affairs, rather than receive the loan offered to them, upon the severe condition prescribed. The house was strongly of opinion, that the option of refusing the loan should not be left in the company, but that the acceptance of it should be made compulsatory by parliament.

In the house of lords, the duke of Richmond opposed the bill with great spirit; but the majority in its favour was nearly as great there as in the house of commons. A long protest was soon entered against the bill, signed by thirteen peers, in which one of the strong objections urged is, that it only transfers patronage, without conferring new powers. The same noble peer moved, that a conference should be held with the commons, as no parliamentary information was then before them; which, being rejected, produced another protest, signed by seven peers. The bill was carried through with amazing celerity, and passed the house on the 19th of June.

The regulations made in the administration of affairs in the East Indies by this act, did not differ essentially from those which had been proposed in Mr. Sullivan's bill, which had been brought in the preceding session, except that the salaries settled on the officers were much larger, and that the appointment to the new offices was vested in the crown.

When the great Hampden contended with the crown for the payment of 40*s.* which he considered as illegally levied, it was not within the compass of human foresight to predict, that, in little more than a century, that noble zeal, in the support of the just rights of mankind, would be lost in this country. When the parliament, after the peace of Ryswick, refused to comply with a request made by their king, and deliverer, that he might retain his Dutch guards, the members, who were then such austere guardians of liberty, against the encroachments of regal power, little thought that even their sons might be senators, when parliaments would become the mere echo of the minister; and that the most essential alterations would take place in the condition of the prince and the people, without any alarm being excited, or the body of the nation having any apprehension of the change. But when the manners of the people alter, their form of government will undergo a corresponding modification. Simplicity and frugality embrace liberty as the parent of every blessing; refinement and luxury spread a general indifference among the people; they become blind to consequences, and inactive in a general cause; circumstances which furnish ministers with golden opportunities to effect their purposes.

Lord North stated the debt due from the company to government, with the interest, to be £954,000, which, together with half a million to the bank, more than swallowed up the whole loan.

The expence of the navy this year was as follows:

	£
Seamen	1,040,000
Ordinary of navy	424,019
Building, rebuilding, and repairing ships	421,554
	1,885,573

The expence of the military establishment, including forces and garrisons in Europe, Africa, the ceded islands, and North America, was as follows:

	£
Army, ordnance, Greenwich hospital	1,390,204
Half-pay	112,903
Army-extraordinaries	249,708
	1,752,815

CHAPTER XXIII.

GEORGE III.

[1773, 1774.]

Meridian Splendor of Lord North's Administration—Comparative View of the American Colonies and the Mother Country—Discovery of the Letters written by the Governor and Lieutenant-governor of the Massachusett's Bay—The House of the Representatives petition the King to remove those Officers—Report of the Privy-council thereupon—Tea destroyed at Boston—General Conduct of the Americans on the arrival of the Teas—Meeting of Parliament—Message from his Majesty—Bill for shutting up the Port of Boston—Regulation of the Government in the Province of the Massachusett's Bay—Debate on a Motion to repeal the Duty on Tea—Bill for the Impartial Administration of Justice—Lord North's Plan of Finance for the Year 1774—Quebec Act—Death of the King of France—American Congress formed—Petitions to the King—Sudden Dissolution of Parliament—Probable Causes which led to it.

THE period at which we are now arrived is the meridian splendor of lord North's ministry. His conquests in the East were as extensive as those of Alexander, and effected with no less rapidity; but then he needed not, like that monarch, to weep that he had no other world to conquer; the western hemisphere opened to his view a prospect different indeed, but not less extensive, and equally demanding the abilities of a great minister. A controlling power over two such extensive, rich, fruitful, and populous territories as Hindostan and North America, exhibited a stupendous idea of human authority and power, which no other country ever possessed, and which no other minister ever exercised. The points to be attained in the different countries were as opposite as the climate which prevailed in each. In the East Indies, the object was to repress a spirit of rapacity, oppression, and tyranny, which led men in power to violate the rights of humanity, without remorse or limitation; in the western region, the professed purpose was to check and repress an exuberance of freedom, proceeding from an active industry, unassuming equality, and general happiness. We have already seen the conduct pursued towards our eastern possessions; it remains that I now speak of the other section of the globe.

THE colonies and mother country presented, at this time, in strong opposition, the lineaments of their different ages. Great Britain, grown old in prosperity, became proud, assuming, impatient of every restraint, or of the slightest contraversion of her mandates, but at the same time improvident and lavish. An apostate from those principles to which she had been habitually attached; indifferent to the welfare of others, mistaken in what constituted her own. America, on the other hand, rising in all the vigour of advancing maturity, without specie, but rich in the products of a genial soil, the labours of a hardy race of seamen, and a growing commerce. The want of the precious metals, though attended with some inconveniencies, contributed greatly to the character and manners of the people. It served to place happiness rather in what was to be enjoyed; than in what was to be amassed. Avarice appeared in all its deformity in the eyes of a people who had no titled greatness to aspire to, and with whom honest industry was a security against extreme necessity. In such a country, and in

such an age, a man possessing a philosophic and reflecting mind would wish to live; and there have been times, in which it would have been considered as the glory and happiness of a prince to reign over subjects so free, so increasing, and so happy, ere the science of finance gave oppression a new form. But America was much more at her ease than England, and she must be brought to contribute a reasonable proportion to the necessities of the parent state, whence originated the beloved idea of subjecting America to internal taxation. Her population too increased in a more rapid degree than that of any other country had been known to do. According to estimates made, which have never been controverted, some of the North American colonies doubled their inhabitants in sixteen years whilst the population of the British Isles was not supposed to be on the advance. From whence it was self-evident, that the colonies, in a much shorter time than fifty years, would be equal in population to the mother country, perhaps much more populous; and, when arrived at such an height, what probability was there that the present subordination would continue?

So long ago as the year 1733, an act was passed, which laid certain duties on all foreign spirits, molasses, and sugars imported into the plantations; these imposts were submitted to, and the distinction between commercial regulations and internal taxation was not dwelt on, until the fatal introduction of the stamp-act; which, upon every principle of national interest, without considering the question of legal right, or the expediency of exerting our power, should either have been inflexibly adhered to, or that kind of taxation abandoned for ever. The evil genius of this country caused neither the one nor the other to happen. The stamp-act was repealed, and a duty laid upon teas and various other articles imported into America. This was no more an internal tax than the former one on sugars, indeed the duties last levied were on merchandize from Great Britain, the others on foreign products; but the Americans chose so to consider it, and many other causes of discontent prevailed. Had Great Britain at that time been distinguished for public spirit, love of liberty, and scrupulous attention to a rigid œconomy in the expenditure of public money, the effects of which appeared in seizing every proper means of reducing the national debt; and had the Americans been called upon by an administration pursuing such views, to contribute to such a purpose, their feelings would not have revolted from the demand. Indeed, they did not dispute the propriety of the mother country making a requisition, they only asked to be permitted to raise the contribution by acts of their own assemblies. Had such a mode been assented to here, the opposite extremities of the Atlantic would have been united in one common cause, and the British constitution would have grown permanent even from age itself. Mutual confidence could alone build up such a fabric, for although the two countries were united by common ancestry, by professing the tenets of protestantism, by commercial and friendly intercourse, and the exchange of reciprocal benefits, yet they were separated by an ocean of 3000 miles expanse, which, whilst it promoted that amicable commercial intercourse, created distinct interests in the two countries, which began to foment jealousies and mutual disgust. Each country reasoned according to the opinions most prevalent there, and every age has its leading sentiments. The one carried the principles of civil liberty, and the natural rights of mankind, to a great height; the other was no less tenacious of the doctrine of subordination to the parent state, and submission to the regulations made by the legislature. Had the contest arisen half a century ago, many of the arguments which were urged on each side would not then have been produced. A government, founded on the principles of freedom, could not possibly be brought into a more perplexing situation, than that into which the dispute with the colonies threw Great Britain. Perhaps no sovereign ever swayed the sceptre of these realms, that was in any way equal to the object to be effected, except queen Elizabeth. That great princess, who came to the throne at a most critical period, knew how to accommodate herself to the temper of the times. She possessed all the soothing arts which are calculated to persuade; and knew as well both when and how to enforce obedience. She was served by some of the ablest statesmen that this country ever produced, and extended her views more into futurity than any one of her successors, the great Nassau only excepted.

A GENERAL dissatisfaction prevailed in America, and agreements had been entered into, not to import any merchandize from Great Britain, which had greatly affected the commerce of this country, although these engagements were not strictly observed on the part of the Americans. Their governors, who were appointed by the crown, but paid by the people, were unanimous in their manner of representing the spirit of opposition which prevailed among the colonies. In each province contentions between the governor and the house of representatives were frequent, and obstructed the public business in every session. The New England provinces were the most forward in these disputes; and in the Massachusett's bay they rose to the greatest height. There, no terms had been kept, for a considerable time, between sir Francis Bernard, the governor, and the assembly, which each charged the other with being the cause of the dissentions. In the year 1770, that gentleman was first recalled, and Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, a native of America, and lieutenant-governor, succeeded him; whereupon Mr. Andrew Oliver, also by birth an American, who was secretary of the province, became lieutenant-governor. Some letters, which were written by these gentlemen, to persons in power and office in England, in the year 1768 and 1769, happened to be procured by Dr. Franklin, who resided in London as agent for the house of representatives of the Massachusett's bay, and were by him transmitted to Boston. Many passages in these letters gave great offence to the Bostonians, particularly the following in one of governor Hutchinson's letters; "I never think of measures necessary for the peace and good order of the colonies without pain. There must be an abridgement of what are called English liberties. I relieve myself by considering, that in a remove from the state of nature to the most perfect state of government, there must be a great restraint of natural liberty. I doubt whether it is possible to project a system of government, in which a colony 3000 miles distant from the parent state shall enjoy all the liberty of the parent state. I am certain I have never yet seen the projection. I wish the good of the colony, when I wish to see some further restraint of liberty, rather than the connection with the parent state should be broken; for I am sure such a breach must be the ruin of the colony." Speaking of the combination of the American merchants, he says, "But it is not possible that provision for dissolving the combinations, and subjecting all who do not renounce them to penalties adequate to the offence, should not be made, the first week the parliament meets. (1773) Certainly all parties will unite in so extraordinary a case, if they never do any other."

IN consequence of the discovery of these letters, an address from the representatives of Massachusett's bay to the king, was transmitted from Boston to their agent, and by him delivered to the American secretary. In it they petition his majesty to remove their governor and lieutenant-governor, whose conduct had a natural and efficacious tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of his majesty, whom they style their rightful sovereign, from his loyal province, and to destroy all harmony and good will between Great Britain and the colonies. They likewise charge their governor and his lieutenant with having been among the chief instruments in introducing a fleet and an army into the province, to establish and perpetuate their plans. This address was afterwards laid before a committee of the privy-council, who reported the charges in the petition to be groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and that the petition ought to be dismissed.

IT has been already observed, that an act of parliament was passed towards the close of the last session, enabling the East India company to export teas, duty free. In consequence of which, the company resolved upon a mode of trade which they had never before adopted, and instead of disposing of their teas at public sale, freighted several ships for the American colonies, on their own account, and appointed agents there for the disposal of their cargoes.

MANY strong reasons were urged against this measure. It could not be expected to afford the company any relief from their present embarrassments, as the returns could not be made expeditiously, nor perhaps punctually, even if the teas should find a good market as the most strenuous adviser of the measure could expect. But if the excess of their stock of teas was disposed of at public sale, the merchants would become purchasers to a very large amount, and the time of payment could, in that case, be ascertained. It

was even calculated, that a sum of money might be raised by that means, sufficient to extricate the company from their difficulties. A gentleman distinguished for his abilities, and who was well acquainted with the disposition of the Americans, as well as the interests of the company, told the chairman, that the company were criminally absurd, because they were presenting themselves as the butt in the controversy, where they would probably come off with the loss of all their merchandize. However, it was the favourite plan of administration, that the company should become their own factors.

Notwithstanding the colonies actually received their teas at 9*d*. a pound cheaper than they had formerly done, yet they were not thereby induced to purchase them. They said, that the East India company were quitting their usual line of conduct, and wantonly becoming the instrument to give efficacy to an odious law. Throughout the colonies, the most violent opposition to the landing of the teas prevailed; and, without any interchange of sentiment, every port town along that extensive coast was actuated by the same spirit.

When the tea ships were expected to arrive, the agents appointed to receive them were compelled to renounce their engagements, and solemnly bind themselves not to act; the people delegated committees in different towns and provinces, to whom they gave the most extensive powers. Merchants were compelled to submit their books to the inspection of these regulators, who assumed the power of imposing tests, and inflicting punishments, on such as opposed their proceedings. A custom-house officer, named Malcolm, was tarred and feathered, and in that manner led about the town of Boston. These violent measures were not confined to those places which had shewn the most active disposition to contend with the mother country; the more peaceable and orderly provinces, on this occasion, departed from their former principles, and became equally violent in opposing the landing of the teas.

When three of the company's ships arrived at Boston, in December 1773, the captains, alarmed at the spirit which prevailed among the people, offered to return to England, without landing their cargoes, if they could obtain the proper discharges from the tea-consignees, the custom-house, and the governor; but, though these officers would not venture to land the tea, yet they refused the captains a discharge, whilst their cargoes remained on board, for the delivery of which they were chartered by the company. The night after the governor had given his refusal, a number of armed men, disguised like Mohawk Indians, went on board the ships, and in less than four hours emptied every chest of tea on board the ships, amounting to 342, into the sea, without the least damage done to the ships, or any other property; which having done, they retired. It is remarkable that the governor, the civil power, the garrison of Fort William, and the armed ships in harbour, were totally inactive on this occasion. At all the other American ports, where tea ships arrived, the inhabitants obliged the captains to return without breaking bulk, (as the people of Boston were desirous of doing) except at Charlestown in South Carolina, where the teas were landed and put into a damp cellar, whereby the whole became rotten and useless.

On the 13th of January, 1774, his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, before the news of this outrage had arrived. In it he observed, that the state of foreign affairs afforded full leisure for the legislature to attend to the improvement of our internal and domestic situation, and to the prosecution of such measures as more immediately respected the preservation and advancement of the revenue and commerce of this kingdom; among these objects, the state of the gold coin was particularly recommended to the attention of parliament.

The house sat near two months before any measures were taken concerning the affairs of America, notwithstanding the alarming advices which had been received from thence soon after its assembling. At length the premier delivered a message from his majesty, informing the house, "that in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, with the view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of the constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament; fully confiding, as well in their zeal for the maintenance of his majesty's authority, as in their attachment to the common interest and welfare

of all his dominions; that they would not only enable him effectually to take such measures, as may be most likely to put an immediate stop to these disorders, but would also take into their most serious consideration, what farther regulations and permanent provisions may be necessary to be established, for better securing the execution of the laws, and the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain.

Immediately after the delivery of this message, upwards of 100 papers, respecting American affairs, were brought up; they consisted of copies and extracts of letters from the different magistrates and officers in America, and the votes and resolutions of the inhabitants of Boston, with many other authentic documents. An address being returned to his majesty, strongly expressing the readiness of the house to comply with the purport of the royal message, the minister soon after moved for leave to bring in a bill, "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection and management of his majesty's duties and customs, from the town of Boston, in the province of the Massachusett's bay, in North America, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize, at the said town of Boston, or within the harbour thereof." His lordship entered into a justification of the governor's conduct, whom he described to have taken every method which discretion dictated, or good policy authorised, for the security of the East India company's property, the safety of the consignees, and the preservation of order and quiet in the town. The military force in the castle, and the ships of war in the harbour, might indeed have been called in to save the tea from destruction; but as the leading men in Boston had always made great complaints of the interposition of the army and navy, and charged all disturbances, of every sort, to their account, he, with great prudence and temperance, determined from the beginning to decline a measure, which would have been so irritating to the minds of the people; and might well have hoped, that by this confidence in their conduct, and trust reposed in the civil power, he should have calmed their turbulence, and preserved the public tranquillity.

He said it was henceforth impossible for our commerce to be safe in the harbour of Boston, and it was highly necessary that some port should be found for landing of our merchandize. That it was no new thing for a whole town to be fined, although thereby some few innocent individuals might suffer, when the authority of such a town had been as it were asleep and inactive. He instanced the city of London, in Charles II.'s time. When Dr. Lamb was killed by unknown persons, the city was fined for it; and the case of Edinburgh in captain Porteus's affair, when a fine was set upon the whole city; and also at Glasgow, where the house of Mr. Campbell was pulled down, part of the revenue of the town was sequestered to make good the damage. Boston, he observed, was much more criminal than either of the three cities he had mentioned, for that town had been upwards of seven years in riot and confusion; all the disturbances in America had originated there.

The lord mayor of London presented a petition of several natives and inhabitants of North America, then in London; which stated it to be an inviolable rule of natural justice, that no man should be condemned unheard; and that, according to law, no person or persons can be judged without being called upon to answer, and being permitted to hear the evidence against them, and to make their defence. If judgment be immediately to follow an accusation against the people of America, supported by persons notoriously at enmity with them, the accused unacquainted with the charge, and, from the nature of their situation, utterly incapable of answering and defending themselves, every fence against false accusation will be pulled down. They asked, by what rule of justice can the town be punished for a civil injury, committed by persons not known to belong to it? The petitioners conceive, that there is not an instance, even in the most arbitrary times, in which a city was punished by parliamentary authority, without being heard, for a civil offence not committed within their jurisdiction, and without redress having been sought at common law. The instance brought of the city of London was for a murder committed within its walls, by its citizens, in open day; but in this case, arbitrary as the times were, the trial was public in a court of common law, the party heard, and the law laid down by the judges. In the case of Edinburgh,

indeed, parliament did interpose, but this was to punish the commission of an atrocious murder within her gates, and aggravated by an over act of high treason, in executing, against the express will of the crown, the king's laws. Both these cities had by charter the whole executive power within themselves; and, in both cases, full time was allowed them to discharge their duty, and they were heard in their defence. But neither has time been allowed in this case, nor is the accused heard, nor is Boston a walled town, nor was the fact committed within it, nor is the executive power in its hands, as it is in those of London and Edinburgh. On the contrary, the governor himself holds that power, and has been advised by his majesty's council to carry it into execution. If it has been neglected, he alone is answerable; and perhaps the due course of law is operating there to the discovery and prosecution of the real offenders. The petition strongly insisted on the excessive rigour and injustice of the act, its tendency to alienate the affections of America from this country, and the certainty that her attachments cannot long survive the justice of Great Britain.

The reply to the pleas urged in this petition was, that the case called for immediate redress. It was unbecoming the dignity of parliament to suffer chicane and subterfuge to evade the execution of substantial justice. It was asked, if the house doubted either the reality or degree of the offence, or of their own competency to enquire into and punish it. Lord North would not undertake to say what would be the consequence or event of this measure; but he was strongly of opinion it would be salutary and effectual.

Little opposition was shewn to the bill at its introduction; but, on its third reading, strong efforts were made to change the sentiment of the house.

Governor Johnstone predicted to the house, that the effect of this bill must be a general confederacy to resist the power of this country. He called it irritating, tempting, nay, inviting men to those deeds by ineffectual expedients, the aberrations of an indecisive mind, incapable of comprehending the chain of consequences which must result from such a law. The question of taxing America, he said, was sufficiently nice to palliate resistance, if the subject had never been disputed in this country; but, after the highest characters of the state had declared against the right of this country to impose taxes on America, for the purposes of revenue, after the general voice of the senate had concurred in repealing the stamp-act upon that principle, there is so much mitigation to be pleaded in favour of the Americans from this circumstance, allowing them in an error at present, that it will be the height of cruelty to enforce contrary maxims, with any degree of severity at least, before due warning is given. It is in vain to say that Boston is more culpable than the other colonies. Sending the ships away, and obliging them to return to England, is a more solemn and deliberate act of resistance than the outrage committed by persons in disguise in the night, when the ships refused to depart. In extending this kind of punishment to the other colonies, every one must see the danger, and yet it cannot be approved of. For one, the same arguments will apply to others. If a similar punishment were applied to the colony of Virginia, the revenue would be reduced to £300,000 a year, besides the loss of all foreign contracts, and perhaps of that beneficial trade for ever. Those gentlemen, he continued, who are in the secrets of the cabinet, and know how assuredly every proposition from thence is adopted by this house, may be warranted in their sanguine acclamations in favour of this measure; but the general mass, who must be equally ignorant with myself of what is to follow, can have no excuse for giving their assent so readily for punishing their fellow-subjects in so unprecedented a manner, and their eager zeal serves only to shew how ready they are to obey the will of another, without exercising their own judgment in the case. My opinion is, that if coercive measures are to be adopted, an effectual force should be immediately carried into the heart of the colony resisting, to crush rebellion in the bud, before a general confederacy can be formed. For my own part, I am convinced from experience in the colonies, that good government may be maintained there, upon rational grounds, as well as in this country.

That the power of restoring the port of Boston to its former rights should be absolutely vested in the crown, was objected to. Is it necessary, it was asked, either for punishment of the Bostonians, or for satisfaction

to the East India company. Such a regulation could only be made for the purpose of establishing a precedent, of delivering over whole towns and communities to an arbitrary discretion in the crown. Until now, no precedent could be produced, of a maritime city being deprived of its port, and then left to the mercy of the crown to restore the port or not at pleasure.

No division took place, and the bill was immediately carried to the lords.

In the debate on this bill, Mr. Charles Fox appeared for the first time among the minority. In the course of this session, he had frequently shewn himself adverse to the opinions of the first lord of the treasury, and about the time when this bill began to be agitated, he quitted his seat at that board.

In the house of lords, the earl of Shelburne took an active part in opposing the bill. He presented to that house a similar petition to that which had been laid before the house of commons, from the natives of America residing in and about London. The bill was supported by the lords Mansfield, Gower, Lyttleton, Weymouth, and Suffolk; and opposed by the duke of Richmond and Manchester, the marquis of Rockingham, the lords Camden, Shelburne, and Stair. It passed the house the 30th of March, only five days after it was brought in, and received the royal assent the next day.

The bill enacted, that from and after the 1st of June, 1774, it shall not be lawful for any person to ship, for exportation, goods from any quay or wharf within the town or harbour of Boston; nor are goods, wares, or merchandize, brought from any other country, to be landed there, under pain of the forfeiture of the said goods, and of the boat, lighter, or vessel, out of which they may be taken. Fourteen days are allowed to such ships or vessels as may happen to be in the harbour of Boston on or before the 1st of June. When it shall be made to appear to his majesty in council, that peace and obedience to the laws shall be so far restored in the town of Boston, as that the trade of Great Britain may be safely carried on there, and the customs duly collected; if his majesty in council shall judge the same to be true, he may by proclamation or order of council, assign and appoint the extent, bounds, and limits of the port or harbour of Boston, and of every creek or haven within the same, and so many quays and wharfs, for the landing and shipping of goods, as he shall judge fit and expedient, after which it shall again become a port. But this restoration of the privileges of the port of Boston his majesty is not empowered to grant, until full satisfaction has been made to the East India company, by the inhabitants of Boston, for the damage sustained by the destruction of their goods, and to the officers of revenue and others, who suffered by the riots and insurrections in the several months of November, December, and January.

Whilst the Boston port-bill was depending in the house of lords, the prime minister, in the other house, proceeded further to develope the plan concerted by government for the subjugation of the refractory colonies, by moving for leave to bring in a bill relative to the Massachusett's bay, and the house being resolved into a committee, his lordship introduced the bill by saying, that an executive power was much wanted in that province, and that it became highly necessary to strengthen the hands of magistracy there. The force of the civil power consisted in *posse comitatus*, which was composed of the very people who had committed all the riots and outrages which had happened for many years past; so that the preservation of the peace was not to be looked for from them, and if the democratic part shew that contempt of the laws, how is the governor to execute any authority vested in him? He has not the power of appointing magistrates, or of removing them. The council alone have that power, and they are dependent on the people. His lordship inferred from thence, that there was something radically wrong in that constitution. If the governor issued out a proclamation, there could hardly be found a magistrate to obey it, and it was necessary to have the concurrence of seven of the council to give validity to an act of the governor. Where there is such a want of civil authority, can it be supposed that the military, be they ever so numerous, can be of the least service. For, continued his lordship, I shall always consider a military power, acting under the authority and control of a civil magistrate, as a part of the constitution; but the military alone ought not to act, and cannot do so legally.

He proposed, by this bill, to take the

executive power from the hands of the democratic part of the government in that province, that the governor should act as a justice of peace, and that he should have the power to appoint the officers throughout the whole civil establishment, such as the sheriffs, provosts, marshals; the chief justice and judges of the supreme court excepted; all which officers should be removeable by his majesty. Town-meetings to be declared illegal, unless held by the special consent of the governor, or upon the annual election of certain officers, which it is the people's province to choose. He proposed to put juries upon a different footing, which regulation he acknowledged to have been suggested by lord George Germaine. These regulations, he apprehended, would effectually purge that constitution of all its crudities, and give strength and spirit to the civil magistracy and to the executive power.

WITH a view to qualify these severe acts, some members in the house of commons, who had assented to the Boston port-bill, particularly Mr. Rose, Fuller, and the honourable Constantine Phipps, were of opinion, that something of a conciliatory and redressing nature should accompany them, as a probable means of rendering them efficacious. The advocates for such a measure pleaded that parliament, whilst it resented the outrages of the American populace, ought not to shew a disposition to irritate the orderly and well-affected part of the colonies. That if such had satisfaction in the matter of taxes, they would become instrumental in restraining the inferior and more turbulent from outrages; and that this sacrifice to peace would be at very little expence, as the produce of the tax was of no importance to Great Britain. Such arguments were meant to pave the way for a motion to repeal the duty upon tea. The debate chiefly turned upon the policy of the repeal at this particular time.

LORD North denied that the tea-tax was an inconsiderable revenue, and strongly contended, that no acts of lenity should accompany their restrictive acts. To repeal at this time, would shew such a degree of wavering and inconsistency, as would defeat the good effects of the vigorous plan, which, after too long remissness, was at length adopted. Parliament ought to shew that it will relax in none of its just rights, but enforce them in a practical way. The legislature ought to shew that it is provided with sufficient means of making itself obeyed, whenever it is resisted. If the tax upon tea is repealed, other demands will be made on the part of America, which, as soon as complied with, will be followed by others, until even America herself is surrendered. If the house persisted in that wholesome severity, which it had begun to exercise, there was no doubt but obedience on the part of the Americans would be the result. Let but Great Britain maintain her rights with firmness, then peace and quiet will soon be restored.

THE house divided upon the question, whether a committee should be appointed to take into consideration the repeal of the duty; ayes 49, noes 103.

THIS question being dismissed, the house proceeded to the second reading of the bill for regulating the government of Massachusett's bay. In support of it Mr. Welbore Ellis asserted, that it was the duty of the crown to take away or alter charters, if they were found deficient of the purpose intended. Then the American papers on the table were sufficient evidence of the fact, that it was not necessary to have any farther hearing on either side. Great inconveniencies, he said, had arisen from the present form of government, which frequently retarded business, but which would be removed by this bill. Mr. Charles Jenkinson said, it was right to take away charters if they were abused, and to govern the Americans, as they were not capable of governing themselves. Mr. Jeremiah Dyson contended, that the house proceeded not as a court of justice, but in their legislative capacity, regulating and supplying the deficiencies in charters which had been granted by the crown.

ON the other side, general Conway pleaded that the Americans had done no more than every subject would do in an arbitrary state, where laws are imposed against their will. He thought taxation and legislation in that case inconsistent; and asked, Have you not a legislative right over Ireland? Yet no one will say we have a right to tax Ireland. He predicted, that these acts respecting America would involve this country and its ministers in misfortunes—and he wished it might not be added—in ruin.

MR. Pownall, who had been some years

governor of Massachusett's bay, spoke ably on the form of government in that province, and concluded with characterizing the Americans as a conscientious, religious, peaceable set of people; and added, that a more respectable set of men did not exist in all his majesty's dominions.

Mr. Dowdeswell pleaded strongly and ably that the province should be heard, before an act was passed which would entirely deprive it of its chartered rights. He presented a petition from Mr. Bollan, agent for the council of the province, praying that the bill might not pass into a law, until he should have time to receive answers from thence to letters which he had sent. The prayer of this petition, he said, was so perfectly reasonable, that it appeared impossible to be rejected out of the court of the inquisition. The petition was rejected. The bill was carried on the second reading, without a division.

Lord North then proposed a third bill, which he hoped would effectually secure the province of Massachusett's bay from future disturbances. He said, the juries of that country were not established after the manner in which our juries here are, and therefore were not so likely to give to each offender that impartial trial, which, by the laws of this country, he was entitled to. By the bill which he meant to propose, whenever it should be found in that country that a man is not likely to meet with a fair and impartial trial, the governor should be empowered to send him to any of the other colonies, where the same kind of spirit has not prevailed; but if it should be thought that he cannot have a fair and impartial trial in any of the colonies, in such a case the party accused shall be sent to Great Britain, to be tried before the court of King's-bench, the expences of which trial to be drawn for out of the customs of England. Such a measure, he trusted, would shew to America, that this nation is roused to defend its rights, and to maintain the peace and security of its colonies, and, when roused, that the measures taken are not cruel nor vindictive, but necessary and efficacious. His lordship proposed that the bill should continue in force for three years, and declared it to be the last measure that parliament would take, after which it required, that his majesty's servants there should be vigilant in the execution of their duty, and keep a watchful eye over every encroachment upon these newly-created powers, and not suffer the least degree of disobedience to their measures to take place in that country. The customary relief of troops, he said, which was four regiments, were ordered for Boston, and general Gage would go out with them as commander-in-chief and governor of the province. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them, in the execution of the laws for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusett's bay in New England, and produced precedents to warrant the measure, which were, that the habeas corpus act had been suspended in the year 1745. The smugglers apprehended, for offences committed on the coast of Sussex, had been made triable in the county of Middlesex, and the Scotch rebels in England.

The opposition denied the necessity of this act, even on the supposition that justice might be perverted in New England; because, in such cases, the prerogative of the crown might step in, and the governor might reprieve any one who appeared to be convicted illegally or unjustly.

Colonel Barré declared he rose with great unwillingness to oppose this bill in its very infancy, before its features were well formed, and to claim that attention which the house seemed to bestow, with great reluctance, on any arguments in behalf of America, whilst their proceedings, as they were, had the least colour of justice, he said, he desisted from opposing them, and although the bill for shutting up the port of Boston contained in it many things most cruel, unwarrantable, and unjust. Yet as it was couched under those general principles of justice, retribution for injury, and compensation for loss sustained, he desisted from opposing it. The bill was a bad way of doing what was right, but still it was doing what was right. As to the bill then before the house, he pronounced it to be unprecedented in any former proceedings of parliament, and unwarranted by any delay, denial, or perversion of justice in America. It was so big with oppression and misery to that country, and with danger to this, that the first blush of it was sufficient to alarm and rouse him to opposition. It went to stigmatize a whole people, as persecutors of inno-

cence, and men incapable of doing justice, without a single fact being produced, on which to ground the imputation. On the contrary, the instances which have happened are direct confutations of such charges. The case of captain Preston was recent; this officer and some soldiers had been indicted at Boston for murder, in killing some persons in the suppression of a riot; they were fairly tried, and fully acquitted. It was an American jury, a New England jury, a Boston jury, which tried and acquitted them. Captain Preston has under his hand publicly declared, that the inhabitants of the very town where their fellow-citizens had been slain, acquitted him. This is the very case the act supposes. Is this the return made them? Is this the encouragement given them to persevere in so laudable a spirit of justice and moderation. He denied that the cases of trials for smuggling, and of treason, in the last rebellion, did at all apply to the present case, because the inconveniencies of prosecution or defence were comparatively insignificant, on account of the little distance to which the trials were removed. He took notice of lord North's expression, "We must shew the Americans that we will no longer sit quiet under their insults," and called it mere declamation, unbecoming the character and place of him who uttered it. He asked, in what moment have you been quiet? Has not your government, for many years past, been a series of irritating and offensive measures, without policy, principles, or moderation? Have not your troops and your ships made a vain and insulting parade in their streets and in their harbours. It has seemed to be your study to irritate and inflame them. You have stimulated their discontents into disaffection, and you are now goading their disaffection into rebellion. Can you expect to be well-informed, when you listen only to partisans? Can you expect to do justice, when you will not hear the accused?

After having endeavoured to shew that the bill was without precedent to support it, or facts to warrant it, he proceeded to represent the consequences which it was likely to produce. A soldier feels himself so much above the rest of mankind, that the strict hand of the civil power is necessary to check and restrain the haughtiness of disposition which such superiority inspires. What constant care is taken in this country to mind the military, that they are under the restraint of the civil power? In America their superiority is felt still more. Remove the check of the law, as this bill proposes, and what insolence, what outrage may you not expect? Every passion that is pernicious to society will be let loose upon a people unaccustomed to licentiousness and intemperance. These people, who have been long complaining of oppression, will see in the soldiery those who are to enforce it upon them, whilst the military, strongly prepossessed with the idea of that people being rebellious, unawed by the civil power, and actuated by that arbitrary spirit which prevails in the best troops, will commit violences, which might rouse the tamest people to resistance, and which the vigilance of their officers cannot effectually restrain. The inevitable consequence will be open rebellion, which you profess by this act to obviate. I have been bred a soldier, he continued, and have served long. I respect the profession, and live in the strictest habits of friendship with many officers; but there is not a country gentleman of you all, who looks upon the army with a more jealous eye, or would more strenuously resist the making them independent of the civil power, than myself. No man is to be trusted in such a situation. It is not the fault of the soldier, but the vice of human nature, which, unbridled by law, becomes insolent and licentious. When I stand up an advocate for America, I feel myself the firmest friend of this country. We owe our greatness to the commerce of America. Alienate your colonies, and you destroy the genuine supply which nourishes your own strength. Let the banners of rebellion be once spread in America, and you are an undone people. You are urging this desperate, this destructive issue. You are urging it with such violence, and by measures tending so manifestly to that fatal point, that though a state of madness only could inspire such an intention, it would appear to be your deliberate purpose. You have changed your ground; you are becoming the aggressors, and are offering the last of the human outrages to the people of America, by subjecting them in effect to military execution. I know the vast superiority of your disciplined troops over the provincials; but beware how you supply the want of discipline by desperation. Instead

of sending them the olive branch, you have sent the naked sword. By the olive branch I mean a repeal of all the late laws, fruitless to you, and oppressive to them. Ask their aid in a constitutional manner, and they will give it to the utmost of their ability. They never yet refused it, when properly called upon. Your journals bear the recorded acknowledgments of the zeal with which they have contributed to the general necessities of the state. They may be flattered into any thing, but they are not to be driven. Have some indulgence to your own likeness. Respect their sturdy English virtue, retract your odious exertions of authority, and remember, that the first step towards making them contribute to your wants, is to reconcile them to your government.

An old member, who was very rarely adverse to the ministry, strenuously opposed this bill, and concluded his speech with these remarkable words: "I will now take my leave of the whole plan. You will commence your ruin from this day. I am sorry to say, that not only the house has fallen into this error, but the people approve of the measure. The people, I am sorry to say, are misled. But a short time will prove the evil tendency of this bill. If ever there was a nation running headlong to ruin, it is this."

On the 8th of May, sir George Saville moved for leave to present a petition, from the natives of America resident in London, against the two bills then depending; which was admitted.

In this petition it was asserted, that a charter so granted, as that of the third of William and Mary, to the province of Massachusett's bay, was never before altered, or resumed, but upon a full and fair hearing; that therefore the present proceeding is totally unconstitutional, and sets an example which renders every charter in Great Britain and America entirely insecure. The appointment and removal of the judges at the pleasure of the governor, with salaries payable by the crown, puts the property, liberty, and life of the subjects, depending on judicial integrity, in his power. The petitioners perceive a system of judicial tyranny at this day imposed upon them, which, from the bitter experience of its intolerable injuries, has been abolished in this country.

It then proceeded to state the objections to the other bill, for the more impartial administration of justice in the province of Massachusett's bay, many of which were similar to those urged by colonel Barré, which have been already stated. The bill, says the petition, by giving a dispensing power to the governor, advanced as he is by the former bill above the law, and not liable to any impeachment from the people he may oppress, must constitute him an absolute tyrant. No history can shew, nor will human nature admit, of an instance of general discontent, but from a general sense of oppression. The petitioners wished they could possibly perceive any difference between the most abject slavery and such entire submission to a legislature, in the constitution of which they have not a single voice, nor the least influence, and in which no one is present on their behalf. They regarded the giving their property, by their own consent alone, as the unalienable right of the subject, and the sacred bulwark of constitutional liberty. To deprive the colonies, therefore, of this right, is to reduce them to a state of vassalage, leaving them nothing they can call their own, nor capable of any acquisition but for the benefit of others. They entreated the house to consider, that the restraints which the examples of such severity and injustice impose, are ever attended with the most dangerous hatred. In a distress of mind which could not be described, the petitioners conjured the house not to convert their zeal and affection, which have hitherto united every American hand and heart in the interests of England, into passions the most painful and pernicious; most earnestly they beseeched the house not to attempt reducing them to a state of slavery, which the English principles, which they inherit from their mother country, will render worse than death. The bill for regulating the government of Massachusett's bay, was that same day carried by a majority of almost five to one.

In the house of lords, the absolute necessity of a powerful and speedy remedy for the cure of a government, which was so totally debilitated as that of Massachusett's bay, was the chief reason assigned for the haste with which the bill was carried through, for declining to hear evidence at the bar, and for departing from the ordinary rules by which judicial proceedings are regulated. The lords in

administration endeavoured to prove, that the process was not of a penal nature, so far from it, that it was beneficial and remedial. They went so far as to assert it to be a great improvement in the Massachusett's form of government, because it brought it nearer to the English model. All these assumptions were controverted by the minority lords, who strenuously opposed the bill, without being able to make any converts to their opinion. It passed on the 11th of May, 92 against 20. The licentiousness of the people was thus to be suppressed by the licentiousness of power. A protest was, however, entered on the journal, which was signed by eleven lords.

1774. In this protest it was maintained, that the rights which the inhabitants of Massachusett's bay enjoyed, by virtue of their charter, could not be properly taken away, without the definite legal offence, by which a forfeiture is incurred, being first clearly stated and fully proved, and the parties affected by such proceedings should have notice of the process, in order that they might plead in their own defence. Such a mode of proceeding is not technical formality, but substantial justice. It proceeded to say, that if the numerous land and marine forces which were ordered to assemble in Massachusett's bay, were not sufficient to keep that single colony in any state of order, until the cause of its charter can be fairly and equally tried, no regulations in this bill, nor in any other brought into that house, are sufficient for that purpose. Another objection made was because the appointment of all the members of the council, which this bill vested in the crown, is not a proper provision for the equilibrium of the colonial constitution, the crown being empowered to increase or lessen the number of the council on the report of the governor, which tends to destroy freedom of deliberation, and wholly to annihilate its use. The regulation respecting the sheriffs was another innovation strongly objected to in this protest, the appointment of them being by the will of the governor only, without requiring in the person appointed any local or other qualifications, and making that officer changeable by the governor and council, as often, and for such purposes, as they shall think expedient, is a power which the British constitution has not trusted to his majesty and his privy-council. Hereby the invaluable right of trial by jury is turned into a snare for the people, who have hitherto looked upon it as their main security against the licentiousness of power. It concludes with saying, "If the force proposed shall have its full effect, that effect, we greatly apprehend, may not continue longer than whilst the sword is held up. To render the colonies permanently advantageous, they must be satisfied with their condition.

The reception given to the other bill, which went to regulate the administration of justice in Massachusett's bay, in the house of lords, was similar to that which changed the nature of its government, where it was carried by 43 to 12. The minority lords, on this occasion, likewise entered a very strong protest, in which they assigned, among other reasons for their dissent from the bill, that, after the proscription of the port of Boston, the disfranchisement of the colony of Massachusett's bay, and the variety of provisions which have been made in the session for new-modelling the whole polity and judicature there, this bill is an humiliating confession of the weakness and inefficacy of all the proceedings of parliament, by supposing that it may be impracticable by any means which the public wisdom could devise, to obtain a fair trial there for any who act under government. By the bill, therefore, it is virtually acknowledged, that the British government is universally odious to the whole province, and that it is or may become hateful to the colonies, which is to publish to all the world, in terms the most emphatical, the little confidence the supreme legislature reposes in the affections of so large and so important a part of the British empire. The bill therefore amounts to a declaration, that the two houses of parliament know no means of retaining the colonies in due obedience, but by an army, rendered independent of the ordinary course of law in the place where they are employed. They likewise dissent, because they think that a military force, sufficient for governing upon this plan, cannot be maintained, without the inevitable ruin of the nation; and lastly, because the bill seems to be one of the many experiments, towards an introduction of essential innovations into the government of the empire.

Towards the close of the session, the house of commons took into consideration the state

of the gold coin, some regulations respecting which had been made in the preceding session, and by a royal proclamation, which had been issued for that purpose. Evidence was given at the bar by some of the officers of the mint, and a gentleman from the bank, which went to prove the vast quantities of gold coin which had been diminished, and many resolutions were agreed to by the house. The deficient coin was called in, without any loss being sustained by the holders, and a recoinage took place. The whole amount of the gold coin, brought into the mint in consequence of the various regulations made in the year 1773 and 1774, amounted to upwards of twenty-three millions. We are told by a celebrated calculator, that in February 1772, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. might be got by melting heavy guineas; gold in coin not being permitted to be exported to any large amount, whilst bullion was under no prohibition. What encouraged this kind of traffic was, that the balance of trade had been generally against us ever since the conclusion of the last war, arising from the increase of luxury and the national debt; for by the latter large sums were annually sent out of the kingdom, in payment of interest. The same writer gives it as his opinion, that enough had been done to restore the gold coin by the first coin act; and that all which was afterwards done had been nothing but a preparation of the coin for melters and exporters.

A BILL had passed the house of lords, with little notice, and but weak opposition, for the purpose of making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America, and was brought to the commons on the 18th of May. On the second reading it was very strongly opposed.

BY his majesty's proclamation, dated 7th of October 1763, the countries, territories, and islands, ceded by the peace, were declared to be formed into four distinct governments, viz. Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, by virtue of letters patent, under the great seal of Great Britain; and the respective governors were vested with express power and direction, that, as soon as the state and condition of the said colonies would admit thereof, they should, with the advice and consent of the members of their respective provincial councils, summon and call the general assemblies within the said governments respectively, in such manner and form as is used and directed in those provinces and colonies in America, which are under the immediate government of the crown. And the governors were thereby farther empowered, by the consent of the council and representatives of the people so summoned, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the public peace, welfare, and good government of their colony, as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, under such restrictions and regulations as are used in other colonies. And until such a form of government can be established, all persons inhabiting in, or resorting to, those colonies were assured of the royal protection, for the enjoyment of the benefit of the English laws; for which purpose courts of judicature were directed to be constituted, to determine all causes, as well criminal as civil, according to law and equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, with a right of appeal to the king's privy-council, under the usual limitations and restrictions.

THE Quebec bill went to establish most important regulations. Its first object was to affix new boundaries to the province, in doing which, it in fact renounced the claims which had been made by commissioners appointed by the British court, to settle with the French the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, for it made the province of Quebec, or Canada, to extend along the southern coast of the river St. Lawrence, from Chaleur bay almost to Crown Point; to maintain the contrary to which was the principal business of that commission. The bill, in farther describing the new limits to the province, carried them over the whole interior country which lay behind the New England provinces, together with those of New York and Pennsylvania, to the borders of the Ohio. The limits would most probably have been extended quite to the back of Georgia, if the charter granted to the province of Virginia had not conveyed the right to all lands westward, quite to the river of Mississippi; so that here the progress was stopped, and it struck off westward, through no less than ten degrees of longitude, to the eastern banks of the Mississippi, from whence it proceeded northward, until it touched the southern boundary of the lands granted to the Hudson's Bay company, being from about the fortieth to the fiftieth degree of latitude.

These regions, in which nature delights in the majestic, include the five great lakes, were much more extensive than the kingdom of France, and are capable of subsisting a larger number of inhabitants. The other grand object in the bill was to new model the government of a province, thus extended to the circumference of a mighty empire. It granted the free exercise of the religion of the church of Rome, subject to the king's supremacy, and granted to the clergy of that church the power of holding, receiving, and enjoying their accustomed dues and rights, with respect to such persons only as shall profess that religion; a right being reserved in his majesty, to make such provision, out of the rest of the accustomed dues and rights, for the encouragement of the protestant religion, and for the maintenance and support of the protestant clergy, within the province, as shall appear necessary and expedient. In all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights, within the province of Quebec, resort to be had to the laws of Canada, as the rule for their decision. The governor, lieutenant-governor, or commander-in-chief, with the consent of the legislative council, have the power of enacting new laws, except such as lay on any tax or duty, and repealing or altering old ones; but all such acts must receive the royal approbation to be in force. Real and personal estates might be disposed of by will, if executed either according to the laws of Canada or England. The criminal law of England was by this bill continued in the province. The provincial assembly was abolished, by being suspended in the following terms: "And whereas it is at present inexpedient to call an assembly, it is suspended, and the council is to consist of no more than 23, or less than 17, composed of persons resident in the province, and appointed by the king."

Mr. Dunning called it the most pernicious bill ever offered to parliament. He represented the form of government thereby given to the inhabitants of Canada, as essentially the same in form, and more liable to abuse, than the one they had formerly enjoyed under the crown of France; and that the ecclesiastical establishment granted to them was intended to cheat them out of their civil liberties as British subjects. It was intended, he said, to operate two ways; first, for establishing arbitrary power in that vast extent of country; and secondly, to employ that power, thus modified and rendered obedient to the will of the possessors, in assisting to overthrow the liberties of America. Mr. Thurlow (attorney general) stated to the house the different governments which had prevailed in Canada from the first settling in that country by the French, and contended that it was dangerous, cruel, and unprecedented, to establish new laws in a conquered country. General Carleton, governor of Canada, was examined. He shewed the inconsiderable number of protestants settled in Canada, compared with those who professed the Roman catholic faith. The inhabitants in general, he said, liked the old French laws in preference to the English form of government, and he was of opinion, the bill then depending would not be generally relished. In the progress of the business many other witnesses were examined, viz. Mr. Hay, chief justice of the province; Mr. Mazeres, cursitor-baron of the exchequer, and late attorney-general there, and agent to the English inhabitants of Canada; Dr. Marriott, the king's advocate-general in England; Mons. Lolbiniere, a French gentleman of considerable property in Canada. It was proposed, that general Murray, who was the first British governor in the colony, and continued in that capacity several years, should be summoned to attend; but it was overruled. The information obtained by these witnesses was principally as to the preference given by the French inhabitants to the French or English laws, and it seemed pretty evident that different sentiments prevailed among different ranks and conditions. The gentry made choice of the French code; the middle order and peasantry preferred the English laws.

A PETITION was presented to the house from Thomas and William Penn, owners of a great part of the province of Pennsylvania, representing the great injury their property would receive by the bill, and praying to be heard by counsel. Another petition was presented, signed by several merchants trading to Canada, which set forth, that several clauses in the bill would materially affect their property. Counsel was heard at the bar, in behalf of both petitions. A petition was likewise presented by the city of London against the bill. Serjeant Glynn insisted that it was a breach of the royal promise, contained in the proclamation in the year 1763,

which declared, that all persons who would go over to Quebec should be entitled to the same laws and protection as they had had in England, whereas the bill before the house went to establish French laws, and the Roman catholic religion. In reply to the attorney-general he shewed, that it was far from being unprecedented to introduce a new code of laws into a conquered country; Ireland and Wales were proofs thereof.

In support of the bill it was urged, that the laws which regarded personal property, and contracts between man and man, were much the same in France as in England. The French had no notion of a trial by jury, and disliked it as an innovation. The treaty of Paris, it was said, had secured to the French Canadians the free exercise of their religion, as far as was consistent with the laws of England; and our penal laws, with respect to religion, it was asserted, did not extend beyond this kingdom as the king's supremacy did, and the Roman catholics of Canada were obliged by the act to give a proof of their allegiance by taking an oath which was prescribed against all such papal claims as interfered therewith. The securing to the Romish clergy their tythes, by the act, was no more than placing them in the condition which they stood in at the conquest, subject, however, to this disadvantage, that no person professing the protestant religion was to contribute any thing to their support. The extension of the boundaries of the province, beyond the limits described in the proclamation, was justified by the plea, that several French families were settled in remote parts of the country, beyond the former districts, and an entire colony was established among the Illinois Indians.

The opposition to the bill was founded on the notorious incongruity which appeared, in a British legislature establishing a form of arbitrary government in any part of the empire. Such a conduct was unknown in the history of this country, and would have been execrated at any other time than the present. The setting aside the assembly of the province was imputed to the utter dislike which the ministry bore to such popular deputations, as well as to all the rights of the people at large. The measure was called an experiment for setting up an arbitrary government in one colony, which may be more patient of it than the rest, in order to extend by degrees that mode of ruling to all the others. It was asked, Why is a trial by jury abolished in suits at law? Can the people be thought to have an objection to trust their property to a tribunal, to which they have trusted their lives? They insisted, that the grand security of liberty is the power of having civil actions tried by a jury, as in cases of arbitrary imprisonments, and many other violations of the right of the subject. The redress has been always sought in such a way. The English residing in Canada, and the merchants of Great Britain, who trusted their property on a presumption that it was under the protection of the English laws, would be greatly aggrieved in being subjected to French customs, and French forms of trial. The regulations made with respect to the religion of the country, was much objected to. Every one seemed willing to allow the most extensive toleration to the Roman catholic religion; but many warmly opposed the establishment of that religion throughout the province, and giving protestantism no more than a toleration. The popish clergy gain a legal parliamentary right to a maintenance; the protestant clergy are left at the king's discretion. Both ought at least to be put on an equal footing, and legal support provided for both.

This bill occasioned debates and larger minority upon each division than any of the bills respecting America, which had been before the house of commons this session. Many amendments were made to it, and the minority laboured hard to give a trial by jury at the option of the parties; but in this they failed, as well as in obtaining for the Canadians the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. In consequence of the amendments it was sent back to the lords for their concurrence; which furnished lord Chatham with an opportunity of entering very fully into the merits of the bill. The amendments were agreed to, 25 against 7. The lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, presented an address to his majesty, praying that he would not give his royal assent to the Quebec bill, immediately on receiving of which, he went to the house of peers, and gave his royal assent to such bills as were ready, of which this bill was one, and then put an end to the session.

It is very remarkable that all the regula-

tions made in this session of parliament, respecting the government of the American colonies, were in exact conformity to governor Hutchinson's idea of colonial administration, as expressed in an extract from one of his letters, which we have given. By extending the limits of the province of Quebec to all lands situated behind the northern and middle colonies, which were not expressly included in any charter, if any settlements were already made by any of the colonists, on parts out of their limits, which was very probable, such settlers would be immediately deprived of their democratic form of government. It also circumscribed the old colonies within certain limits, which, if in future times they should be found too narrow for their increased population, those who sought new possessions would be obliged to relinquish their chartered form of government.

Another act, which affected the province of Quebec, received the royal assent at the same time; the purport of which was to establish a fund, towards further defraying the charges of the administration of justice, and support of the civil government, within that province. The French had laid duties on rum, brandy, and other liquors imported into the province of Canada, now called the province of Quebec, and upon all dry goods imported into, and exported from, that province; all of which by this act were taken off, and in their stead was laid a duty of 3*d.* per gallon on brandy and other spirits, the manufacture of Great Britain. On West India rum, or other spirits, 6*d.* per gallon; on American 9*d.*; rum or spirits of foreign manufacture 1*s.* Molasses and syrups were to pay similar duties, according to the ports from whence they were brought. The same act obliged every person keeping a house of public entertainment, or retailing wine or other liquors, to take out a licence, for which he was to pay 30*s.* The revenue arising from the duties on merchandize was appropriated to defraying the expences of the administration of justice, and the support of the civil government in the province. The money arising from licences was granted to his majesty. This act, therefore, served to establish in the province both commercial and internal taxation, as well as the right of parliament to dispose of the money raised by taxes there, either to the support of the province, or for any other purpose they should think proper to apply it to. This act was essential to the perfection of that system of government which was framed for Quebec. Notwithstanding which, it was little noticed, either in its progress through the two houses, or by the people at large.

On the 10th of May, 1774, died Lewis XV. king of France, in the 65th year of his age, and 59th of his reign; who was succeeded by his grandson, Lewis XVI., then almost twenty years of age. The young king had been four years married to a princess of the house of Austria. On his accession, he found his kingdom recovering from that state of confusion into which it had been plunged by the improvidence of his predecessor, but who, in the latter part of his reign, had applied every method to rectify the disorders of state. Lord North took occasion to speak of this event in the house of commons. He said, a great and good prince was dead, who was a man of an amiable and peaceable mind; but his successor was not only wise and œconomical, but a pacific prince, who would not enter into any unnecessary war to try projects. The new reign produced a new minister of finance, Mr. Turgot. The edicts issued during his administration were phænomena in the political world; an absolute king rendering account to his subjects, and inciting his people to claim a right, which it has been the business of all absolute kings and their ministers to extinguish in the minds of men; but the regulations which he aimed at introducing excited so strong an opposition, that he was soon obliged to quit his post, which was given to a man, who afterwards accomplished what the other had attempted in vain, by introducing a very general reformation in the government and affairs of France, so far as the public revenue was concerned.

Meanwhile the consequences which were expected to follow from the exemplary punishments inflicted on the colony of Massachusett's bay, were not realised. The spirit of rivalship, which used to prevail in the American sea-port towns, now no longer subsisted. No merchant discovered the slightest disposition to advantage himself by the shutting up of the port of Boston; and the colonies in general, instead of deprecating that vengeance of the mother country towards themselves, which they saw fallen on one

province, considered it as a common cause, and were forward to express their adherence to the principles which had incurred such heavy punishment. An agreement was drawn up at Boston, which was called, *A Solemn League and Covenant*, the subscribers to which bound themselves, in the most solemn manner, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the Boston port-bill, and the other obnoxious acts of parliament, were repealed, and the colony of Massachusett's bay fully restored to the rights which it derived from its charter. The people, not only in the New England governments, but in the other provinces, entered into this new league with the utmost eagerness. A general congress was held at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September, 1774, deputies to which were chosen by the houses of representatives of each province. The smaller colonies sent two, and the larger ones seven. The whole number of delegates amounted to fifty-one. The province of Georgia alone did not accede to the confederacy. In this general assembly each colony had no more than a single vote, whether its deputation was more or less numerous.

On the 30th of September, 1774, the parliament was suddenly dissolved by a royal proclamation, after having sat six years, and the writs for electing a new house of commons were returnable on the 29th of November following. As this was a very unexpected measure, because an unusual exertion of the regal prerogative, no similar instance having happened for almost thirty years, it gave the ministry great advantages in the election of members. Indeed the exigencies of the crown and the state of public affairs were such, that administration could not allow that the next session of parliament should be employed in framing such popular acts, as constantly take place in the last session of parliament. The ministry had very important, and not very agreeable objects before them: the one was to pay off the debts incurred upon the civil establishment, and to obtain an increase in the annual revenue; the other, to bring the Americans to unconditional obedience; and only a house of commons which was just entered on its functions could venture to concur in such designs.

Although the parliament which was now dissolved had, in some particular instances, been adverse to the minister, and left him in a minority; a conduct which had ever been considered, in former administrations, as portending his removal; yet no one of these instances was succeeded by any diminution of the minister's influence, in any of the grand objects pursued by government. On the contrary his lordship seemed, like Antæus, to gain strength by every fall. In no parliament, since the revolution, did the crown obtain so great an increase of influence as in this. A parliament, in the reign of Richard II., was called, the wonder-working parliament, because it punished the judges and ministers with severity, and endeavoured to reconcile the king and his people. Other parliaments have likewise been distinguished by titles expressive of the general tendency of their conduct, on which account that house of commons which increased the national debt upwards of sixty millions, during the preceding war, was called by some the prodigal parliament. On the same principle, the thirteenth parliament of Great Britain might with propriety be entitled, the regal parliament. At the close of it, lord North appeared to be firmly established in his high office; indeed his abilities were admirably adapted to the conducting of affairs in the house of commons, by his steady attention and application to business, his coolness in debate, and talents as a speaker. For having now sat in three parliaments, he had corrected very strong natural impediments, which lay in the way of his becoming an orator, and had acquired a very agreeable and persuasive elocution, which he employed, with great address, in foiling the attacks made upon him from various parts of the house. On all occasions he maintained his dignity, without appearing to assume or dictate.

These qualities led a learned law-officer of the crown to remark in the house, that although many members might be ready to name some one whom they considered as better qualified to act as prime minister, according as their party attachments or private friendships influenced their judgments, yet all those gentlemen, he believed, would agree in acknowledging, that, next to the man of their choice, no one was so eligible as the lord who then held that post; from whence he inferred that he was actually the best qualified for it, when partiality and prejudice were gratified; all parties agree in their second nomination; impartial reason will declare such an one pre-eminently meritorious.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GEORGE III.

[1774, 1775.]

Evils foretold on the first Settlement of Colonies in America—General Gage appointed to the chief Command—First Meeting of the American Congress—Feelings of the English People—Lord Chatham's Motion in the House of Lords—Mr. Burke's System of American Government—Conduct of the Earl of Effingham—Sentiments of the European States respecting the Contest between England and America—Evacuation of Boston by the English—Battle of Bunker's Hill and other Operations.

WHEN the design of establishing colonies in North America first became a national object, in the reign of James I., the speculative politicians of the age raised many objections to the measure, and foretold, that after draining the mother country of inhabitants, the colonies would shake off her yoke, and establish for themselves an independent government. More than a century and a half, however, had elapsed, and neither of these predictions had been realised. Experience had shewn, that the depopulation of Great Britain, by emigrations to America, was not to be feared, and the apprehension of the colonies declaring their independence does not appear to have been entertained, by the government of England, till the conclusion of the peace between France and Spain. Notwithstanding this security, it was evident that a time would arrive, when the northern continent of the New World, being overspread by a race of men, active, enterprising, and enthusiastically attached to freedom, would regard restraints as oppressions. The time at length approached, when the establishment of parliamentary taxation appeared to the Americans as an act of unjust and arbitrary violence; and it was obvious, that whenever their population should have trebled its present amount, that accession would lead them to disregard those prohibitions, which deprived them of the liberty to work up the materials which their earth yielded, for the purposes of civil life. The present race of Americans did not openly complain of the commercial restrictions which were laid upon them, but their immediate descendants, yet unborn; if it had happened that an uninterrupted course of prosperity had nurtured them into a contempt of secondary importance, they would have thought such burdens too grievous to be endured; at least, the history of mankind will warrant such a supposition, for subordination can be expected only from the weak to the strong. When such a revolt should have caused them to be upbraided with ingratitude to their parent state, they might have replied, "We have enriched you by our commerce whilst we were your dependants, we will still continue to do so on the footing of friends and equals; but our state of minority is now past.

AN independent condition is always accompanied by an independent spirit. Even a colony of Frenchmen, in whose breasts allegiance to their king was, at that period, the most active public principle, when they grew sufficiently numerous and powerful to support themselves, would have looked to independence as their right.

THE nature of the government established in British America, and the conduct of our kings towards the colonies, had uniformly been such as to encourage, instead of checking an independent spirit. The general law of

descent, in the New England provinces, is the extension of that which is known among us by the title of gavel-kind, for the children equally share the patrimony, which effectually bars the acquisition, or at least the perpetuity of large fortunes, and greatly promotes a republican spirit.

It has been asserted, that when a plan of taxation for America was proposed to sir Robert Walpole, he rejected it, saying, "Let such measures be adopted by my successors, I never will undertake so intricate a business." It is, however, certain, that his administration was the precise time for introducing such a form of government, as should correct whatever had been found to be wrong, or too indulgent, in the charters, and for familiarising the people to the mode of internal taxation, rather than to the burdens of it, which might have gradually increased in proportion to their ability of bearing them. The more opulent and considerable Americans should have been ennobled, and composed a legislative body in each province, to check the democratic tendency of the popular assemblies.

In short, it required the most penetrating eye, the most determined hand, and the most enlightened head, to establish such a system of government, among the rising colonies, as would have secured their attachment and obedience throughout a series of ages; and the proper time for adopting these establishments was, when they were beginning to reckon their population by millions. To introduce an hierarchy might be what the friends of perpetual subordination would rather have wished than supposed practicable. Fifty years before, address and management might have proved successful in warping the natural disposition of the people in civil establishments; but in religious matters the Americans were ever inflexible.

The views of the legislature towards America, before the commencement of the present reign, were entirely occupied about raising the colonies from a state of imbecility to a vigorous maturity; which was no sooner effected, than popular discontents and unsettled government at home greatly lessened that respect and awe, in which Great Britain had been held. We are now to relate the events which happened immediately after passing those restrictive acts of parliament, which shut up the port of Boston, and gave a new form of government to the colony of Massachusett's bay; a time when mutual distrust was rankling into bitter enmity.

That the coercive measures taken by government might produce their desired effect upon the people, general Gage was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in North America, and governor of Massachusett's bay. This gentleman had resided many years on the American continent, had filled many respectable posts, and had rendered himself popular by his general conduct. On his arrival at Boston in May, 1774, Mr. Hutchinson, the late governor, embarked for England.

Such was the prevailing temper of the people, as to render them little inclined to welcome, with sincere gratulations, any governor who might be placed over them, however they might venerate the personal qualities of the man. Nothing like dismay or remorse had been excited on the arrival of the act of parliament, by which the port of Boston was to be shut up. That which was meant as a punishment for sedition and violence, served only to rouse a more general spirit of resentment and opposition. The people felt the weight of the chastisement rather as citizens than as traders, and were more incensed at what they thought an arbitrary deprivation of their natural rights, than depressed by the prospect of ruin which it laid before them. Copies of the act of parliament were printed, and dispersed with great expedition over the whole continent of North America, south of the river St. Lawrence, and the cause of Boston was represented as the cause of all. The alarm became general. At many places the act was burnt with great solemnity. The day on which it became in force was devoted to fasting, prayer, and humiliation, throughout the whole continent, with very few exceptions. This devotional fervour was accompanied with a very spirited conduct, which the governors of the respective districts in vain attempted to oppose.

The new governor of Massachusett's bay was probably little prepared to meet so general and determined a confederacy. As he had heretofore had many opportunities of acquainting himself with the temper and disposition of the Americans, it would be a libel on the British cabinet to suppose that he had not

been consulted on the effect which was likely to be produced from this decisive proceeding of Great Britain, in which case, the opinion which he held cannot be doubted; for, by accepting the government, he shewed that he flattered himself with the expectation of restoring tranquillity: but human expectancy is the vainest of all vain things!

The first time the governor met the provincial assembly was merely to open his commission, to signify in form to that body the restrictive act of parliament respecting the port of Boston, and to appoint the next meeting to be held at Salem, on the 2nd of June following, for the dispatch of business. This assembly, when convened there, adhered closely to the example of the English parliament in the reign of Charles I.; they made the consideration of grievances precede all other business.

A resolution was passed in the house of representatives, that a general meeting of committees for the several colonies was expedient, and, at the same time, they named five gentlemen to represent that province, and voted £500 for their use. The governor refused to confirm this resolution, so that it became invalid; whereupon the assembly recommended to several towns and districts, to raise the money by equitable proportions. The house then came to many resolutions, with great secrecy, unanimity, and dispatch; recommending to the inhabitants of the province entirely to renounce the consumption of India teas, and, as far as possible, to discontinue the use of all goods imported from the East Indies, and from Great Britain, until the public grievances of America should be radically and totally redressed; in order to which, it was recommended that they should give every possible encouragement to the manufactures of America.

The governor, having obtained intelligence of these proceedings, sent his secretary to make declaration of his dissolving the assembly. He found the door locked; and, having sent to acquaint the speaker that he had a message from the governor to deliver to the house, he received for answer, "that the doors must be kept fast." The secretary, being thus debarred admittance, caused proclamation to be made on the stairs of the dissolution of the general assembly, which put a final end to the existence of that body in the province of Massachusett's bay, as founded on the charter granted by king William and queen Mary. Still, however, some feeble efforts were made, by a small number at Boston, to deprecate the vengeance of the mother country, and a sum of money was raised, for the purpose of indemnifying the East India company for the tea which had been destroyed; but notwithstanding the governor exerted all his influence in cherishing and increasing this propensity to obedience, it was borne down by the tide of popular fury, until the arrival of the act of parliament which deprived the colony of Massachusett's bay of its charter, and introduced a new form of government there, which served to alienate the minds of the small remnant, who had till then retained their principles of loyalty uncorrupted.

The people of Massachusett's, (zealously attached, not only to the principles, but even to the forms which prevailed in the last century, during the grand conflict between the king and the puritans,) subscribed a confederacy, which they called, *A Solëmn League and Covenant*, whereby they bound themselves to maintain no kind of intercourse whatever with Great Britain, from the 31st day of August following, until the Boston port-bill and the subsequent American acts should be repealed. The parties to this agreement engaged themselves farther not to consume or purchase any kind of goods which might arrive after that time; and whoever should import or vend any goods, the manufacture of Great Britain, were deemed enemies to their country, and cut off from all social intercourse. In civil contentions, neutrality is held to be criminal; such, therefore, as would not subscribe to this test, had their names made public, as enemies to their country, and abettors of the attempts to enslave it. A philosophic moderation, as it is non-efficient upon the impetuous multitude, must be disclaimed, when the interests and passions of men cause civil distractions; hence the advocates for liberty are frequently hurried into acts of tyranny. It may be affirmed, that England had never less freedom than under the government of the long parliament, and afterwards under Oliver Cromwel.

The violence of the people at Boston was, however, somewhat overawed by the arrival of large bodies of troops at different times; and the justices of Plymouth county signed a congratulatory address to general Gage, in

which the establishment of committees of correspondence, and the compact entered into by the solemn league and covenant, were reprobated. The gentlemen of the county of Worcester also signed a protest against all riotous and seditious practices. The province of New York, though not inclined to yield obedience to the regulations of the British parliament, was yet averse to become a party to that open opposition which their northern neighbours had shewn, and preferred the milder expedient of stating their grievances to parliament in an humble address, which the majority of their house of representatives agreed to. No such means of reconciliation were sought by the province of Maryland; the people there vying with those of Boston in their unqualified resentment. The extensive province of Virginia was on very bad terms with lord Dunmore, its governor. That province first appointed a committee of correspondence, in order to propose to the other colonies, that deputies from each should be appointed to meet annually, in general congress, there to deliberate upon such measures as became necessary for the common interest of America.

Even the capital of Pennsylvania, a city whose very name denotes brotherly love and good-will, and which its benevolent founder ardently wished should ever prevail among the inhabitants, so far from declining to become a party in the contention with Great Britain, readily received delegates from each of the colonies, the two Carolinas included, and which composed a general congress, which first sat on the 5th of September, 1774. The colony of Georgia alone was not represented in this assembly. These deputies were chosen by the houses of representatives, from each of the twelve old colonies; viz. New Hampshire, Massachusett's bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, the counties on the Delaware, North and South Carolina; the smaller of which sent two deputies, and the largest ones seven. The whole number of delegates amounted to fifty-one. In this general assembly of the American states, each colony had no more than a single vote, whether its deputation was more or less numerous. So that a contrariety of opinion, among the deputies from any particular province, if the majority was in favour of the measure, did not occasion a dissenting voice in the congress. New Hamsphire and Rhode Island sent two deputies each, New Jersey and Maryland four, Virginia six. The sense of any colony could not be taken, if their deputation was equally divided in their opinions.

The first acts of this body were declaratory of the allegiance which the American states owed and acknowledged to their sovereign, of their affection to Great Britain, their dependence upon her, and of the benefits and favours which they had received from their parent state. In the most explicit terms they declined any wish of becoming separated from and independent of Great Britain; but, at the same time, they declared themselves entitled to a participation of all the rights and privileges of British-born subjects. That the power lately assumed by parliament was unjust, and the only cause of all the present uneasiness; that the late acts, respecting the capital and province of Massachusett's bay were unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous. These sentiments were expressed in a public act, which they called a declaration of rights, in which they kept close to the example set them by the third parliament in the reign of Charles I. The specification of their rights is full and explicit, and was followed by an enumeration of their grievances. As the most effectual means to obtain a redress the congress recommended to the several colonies, to abide by those agreements which they had entered into, not to import or consume any British goods or merchandize, or any East India teas, or the products of the British West India islands, after the first day of December, 1774, from which time they would wholly discontinue the slave-trade. There were many other articles recommended, but nothing was authoritatively enjoined.

Congress afterwards agreed to petition his majesty; they likewise framed an address to the people of Great Britain, and another to the inhabitants of Quebec. In the petition they laid a variety of grievances before the throne, distinct from and independent of the present subject of dispute. The addresses were drawn up with great ingenuity and force of reasoning; the first was designed to shew, that the people of England had, in the last century, contended with their kings, for the preservation of the same rights which the Americans were now deprived of by a British

parliament. They insisted that the oppression was essentially the same, although the oppressors were changed. But not altogether relying on the efficacy of this appeal to the justice of the nation, the addressers endeavoured to gain it over to the cause of America, by representing that the certain consequences of unconditional submission, being exacted from her, would be the subversion of the constitution of the mother-country; and the tyranny of an aristocracy being engrafted on that of the crown.

The address to the inhabitants of Quebec aimed at persuading them, that they were cajoled out of those natural rights, which had been secured to them at the last peace, by the insidious act which established the Roman religion in Canada. The principles laid down were supported by the authority of the greatest political writers of France, and these French Americans were invited to become parties in a league which equally concerned all. Little else was transacted in this first session of the congress, which was closed on the 26th of October following. These proceedings in America, which indicated the most determined opposition to the measures which had been adopted by the British legislature, being sufficiently known in England, the king met this new parliament. The first lord of the treasury entered upon his parliamentary campaign under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment. All the predictions which he had delivered concerning that submissive temper which would be produced by wholesome severity were falsified, and no alternative remained, but to plunge the nation into a civil war, or to degrade it by undoing whatever had been done. If, in this situation, the minister could console himself with the reflection, that he was neither the original framer of any one of those acts, nor their strenuous supporter in the cabinet; yet such a declaration would have availed him little in the house of commons, against an active opposition, who, by shifting their ground, could attack him, with equal advantage, upon his unimportance in the cabinet, as his delusive expectations in the senate.

The speech from the throne was couched in as mild terms as the state of affairs would admit of, without renouncing the point contended for. It neither described the general defection of the colonies, nor spoke of any one colony, as being in a state of actual rebellion. Lord Beauchamp moved for the address, and expressed himself with some warmth on the conduct of the Americans. The disposition of the new parliament was quickly seen by the style of the address, which was presented in answer to the speech; and although the opposition attempted to counteract the views of the ministry, by proposing an amendment, which gave rise to a long and spirited debate, yet upon a division of the house, their numbers appeared comparatively small.

But however ministry were proved to have been deceived in their expectations from America, yet the sudden dissolution of parliament became, from that very disappointment, the means by which they continued in power. Things were now brought to a crisis, that a house of commons, guided by the voice of the people, which in the concluding session of parliament is essential to their immediate views, dared not to have proceeded upon a plan of coercion. It was indeed now generally understood, that the new-modelling the form of government throughout North America, and securing that continent to Great Britain, by introducing such regulations as might form habits of subordination and obedience, was the favourite object of the sovereign, and to propose the means by which such a renovation of loyalty might be effected, was the surest introduction to royal favour; notwithstanding which, the nation was very much divided in opinion concerning the proper conduct to be observed towards America. Some were for coercion, because they hoped to derive a revenue therefrom; and the lowest plebeians, whom neither nature nor education had qualified to decide upon an intricate subject, thought themselves able to adjust this dispute, by only asking the plain question, *Why should not the Americans pay taxes as well as we?* National pride, as well as an idea of national interest, strongly enforced the same doctrine. Superadded to these considerations, motives neither national nor laudable actuated not a few to foment the quarrel with America; such as the prospect of lucrative contracts, appointments, and a distribution of the confiscated estates of the American ringleaders. All these were powerful incentives to action; however, the contrary opinion was rescued from contempt,

both by the numbers and the consequence of those who avowed it. The country gentlemen, although the pillars of prerogative, foresaw that the land-tax must be advanced to 4*s.* in the pound, as soon as the sword be drawn; and, although the ability of Great Britain to enforce her laws was not doubted, yet whether a revenue could be drawn from America, should her submission be secured, appeared highly problematical. The commercial interest was yet more deeply affected by an open rupture. The colonies stood indebted to the British merchants about four millions sterling, which, though a vast sum, was no more than the amount of a twelvemonth's commerce. This respectable body of men not only saw themselves deprived of a most lucrative trade, but cut off from all hope of obtaining speedy payment of the sums due to them, and in danger of losing them for ever. A numerous body of manufacturers derived their only means of subsistence from the intercourse with the colonies, and therefore considered the non-importation agreement, which their consumers had entered into, as the greatest possible evil, and were anxious for a reconciliation upon any terms. Besides these classes of men, whose particular and immediate interests urged them to become strenuous advocates in the American cause, there were many people, who, though influenced by no private or interested views, could neither see the justice nor expediency of compelling the Americans to absolute submission, and the operative principle of private interest among the bulk, gave an energy and force to such speculative reasoning.

The meeting of parliament was the important moment for action; the sense of the house had been taken as soon as it was assembled, and it had been found to be in perfect unison with the former parliament, so that the temper which dictated the resolutions of the cabinet, was likely to infuse itself into the legislative part of the constitution. The great question now was, Whether British spirit should be opposed to American spirit; whether bold, vigorous, and judicious exertions should be immediately made to crush that opposition, before it had gained strength, which it was found could not be terrified into acquiescence. In such a situation, to temporise was to yield; delay and irresolution added fuel to the flame: but in conducting this momentous business, the confidential servants of the crown shewed themselves better qualified for drawing the nation into hostile measures, by secret and imperceptible steps, than at once to bear down opposition in both countries by the spirit and ability which were conspicuous in their plans. The nation was lulled into security by the number of seamen, for the year 1775, being reduced to 16,000 men; the land forces were also fixed at 17,547 effective men, officers and invalids included, a smaller force than the preceding year.

Whilst administration seemed totally to have forgotten the state of affairs in America; addresses were presented both to the king and to the parliament, from the city of London, and various parts of the kingdom, representing the dreadful consequences which the enforcement of the late rigorous acts would produce; and expressing an earnest desire, that a reconciliation with America might take place. A petition from the merchants residing in London, and trading to America, was presented to the house of commons by Mr. Alderman Hayley; a similar one from Bristol, by Mr. Burke; the West India merchants and planters also stated in a petition, how deeply they were concerned in this dispute; stating, that an interruption of the intercourse between the British American continent and those islands, was likely not only to deprive the latter of the means of sending their produce to Europe, but to cause a great body of people to perish for want of sustenance. A committee of the house of commons was appointed, to whom these petitions were referred.

In the mean time, the petition from the American congress to the king had been transmitted to London; but the agents appointed to present it were informed, that his majesty could not possibly receive any thing which came from that body, as such a step would be acknowledging its legality

On the 26th of January, sir George Saville moved, in the house of commons, to present a petition from three American agents, viz. Messrs. Bollen, Franklin, and Lee, stating, that they were authorised by the American congress to present a petition of that assembly to the king, which petition his majesty had referred to the house; the petitioners therefore desired to be heard at the 1776.

bar in support of it, being, as they said, able to throw great light on the subject. The granting of this prayer was strongly opposed, from the same reason which excluded the petition from the throne, and it was thrown out by a majority of 218 to 68. As it was well known that the Americans had formed great expectations from this application, and the minister, only three days before, had assigned as a reason of the delay in proceeding on the American business, that such a petition was coming over, and that it was of so conciliatory a nature, as to make way for healing and lenient measures, and for reconciling all matters in an amicable manner, such a conduct appeared somewhat paradoxical, and indicated, that no kind of compromise could take place; at the same time, it might be plainly inferred, that this austerity on the part of government was just then assumed.

Such being the temper which dictated measures, the application by the general assembly of the province of New York, to the house of commons, was not permitted to lie upon the table. The city of New York was the rival port to Boston; the Yorkists were as much distinguished by their love of gaiety and pleasure, as the Bostonians were for their austere and rigid demeanor. A people so opposite, in interests and habits, could only be compelled to unite through necessity; and hence the former were desirous of making their peace with Great Britain upon terms, though they abhorred the idea of unconditional submission; but the ministry thought such a qualified allegiance not worth obtaining.

All negotiation being now at an end, Franklin soon after embarked for Boston, where he was received with every mark of respect and confidence. His unremitting exertions in the cause in which he was engaged, contributed essentially to its support and furtherance. The ministry, who well knew how dangerous an enemy this man was, had declared the northern colonies to be in a state of actual rebellion before his departure; state necessity therefore pointed out to them, that he should be detained in England. Mr. Pitt, when he declared general warrants to be illegal, at the same time acknowledged that he himself had issued them upon great emergencies. The parliament, which approved the measures pursuing against America, would most assuredly have indemnified both the advisers and executors of such a stretch of power as the detaining this man. Upon the same principle, it would have been a proper conduct in general Gage to have prevented the conveyance of arms and ammunition out of the town of Boston, which were, however, carried off without question or molestation.

As soon as the house of lords met after Christmas, the earl of Dartmouth, then secretary of state, laid before it the official papers received from America, upon which occasion the earl of Chatham inveighed with great spirit against the dilatoriness of administration, and moved "to address his majesty to cause orders to be issued to general Gage, that he remove the forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the season of the year, and other circumstances indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the troops, may render it practicable." He urged the necessity of such a step, as the means of opening a way for settling the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there. He said, the time now lost might produce years of calamity, and pledged himself that he would not desert for a moment the conduct of this mighty business, from the first to the last, unless nailed to his bed by the extremity of sickness; but would knock at the door of a sleeping ministry, and rouse them to a sense of their imminent danger.

The times were greatly changed since this wonderful man "moulded the attentive senate; charmed, persuaded, exalted;" and, by the force of his matchless eloquence, annihilated all opposition. He now addressed an assembly, whose preconceived opinions were not to be shaken by the strongest arguments. He could now no longer gain upon his audience by touching their master-passion, and placing full in their view the advancement of their country's dignity and power. He now maintained a doctrine quite repugnant to the pride, the prejudice, and, as it was imagined, the interest of those who heard him. Wrapped in the contemplation of their own grandeur and irresistible strength, they considered all predictions of disgrace, humiliation, and ruin, as the images of a sick fancy, the suggestions of a melancholy mourner; yet all these disadvantages did not deter this venerable statesman, whose "old experience" had attained to "somewhat like a prophetic strain," from predicting, with great confidence, the

consequences which would infallibly result, if the measures which had been adopted were persisted in. He described the situation of the troops at Boston, as truly unworthy being penned up, and pining in inglorious inactivity, he called them an army of impotence and contempt, and to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they were an army of irritation and vexation; "you irritate your colonies to unappeasable rancour. It is not repealing this or that act of parliament, it is not repealing a piece of parchment, that can restore America to our bosom, we must repeal her fears and her resentments; and we may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted by an armed force posted at Boston, irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, concessions, if they could be forced, would be suspicious and insecure; but it is more than evident, that you cannot force them, principled and united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission—it is impossible. We shall be forced ultimately to retract, let us retract whilst we can do it with honour. The violent oppressive acts must be repealed. I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them. I stake my reputation on it. I will consent to be taken for an ideot, if they are not finally repealed. Avoid then this humiliating, this disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace and happiness; for that is your true dignity, to act with prudence and with justice. Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America, by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your acts of parliament, and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures. Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors."

The noble earl concluded his animated harangue in the following emphatical manner: "My lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from the crown, but I will affirm that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone." The motion was rejected 68 to 18.

This motion, made by the noble earl, was only preparatory to a bill which he had framed, for the purpose of conciliation with America, which he proposed to the house on the 1st of February; it went to repeal all the acts which had been passed in the former session, relative to America, in which were included the Quebec act, and another act, which regulated the quartering of soldiers. It also went to repeal eight acts of parliament, which had been passed in the present reign, from the fourth year thereof to the twelfth. It proposed to restrain the powers of the admiralty and vice-admiralty courts in America within their antient limits, and to establish the trial by jury in all such civil cases in which it had been lately abolished; the judges to hold their offices and salaries as the judges in England, *quam diu se bene gesserint*. It declared the colonies of America to be justly entitled to the privileges, franchises, and immunities granted by their several charters or constitutions, and that such charters ought not to be invaded or resumed, unless for misuse, or some legal ground of forfeiture. This bill, although rejected by a large majority, was yet supported by a much more numerous minority than the motion which preceded it.

This attempt to overturn all that government had done, with regard to America, seemed to rouse administration from their lethargic stupor. The minister presented a message from his majesty to the house of commons, recommending an augmentation of the forces by sea and land; which being complied with, and 2000 additional seamen, and 4383 land forces voted, the house being resolved into a committee on the American papers, he moved for leave to bring in a bill, to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of New Hampshire and Massachusett's bay, the colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantation, in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West Indies, and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time. Still the severity of punishment was

confined to the northern colonists, and the minister represented this restraining bill as a just retaliation, for those colonies refusing to trade with Great Britain. The fisheries both nourished the vigour and advanced the consequence of the New Englanders; fisheries not only supplied multitudes of their own people with food, but trained a race of seamen as robust, hardy, and undaunted as any upon the globe. The vessels employed therein were privileged to dispose of their cargoes in any ports south of cape Finisterre; so that the rigid disciples of John Calvin furnished the catholics of Portugal, Spain, and even of the Italian states, with their Lenten entertainment. The returns made in these voyages were brought to the ports of Great Britain, and became the payment for British manufactures, with which these ships were freighted home. To prohibit a commerce so extensive, and which employed several thousand Americans, was a bold step. It invested the governor of each province with such a power to discriminate between rebels and loyalists, as flesh and blood could scarcely be supposed capable of exercising disinterestedly and justly. It tended to convert into enemies a very powerful body of men, and no satisfactory proof was adduced that the fisheries could be carried on to an equal extent, and as effectually, from any of the ports of Great Britain or Ireland.

Whatever inconveniencies the New England colonists endured from this prohibition, they found means, however, to repay the injury in kind upon the British fisheries at Newfoundland; for, by withholding their wonted supplies of provision, all the distresses of famine were suffered for a considerable time, until they received a supply from Ireland, by which exhausted life was repaired; but the means of subsistence became from that time more precarious and less abundant.

The severity of this bill was disrelished by many friends of government, who had hitherto supported coercive measures towards America. In order therefore to quiet their scruples, the first lord of the treasury brought forward another American act, which bore a different complexion. This he professed to be a plan of reconciliation with the colonies, and thereby to invite them to return with confidence to the arms of Great Britain. It enacted, that the governor, council, and assembly of any province or colony, upon making provision, according to their abilities, for the common defence, (which provision should be disposable by parliament,) and for the support of the civil government and administration of justice in such province, if such contribution should be approved of by his majesty in parliament, then Great Britain should forbear, in respect of such colony, to levy any duties or taxes, such only excepted as may be expedient for the regulation of commerce; and the neat produce of such to be carried to the account of the province so acting.

The minister acknowledged it to be very probable that these propositions might not be acceptable to the Americans in general, as they certainly did not go to all their claims. The resolutions were, however, just, humane, and wise, and they would, he believed, think them well worthy of their attention; but whatever might be the fate of these measures, he felt that he had done his duty fairly and consistently. If it did no good there, it would do good here, it would unite the people of England, by holding out to them a distinct object of revenue; as it united England it would disunite America; there it would tend to separate the grain from the chaff; whatever province came first to make a dutiful offer, would be kindly and gently treated; but if but one province accepted the offer, the whole confederacy would be broken, and that union, which alone rendered them formidable, would be dissolved.

In every point of view, this bill did not produce the effect expected from it; for it neither strengthened the hands of government at home, nor made proselytes in America.

The great advantage on the side of government, throughout this parliamentary struggle, was derived from its unanimity; whereas the opposition was composed of such discordant parts, as were not likely to unite firmly and strenuously in any one point, but in endeavouring to disconcert the present system of politics; so that, whenever it became a question, what should substituted in its stead? many adopted the sentiment of the Roman poet, *Nullius addictus jurare in verbo magistri.* Lord Chatham's plan was not cordially relished by many who wished a reconciliation with America, and indeed independent of the particular views and private interests of the several leaders, (a source of disagreement sufficiently fruitful,) nothing

could be more complicated than the business of adjusting a practical plan of reconciliation, which would meet the approbation of both countries, such as would cause their rising resentments to subside, their jarring interests no longer to clash, and the apprehension of future rivalship to be removed; this was so stupendous a work, as perhaps to surpass the powers of humanity, unsupported by the supreme authority of the state. It was, however, attempted (mangre royal patronage) by a man, in whom natural endowments, and acquired accomplishments, appeared in their full lustre. Mr. Burke laid before the house of commons, on the 22nd of March, 1775, thirteen resolutions for conciliation with the colonies. These he introduced by a speech fraught with masterly eloquence, in which he displayed a thorough knowledge of the principles of action, among mankind in a state of civil society, and of the proper political conduct resulting from such principles. He laid it down as an axiom, that we must govern America according to the true nature and peculiar circumstances of the people, and not according to our own imagination; nor according to abstract ideas of right, or mere general theories of government. He stated the rapid progress which America had made in population, and in the commerce carried on with Great Britain. He asserted, that the colonies in general owed little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they were not squeezed into their happy form by the constraints of a watchful and suspicious government, but that, through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature had been suffered to take her own way to perfection. He assigned, as the causes from whence a fierce spirit of liberty had grown up in the colonies, their origin—their form of government—the force of religious principles in the northern colonies—of manners in the southern—of education—and of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government. Under the head of education he observed, that perhaps in no other country in the world the law is made so general a study as in North America; insomuch as that it was said, nearly as many copies of Blackstone's Commentaries had been printed and sold in America, as in England. This knowledge of law, some might say, ought to teach them more clearly the rights of legislature, their obligations to obedience, and the penalties of rebellion; but when great honours and great emoluments do not win over this knowledge to the service of the state, it is a formidable adversary to government. His reasoning, solid and irrefragable in itself, received all the embellishment which a fine imagination could bestow. In large bodies, said he, the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Curdistan, as he governs Thrace. Perhaps ideas of liberty might be desired, more reconcileable with an arbitrary and boundless authority. Perhaps we might wish the colonies to be persuaded, that their liberty is more secure, when held in trust for them by us, (as their guardians during a perpetual minority,) than with any part of it in their own hands; but the question is not whether their spirit deserves praise or blame.

This able legislator then proceeded to deliver it as his opinion, that there were but three ways of proceeding relative to this stubborn spirit which prevailed in the colonies; namely, to change that spirit as inconvenient, by removing the causes; to prosecute it as criminal; or to comply with it as necessary. One means of changing the spirit was, by taking measures to stop that spreading population which was so alarming to this country, by the crown making no further grants of land. But this, he said, would by no means answer the purpose, there being already so much unsettled land in private hands, as would afford scope for an immense future population; and the numerous bodies which could obtain no settled habitation, would become hordes of English Tartars, which would be in time formidable to the fixed residents. He called this project "hedging in population," and pronounced it to be neither prudent nor practicable.

A more direct way of breaking their spirit would be to impoverish them, by arresting the noble course of their marine enterprises. This, he said, was more than the old, and, as he thought, the exploded problem of tyranny, which proposes to beggar its subjects into submission. But nature still proceeds in her ordinary course, and discontent will increase with misery; and there are critical moments in the fortune of all states, when they who are too weak to contribute to our prosperity, may

be strong enough to complete our ruin. The temper and character which prevailed in the colonies, he thought unalterable by any human art; neither the natural nor moral causes could be changed.

As to the second mode of proceeding, to prosecute this spirit in its overt acts as criminal; he knew, he said, of no method of drawing up an indictment against the whole people; and in a quarrel among the component parts of a great political union of communities, nothing could be more completely imprudent than for the head of the empire to insist, that if any privilege is pleaded, against his will or his acts, that his whole authority is desired instantly to proclaim rebellion, to beat to arms, and to put the offending provinces under the ban. Such conduct may teach the provinces, that the government, against which a claim of liberty is tantamount to high treason, is a government in which submission is equivalent to slavery. If then the removal of the causes of this spirit of American liberty be for the greatest part, or rather entirely, impracticable; if the ideas of criminal process be inapplicable, or, if applicable, are in the highest degree inexpedient, what way yet remains? No way is open but the third and last, to comply with the American spirit, as necessary; or, if you please, to submit to it as a necessary evil. It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tells me I ought to do. Of what avail are titles and arms, when the reason of the thing tells me, that the assertion of my title is the loss of my suit; and that I could do nothing but wound myself with the use of my own weapons? The general character and situation of a people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them.

He urged, with great force of reasoning, the conduct of the legislature in early times, towards the kingdom of Ireland, the principality of Wales, and the county palatine of Chester; and contended, that the same principles which actuated our ancestors, in their conduct towards those countries, should govern us in our treatment of America. "It was not," said he, "English arms, but English constitution that conquered Ireland; it was the vital substance of free government in that kingdom." Wales, before it partook of those common rights, rode this kingdom like an incubus. That principality was an unprofitable and oppressive burden. Our ancestors at length found, that laws made against a whole nation were not the most effectual methods for securing its obedience; Wales, therefore, in the reign of Henry VIII., became possessed of all the rights and privileges of English subjects. About the same time, the county palatine of Chester obtained the same relief, in consequence of a petition presented to the king, which set forth, "that for want of being represented in parliament, the inhabitants of that country had been oftentimes touched and grieved with the acts and statutes made within the court of parliament, as well derogatory unto the most antient jurisdictions, liberties, and privileges of their county palatine, as prejudicial to the commonwealth, quietness, rest, and peace of your grace's most bounded subjects, inhabiting within the same." Parliament, he observed, so far from being offended at the free style of this petition, made the expressions used therein the very preamble to that act of redress, and consecrated its principle to all ages in the sanctuary of legislation. Thus was Chester, which had been little less distempered than Wales, cured by the same remedy; which demonstrates that freedom, and not servitude, is the cure of anarchy, as religion, and not atheism, is the true remedy for superstition.

The grand stimulus for coercive measures with America was, the full assurance which was entertained by many, that the colonies would go farther. That with their increasing strength they would increase their discontents, until they disclaimed all subordination. Now although the idea of a perpetual minority might have been treated as a chimera, engendered by pride upon selfishness, yet our orator knew too well the disposition of his audience to combat that sentiment; he therefore passed over superficially a point, which it was dangerous to discuss fully.

The system of colony government, which this able statesman had formed, was in every essential point analagous to that which had been framed by lord Chatham. Each renounced the idea of America being represented in the British parliament. Mr. Burke's plan went to repealing only one of the eight acts of parliament proposed by the noble earl in the other house; but, with him, it urged the

necessity of repealing all the acts respecting America, which had passed in the last session of parliament, the Quebec act excepted; to regulate the courts of admiralty; and that the judges should be paid by the assemblies, and hold their posts during good behaviour. The basis on which the whole fabric rested, was the mode by which a revenue should be raised. Mr. Burke proposed, that all grants or aids to Great Britain, made by America, should be by resolutions in their general assemblies; the readiness of those assemblies to grant an equitable supply for the exigencies of the state, he inferred from the free grants which they had, at sundry times, made of large subsidies, according to their abilities. All these resolutions were rejected by a great majority.

Mr. Burke appealed to the public, by printing his speech; the public read, admired, and forgot it. In short, posterity alone is qualified to decide upon the merits of a politician, who attempts to reason down the pride of empire, and to persuade a warlike people to yield, when they imagine themselves able to dictate. No orator ever succeeded in a cause, wherein it was impossible for him to engage some active passion of the human soul in his interest.

Whilst the important dispute with America caused warm debates in both houses of parliament, and greatly divided the nation, a variety of publications issued from the press, in some of which the conduct of government was defended with great zeal, and in others as warmly attacked, sometimes by ridicule, and not unfrequently with abuse. Indeed the liberty of the press prevailed in its full extent. The ministry, instead of punishing abusive writers, retained in their pay such as were very eminent for that qualification; it having been thought more serviceable to the cause of government to bear down scurrility by scurrility, than to prosecute delinquents in the courts of law. To restrain the licentiousness of the press, used to be deemed necessary by ministers, but now a different kind of conduct was adopted; the abuse of the press was even countenanced, and became auxiliary to government. The natural attachment which mankind feels to order and decorum, cause men of sense and influence to be disgusted at the abuse and illiberality which is poured out; and the forbearance of government is construed into moderation, when perhaps their own emissaries are the delinquents.

The most able and respectable advocate for government was Dr. Johnson, a writer who had spent a long course of years in literary pursuits, no less laborious to himself than beneficial to mankind, and who was at length, by the well-directed bounty of his sovereign, rescued from those uneasy sensations, which must prey upon a man of genius, who is compelled to make writing a profession. This gentleman had ever avowed his political sentiments, which led him to be strongly attached to the house of Stuart, and to treat with asperity the conduct of the legislature towards that family; but he had at length, like many others who held the same principles, transferred his loyalty to the Brunswick line; it was, therefore, in the integrity of his heart that he undertook a defence of American taxation from the imputation of tyranny. In this piece he defended the doctrine of colonial subordination upon the principles of the law of nations; maintained that the colonists, by their situation, became possessed of such advantages as were more than equivalent to their right of voting for representatives in parliament; ridiculed the distinction made between internal taxation and commercial regulations, and argued, that as the parliament may enact for America a law of capital punishment, it may therefore establish a mode and proportion of taxation.

This work was published about the time that Mr. Burke delivered his celebrated speech in the house of commons. It is to the honour of human nature to have it remarked, that these two contemporaries, distinguished in the highest degree for the universality of their knowledge and learning, as well as for the elevation of their genius, notwithstanding they were strenuous supporters of very opposite political sentiments, lived in habits of the strictest friendship, and enjoyed "the feast of reason, and the flow of soul," amidst the turbulence of political contention. A glorious triumph over those weaknesses, of which the human mind is too susceptible, even when under the government of a sound understanding!

When parliament met in the beginning of the following year, the clamours of the nation, and the censures of foreign courts, were endeavoured to be answered and evaded by

assurances of a conciliatory disposition, and by violent declarations against the treachery and perverseness of the Americans. The military preparations, on both sides, were active and extensive; but the first successes were on the part of the insurgents. The king's troops at Boston endured the utmost distress throughout the winter; while the provincials, who lay before that town, were well covered, and plentifully supplied with provisions. Early in the next year, they opened a battery near the water side, at a place called Phipps, and another on the other side of the town, which they began to bombard. General Home, surrounded with difficulties, soon discovered that the town was no longer to be retained. The confusion attending the embarkation of the troops and the inhabitants was not to be described; it was not merely the retreat of an army, but the emigration of a populous city; and, to add to the mortification of the fugitives, as the rear-guard were embarking, general Washington, with drums beating and colours flying, marched into the town.

In this state of the American dispute, we would wish to be indulged in making two remarks. The parliamentary regulations which had been made for the government of Massachusett's bay, in the beginning of the year 1774, not having been carried into effect, from the violent opposition shewn to that plan of government; and the civil institutions which their charter had established, being thereby abrogated, all the functions of legal authority were immediately suspended. No governor presided, no council assembled, no judges interpreted the law, no inferior officers exacted an observance of it. In such a state of anarchy, it was to be expected that the persons and property of individuals would be exposed to the depredations of lawless miscreants, who are to be found in greater or less numbers in every state, who by their crimes disgrace humanity, disturb the peace of society, and draw down the severity of the laws. But though the suspension of magistracy gave the needy and unprincipled a licence to do what was right in their own eyes, every one remained safe and unmolested. This colony had ever been characterized for an intolerant spirit in religion, and now stood accused of rebellion against the parent state, but its manners seem to have remained uncorrupted, insomuch that, in the course of eighteen years, it is said that only one criminal has been executed in the province. However we may abhor traitors, we cannot but admire such unexampled internal decorum!

Although defection had now spread over the American continent, yet two descriptions of men might have been expected to withstand the general contagion, at least utterly to renounce the idea of taking up arms against Great Britain, namely, the quakers, from principles of religion, and such military men who were natives of the British isles, but who had settled in America at the conclusion of the last war in considerable numbers; but the contrary proved to be the fact. Many of the younger quakers in Philadelphia formed themselves into volunteer companies, and the British officers, forgetting that doctrine of submission and subordination which they had imbibed with their tactics, took an active part with the Americans, and rendered the most essential service to their cause, by forming their husbandmen into soldiers.

Congress now sought to procure arms and ammunition for the insurgents, and as a royal proclamation had been issued, prohibiting the exportation of such articles from Britain, the public magazines were forcibly seized upon in many places. Mills were constructed, and manufactures established in Pennsylvania and Virginia, for making gunpowder, and American vessels visited the several European ports, from Cadiz even to Hamburgh. This activity was unremitted, whilst the antipathy which subsisted between the king's troops at Boston and the provincials was daily increasing, and foreboded speedy hostilities. Occasions for skirmishes were frequent; but the Americans pretend, that they cautiously avoided committing the first act of open hostility. They considered themselves as justified in taking up arms, for the purpose of self-defence, but disclaimed all design of attacking the king's troops. Whilst they observed this distinction, they contended, that according to the English constitution, they were not in a state of rebellion, or levying war against the king. Which side was the first aggressor in the affair at Lexington, (where a detachment of regulars, attempting to seize some cannon and ammunition, a sharp engagement ensued,) every man will decide upon according to his political attachments, for both parties disclaim it

However, this action in its consequences tended to beat up all America to arms. Congress being soon after re-assembled, (notwithstanding the American secretary had written circular letters to each colony, forbidding it in the king's name, and under pain of his displeasure, to elect deputies for the next general congress,) now began to assume the executive powers of government, and appointed Mr. George Washington, (a native of Virginia, and possessed of landed property there to the amount of £5000 per annum,) commander-in-chief of their forces. This gentleman had been trained to arms from his youth; but few opportunities had occurred in which he could gain military renown. His first exploit in arms, about the year 1754, proved unfortunate, but not disgraceful. The Americans esteemed the man, because they believed him to be as much distinguished by his personal virtues and talents, as by his fortune.

Twenty thousand provincials in arms now nemmed in the king's troops at Boston, and although large reinforcements from England and Ireland arrived about this time, with which came the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, yet it was found impossible to extricate the army from this disgraceful blockade. The daring attempt of a party of Americans, headed by a Dr. Warren, to fortify an eminence which commanded the town, brought on the fierce and fatal action of Bunker's hill, where victory was dearly bought, with the lives of many veteran officers.* General Howe, who led the attack, was almost the only officer who remained unhurt, although in the hottest of the action, and with numbers continually falling beside him. The British trained to discipline and inured to service, twice retreated before a body of peasants, who then, for the first time, faced an enemy. The undaunted courage of the general, which was well seconded by his officers, retrieved the fortune of the day. Warren, the American leader, was killed in the action. Charlestown, which stood on the northern peninsula, at the entrance of Boston bay, and consisted of about 400 houses, was unfortunately reduced to ashes. The manner in which this post was attacked has been much censured: had the troops been landed on the isthmus, near the town of Cambridge, the American works, it has been said, might have been more easily forced, and their retreat effectually cut off; but Putnam lay with a considerable force at a small distance, which probably determined the general against this mode of attack. On the other hand, the American general is equally censured for not marching his men to support the party on Bunker's hill.

The important forts of Ticonderago and Crown Point, the former of which, when possessed by the French, had withstood the attack of a large army, were now surprised and taken by a body of American volunteers, formed in the back settlements, and commanded by a colonel Easton, and a colonel Ethan Allen; but it does not appear that either of these partisans acted under commissions from congress.

* June 17, 1775.

CHAPTER XXV.

GEORGE III.

[1775, 1776, 1777.]

The Americans declare themselves independent—New York taken by General Howe—Congress remove from Philadelphia to Baltimore—The House of Commons grant an Addition to his Majesty's Income—Lord Cornwallis takes Philadelphia—General Burgoyne and his Army surrender to General Gates.

SOON after the evacuation of Boston, general Howe arrived with the English forces at Halifax; and general Washington, apprehending that the British might make an attack upon New York, detached some troops to its assistance. Arnold, at the head of the provincials, continued at this time the blockade of Quebec; and, aware that the time when the succours from England were expected now approached, he redoubled his efforts to possess himself of that city, before any assistance should arrive; but the activity of general Carleton baffled all the American exertions. The timely arrival of the Isis man of war, and two frigates, enabled the British governor to march out and face the besiegers, who fled on all sides, leaving their artillery and stores behind them.

In the beginning of June, sir Peter Parker's fleet anchored in Charlestown bar. The land forces were commanded by generals Clinton, Cornwallis, and Vaughan. On the 20th of June, the English made a vigorous, but unsuccessful, attack upon a fort in Sullivan's island, in which the English shipping received great damage.

The American colonists, finding all prospects of a reconciliation with the mother country cut off, and perceiving their own internal strength and importance to increase, determined at once to throw off the yoke of dependence. On the 4th of July, the congress of the thirteen English colonies declared themselves independent.

The declaration published by that respectable body, on this occasion, is a master-piece of composition, and contains so many great and useful principles of politics, as well as a full statement of the complaints of the Americans, that it would be inexcusable to withhold it from the reader. It is as follows:—

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands, which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth that station, to which nature and nature's God entitles them, separately and equally; a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to insure their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all

experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to abolish the forms to which they have been accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

"He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legistative bodies, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to obstruct the population of these states, obstructing for that purpose the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others, to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to the establishment of justiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent solely on his will for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass the people, and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of the legislatures.

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

"For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

"For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders, which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

"For cutting off our trade from all parts of the world:

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

"For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

"For transporting us beyond the seas, to be tried for pretended offences:

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries; so as to render it at once an example, and a fit instrument, for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the form of our governments:

"For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated government, hereby declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

"He is at this time transporting large armies of mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy,

scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

"He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

"He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United States are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

"John Handcock, *President.*

"*New Hampshire,*	Josiah Bartlett.
	William Whipple.
	Matthew Thornton.
Massachusett's Bay,	Samuel Adams.
	John Adams.
	Robert Treat Paine.
	Elbridge Gerry.
Rhode Island, &c.	Stephen Hopkins.
	William Ellery.
Connecticut,	Roger Sherman.
	Samuel Huntington.
	William Williams.
	Oliver Wolcott.
New York,	William Floyd.
	Philip Livingston.
	Francis Lewis.
	Lewis Morris.
New Jersey,	Richard Stockton.
	John Whitherspoon.
	Francis Hopkinson.
	John Hart.
	Abraham Clark
Pennsylvania,	Robert Morris.
	Benjamin Rush.
	Benjamin Franklin.
	John Morton.
	George Clymer.
	James Smith.
	George Taylor.
	James Wilson.
	George Ross.
Delaware,	Cæsar Rodney.
	George Read.
Maryland,	Samuel Chase.
	William Paca.
	Thomas Stone.
	Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.
Virginia,	George Withe.
	Richard Henry Lee.
	Thomas Jefferson.
	Benjamin Harrison.
	Thomas Nelson, junior
	Francis Lightfoot Lee.
	Carter Braxton.
North Carolina,	William Hooper.

North Carolina.	Joseph Hewes.
	John Penn.
South Carolina,	Edward Rutledge.
	Thomas Heywood, jun.
	Thomas Lynch, jun.
	Arthur Middleton.
Georgia,	Button Gwinnet.
	Lyman Hall.
	George Walton."

THE colonies, in October following, entered into articles of mutual confederation and perpetual union. From this moment we may consider the thirteen states as entirely separated from Great Britain, and have only to record the vain attempts of the latter, to subjugate them by force of arms.

1776. MANY circumstances pointed out the reduction of the city and province of New York, as important and practicable. Admiral lord Howe, and his brother, the general, followed by an army consisting of 13,000 Hessians and Walbeckers, undertook the expedition. These forces arrived at Sandy-hook, near New York, from Halifax, about the beginning of July. The general landed his troops on Staten island, and was received with great joy by a number of loyalists; and, both in his passage thither, and after his arrival, was joined by such considerable bodies, that the greatest expectations of success began to be formed. Lord Howe joined his brother soon after, and, by a flag, sent circular letters to the governors of the colonies, informing them of the powers which Britain had vested in his brother and himself; similar notice was sent to general Washington, who returned for answer, (in a conference between him and adjutant-general Paterson, who carried the letter,) that as their powers were little more than powers to grant pardons, they who had committed no fault sought no pardon, and that they were only defending their most indisputable rights.

THE British commanders resolved to make their first attempt upon Long Island. This they preferred to New York, as it abounded with those supplies which their forces required.

THE British landed, with no opposition, between two small towns, Utrecht and Gravesend. The American works protected a small peninsula, having Wallabout bay to the left, and stretching over to Red Hook on the right, the East river being in the rear. General Sullivan, with a strong force, was encamped within these works at Brooklyne. From the east side of the narrows runs a ridge of hills, covered with thick wood, about five or six miles in length, which terminates near Jamaica. There were three passes through these hills; one near the narrows, a second on the Flatbush road, and a third on the Bedford road, and they are all defensible. These were the only roads that could be passed from the south side of the hills to the American lines, except a road which led round the easterly end to Jamaica. The Americans had 800 men on each of those roads, besides colonel Miles, who was stationed with a battalion of riflemen; thus the road was protected, from the south of the hills to Jamaica, and the movement of the British observed.

GENERAL de Heister, with a body of Hessians, took post at Flatbush in the evening. (August 26th.) In the following night, the greater part of the British army, commanded by general Clinton, marched to gain the road leading round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica, and to turn the left of the Americans. He arrived, two hours before day, within half a mile of this road. One of his party fell in with a patrole of American officers, and took them all prisoners, which prevented the early transmission of intelligence. Upon the first appearance of day, general Clinton advanced, and took possession of the heights over which the road passed. General Gaunt, with the left wing, advanced along the coast by the west road, near the narrows; but this was intended chiefly as a feint.

THE guard, which was stationed at this road, fled without making any resistance. A few of them were afterwards rallied, and the American general, lord Stirling, advanced with 1500 men, and took possession of a hill about two miles from the American camp, and in front of general Grant.

AN attack was made very early in the morning, by the Hessians from Flatbush, under general de Heister, and by general Grant, on the coast, and was well supported for a considerable time by both sides. The Americans who opposed general de Heister were first apprised of the approach of general Clinton, who had come round on their left. They immediately began to retreat to their camp, but were intercepted by the right wing, under

general Clinton, who got into the rear of their left, and attacked them with his light infantry and dragoons while returning to their lines. They were driven back till they were met by the Hessians. They were thus alternately chased and intercepted, between general de Heister and general Clinton. Some of their regiments nevertheless found their way to the camp. The Americans under lord Stirling consisted of colonel Miles' two battalions, colonel Atlee's, colonel Smallwood's, and colonel Hatche's regiments, who were engaged with general Grant. These fought with great resolution for about six hours. They were uninformed of the movements made by general Clinton, till some of the troops under his command had traversed the country in their rear. Their retreat was thus intercepted; but several, notwithstanding, broke through and got into the woods, many threw themselves into the marsh, some were drowned, and others perished in the mud, but a considerable number escaped by this way to their lines.

The king's troops displayed great valour throughout the whole day. The variety of the ground occasioned a succession of small engagements, pursuits, and slaughter, which lasted for many hours. British discipline, in every instance, triumphed over the native valour of raw troops, who had never been in action, and who were unacquainted with the stratagems of war.

The loss of the British and Hessians was about 450. The killed, wounded, and prisoners of the Americans, including those who were drowned, or perished in the woods or mud, considerably exceeded 1000. Among the prisoners of the latter were two of their general officers, Sullivan and lord Stirling, three colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, three majors, eighteen captains, forty-three lieutenants, and eleven ensigns. Smallwood's regiment, the officers of which were young men of the first families in Maryland, sustained a loss of 259 men. The British, after their victory, were so impetuous, that it was with difficulty they could be restrained from attacking the American lines.

In the time of the engagement, and subsequent to it, general Washington drew over to Long Island the greatest part of his army. After he had collected his principal force there, it was his wish and hope, that sir William Howe would attempt to storm the works on the island. These, though insufficient to stand a regular siege, were strong enough to resist a coup de main. The remembrance of Bunker's Hill, and a desire to spare his men, restrained the British general from making an assault. On the contrary, he made demonstrations of proceeding by siege, and broke ground within 300 yards to the left, at Putnam's redoubt. Though general Washington wished for an assault, yet being certain that his works would be untenable when the British batteries should be fully opened, he called a council of war, to consult on the measures proper to be taken. It was then determined, that the objects in view were by no means proportioned to the dangers to which, by a continuation on the island, they would be exposed. Conformably to this opinion, dispositions were made for a retreat. This commenced, soon after it was dark, from two points, the upper and lower ferries on East river. General M'Dougal regulated the embarkation at one, and colonel Knox at the other. The intention of evacuating the island had been so prudently concealed from the Americans, that they knew not whither they were going, but supposed, to attack the enemy. The field artillery, tents, baggage, and about 9000 men, were conveyed to the city of New York over East river, more than a mile wide, in less than thirteen hours, and without the knowledge of the British, though not 600 yards distant. Providence in a remarkable manner favoured the retreating army. For some time after the Americans began to cross, the state of the tide, and a strong north-east wind, made it impossible for them to make use of their sail-boats, and their number of row-boats was insufficient for completing the business in the course of the night. But about eleven o'clock the wind died away, and soon after sprung up at south-east, and blew fresh; which rendered the sail-boats serviceable, and at the same time made the passage from the city direct, easy, and expeditious. Towards morning an extreme thick fog came on, which hovered over Long Island, and, by concealing the Americans, enabled them to complete their retreat without interruption, though the day had begun to dawn some time before it was finished. By a mistake in the transmission of orders, the American lines were evacuated three quarters of an hour

before the embarkation took place; but the British, though so near that their working parties could be distinctly heard, being enveloped in the fog, knew nothing of the matter. The lines were repossessed and held till six o'clock in the morning, when every thing except some heavy cannon was removed. General Mifflin, who commanded the rear guard, left the lines, and, by means of the fog, got off safe. In about half an hour the fog cleared away, and the British entered the works which had been just relinquished.

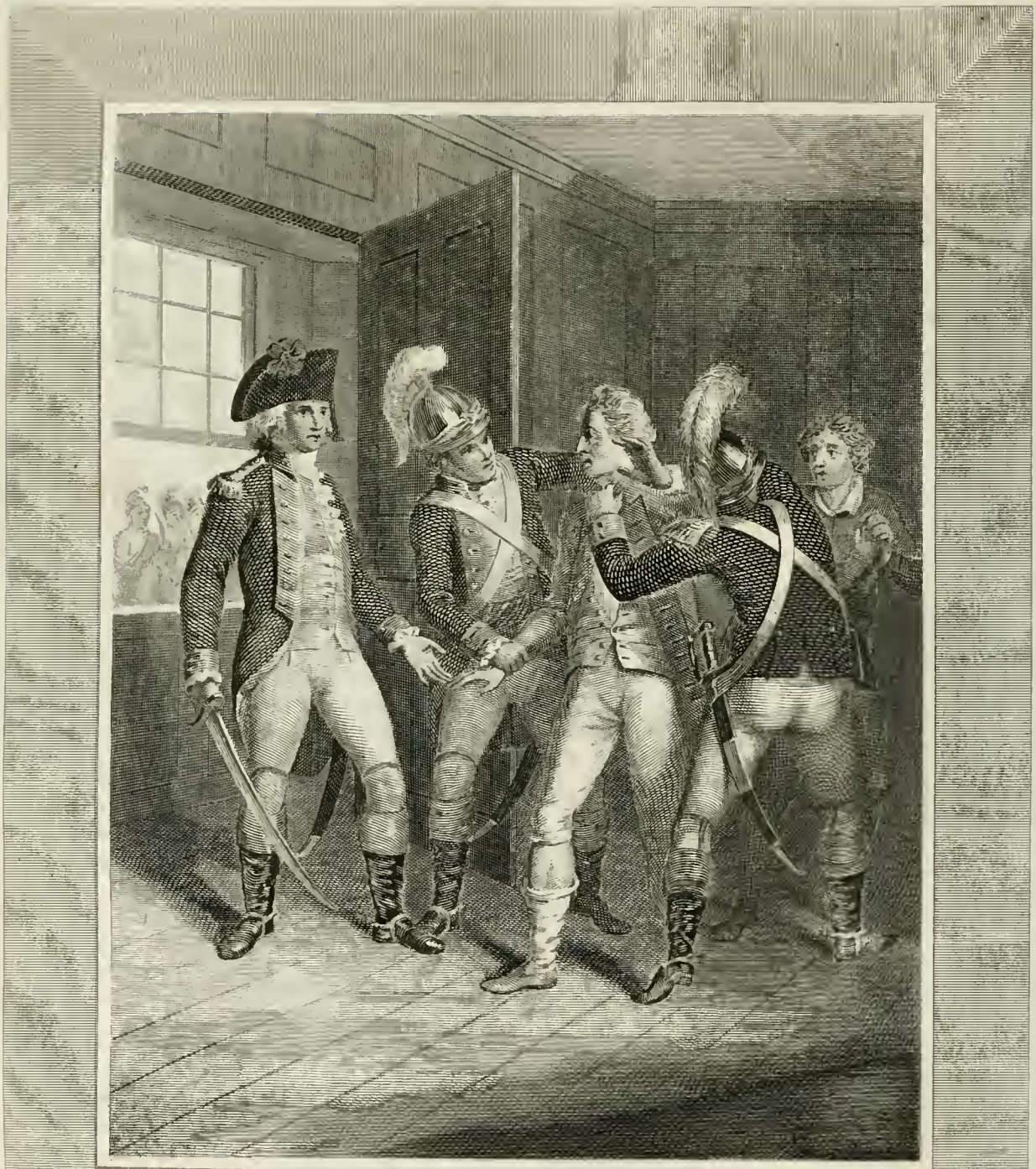
THE king's troops pursued their main object, the attack upon the city of New York, in the beginning of September, and took possession of it under the fire of five ships of war at Phipp's bay. These successes of his enemies threw general Washington into many and great difficulties. His troops were not veterans; they were dispirited and diseased.

AFTER the Americans had evacuated New York, they retired to the north end of the island on which the city is erected. In about four weeks, general Howe began to execute a plan for cutting off general Washington's communication with the eastern states, and enclosing him, so as to compel a general engagement on the island. With this view, the greater part of the royal army passed through Hellgate, entered the Sound, and landed on Frog's Neck, in West Chester county. Two days after they made this movement, general Lee arrived from his late successful command to the southward. He found that there was a prevailing disposition among the officers in the American army, for remaining on New York Island. A council of war was called, in which general Lee gave such convincing reasons for quitting it, that they resolved to withdraw the bulk of the army. He also pressed the expediency of evacuating fort Washington; but in this he was opposed by general Greene, who argued, that the possession of that post would divert a large body of the enemy from joining their main force, and, along with fort Lee, would be of great use, in covering the transportation of provision and stores up the North river, for the service of the American troops. He added farther, that the garrison could be brought off at any time by boats, on the Jersey side of the river. His opinion prevailed; though the system of evacuating and retreating was in general adopted, an exception was made in favour of fort Washington, and near 3000 men were assigned for its defence.

THE royal army, after a halt of six days at Frog's Neck, advanced near to New Rochelle. On their march they sustained a considerable loss by a party of Americans, whom general Lee posted behind a wall. After three days, general Howe moved the right and centre of his army two miles to the northward of New Rochelle, on the road to the White Plains, and there he received a large reinforcement.

ON the 12th of November, the Americans having retired, sir William Howe determined to improve the opportunity of their absence for the reduction of fort Washington. This, the only post the Americans then held on New York Island, was under the command of colonel Magaw. The royal army made four attacks upon it. The first, on the north side, was led on by general Kniphausen; the second, on the east, by general Matthews, supported by lord Cornwallis; the third was under the command of lieutenant-colonel Sterling; and the fourth under the command of lord Piercy. The troops under Kniphausen, when advancing to the fort, had to pass through a thick wood, which was occupied by colonel Rawling's regiment of riflemen, and from their well-directed fire suffered very much. During this attack, a body of British light infantry advanced against a party of Americans, who were annoying from rocks and trees, and obliged them to disperse. Lord Piercy carried an advance work on his side; and lieutenant-colonel Stirling forced his way up a steep height, and took 170 prisoners. Their outworks being carried, the Americans left their lines, and crowded into the fort. Colonel Rhal, who led the right column of Kniphausen, pushed forward, and lodged it within a hundred yards of the fort, and was there soon joined by the left column; the garrison surrendered by capitulation, by which the men were to be considered prisoners of war, and the officers to keep their baggage and side arms. The number of prisoners amounted to 2700. The loss of the British, including killed and wounded, was about 1200. Shortly after fort Washington had surrendered, lord Cornwallis passed over to attack fort Lee on the opposite Jersey shore.

THE garrison was saved by an immediate evacuation, but at the expence of their artillery and stores. General Washington about



GENERAL LEE TAKEN PRISONER

London, Published Oct 19 1804, by Richd Evans, White row, Spitalfields.

this time retreated to Newark. Having abundant reason, from the posture of affairs, to count on the necessity of a farther retreat, he asked colonel Reed,—*Should we retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, would the Pennsylvanians support us?* The colonel replied, *If the lower countries will be subdued, and give up, the back countries will do the same.* The general replied, *We must retire to Augusta county in Virginia, numbers will fly to our standard for their own safety, and we must strive to carry on a predatory war, and, if subdued, we can cross the Allegany mountains.*

When it was expected that the conquerors would retire to winter-quarters, they commenced a new plan of operations, more alarming than all their previous conquests. The reduction of fort Washington, the evacuation of fort Lee, and the diminution of the American army, by the departure of those, whose time of service had expired, encouraged the British, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the badness of the roads, to pursue the remaining inconsiderable continental force, with the prospect of annihilating it. By this turn of affairs, the interior country was surprised into confusion, finding an enemy within its bowels, without an army able to oppose it. To retreat was the only expedient left. This having commenced, lord Cornwallis followed, and was close in the rear of general Washington as he retreated successively to Newark, to Brunswick, to Princeton, to Trenton, and to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The pursuit was urged with so much rapidity, that the rear of the one army pulling down bridges, was often in sight and within shot of the other army building them up.

On the day general Washington retreated over the Delaware, the Americans abandoned Rhode Island; and so great was the confusion occasioned by their disappointments, that it was scarcely believed that they would make any other attempt to oppose an enemy so uniformly victorious. While lord Cornwallis was marching triumphant through the Jerseys, and the British army were possessing themselves of every town and post along the Delaware, congress assembled, and formed addresses, and other expedients, for raising battalions upon principles better calculated for success than the former, and applied themselves to remove the languor occasioned by their late defeats. The congress met in Maryland, at Baltimore. Dissentions arose among them relative to the declaration of independence, and some of the members repaired to the commissioners for protection. About this time another disaster was added, by the loss of the famous partisan, general Lee, who was surprised and taken prisoner by colonel Harcourt. It was now that the Americans, struggling for their liberty, and the British monarch, struggling for their subjugation, suspended in equilibrium in the balance of fortune: the finger of providence touched the beam, and gravitated the scale of emancipation.

The Americans, having passed the Delaware, had the boats removed from the side of their pursuers, and thus arrested their progress; the commanders, however, of the British army, in all the security of conquest, cantoned them at Burlington, Bordenton, Trenton, and other towns of New Jersey, in the daily expectation of being able to pass into Pennsylvania by means of the ice, which is commonly formed about this time.

It appeared to them of all events the most unlikely, that their flying enemies, half naked, should, in the intensity of the cold season, turn and re-commence offensive operations. They indulged themselves in a careless inattention, which, in the neighbourhood of an enemy, however contemptible, cannot be justified. It is said, that when colonel Rhal, the officer commanding in Trenton, under some apprehension for that frontier post, applied to general Grant for a reinforcement, the general returned for answer,—*Tell the colonel, that he is very safe; I will undertake to keep the peace in New Jersey with a corporal's guard.*

But in the evening of Christmas day, general Washington made arrangements for crossing the Delaware in three divisions; at M. Konkey's ferry, at Trenton ferry, and at or near Bordenton. The troops which were to have crossed at the two last places were commanded by the generals Ewing and Cadwallader; they made every exertion to get over, but the quantity of ice was so great, that they could not effect their purpose. The main body, which was commanded by general Washington, crossed at M. Konkey's ferry, but the ice in the river retarded their progress so long, that it was three o'clock in the morning before the artillery could be got over. On their landing in Jersey they were formed into

two divisions, commanded by the generals Sullivan and Greene, who had under their command brigadiers lord Stirling, Mercer, and St. Clair; one of these divisions was ordered to proceed on the lower or river road, the other on the upper or Pennington road. Colonel Stork, with some light troops, was also directed to advance near to the river, and to possess himself of that part of the town which is beyond the bridge. The divisions, having nearly the same distance to march, were ordered, immediately on forcing the out-guards, to push directly into Trenton, that they might charge the enemy before he would have time to form. Though they advanced by different roads, yet they arrived at the enemy's advanced post within three minutes of each other. The out-guards of the Hessian troops soon fell back, but kept up a constant retreating fire. Their main body, being hard pressed by the Americans, who had already got possession of half their artillery, attempted to file off by a road leading towards Princeton, but were checked by a body of troops thrown in their way. Finding themselves surrounded, they laid down their arms. The number which submitted was 23 officers and 886 men. Between 30 and 40 of the Hessians were killed and wounded. Colonel Rhal was among the former, and seven of his officers among the latter. Captain Washington, of the Virginia troops, and five or six Americans were wounded, two were killed, and two or three were frozen to death. The detachment in Trenton consisted of the regiments of Rhal, Losberg, and Kniphausen, amounting in the whole to about 1500 men, and a troop of British light horse. All these were killed or captured except about 600, who escaped by the road leading to Bordenton.

The British had a strong battalion of light infantry at Princeton, and a force yet remaining near the Delaware, superior to the American army. General Washington therefore thought it most prudent, on the evening of the same day, to recross into Pennsylvania with his prisoners.

The effects of this fortunate enterprise were presently discovered, in recruiting the American army. About 1400 regular soldiers, whose time of service was on the point of expiring, agreed to serve six weeks longer, on a promised gratuity of ten paper dollars to each. Men of influence were dispatched to different parts of the country, to rouse the militia. The rapine and impolitic conduct of the British operated more forcibly in expelling them the state, than either patriotism or determination to prevent their overrunning it.

Several skirmishes took place in January, which ended in favour of the provincials; soon after this they obtained possession of nearly the two Jerseys, saved Pennsylvania, and by a victory which general Washington gained over the British at Princeton, on the 3rd, in a great measure turned the balance of strength, and determined the advantages in their own favour. Dr. Ramsay, in mentioning the effect of these victories over the minds of the Americans, employs this strong language, "It was like a resurrection from the dead." 1777.

In England, an unusual inattention to the progress of the war prevailed generally. When the parliament assembled, on the last day of October, his majesty observed, that nothing could have yielded him more sincere satisfaction, than being able to announce to them a termination of the disturbances in North America; but so daring and desperate was the spirit of rebellion, that the colonies openly threw off all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with this country, insolently rejecting all the means of reconciliation, offered them by the delegated commissioners. His majesty recounted the different successes on the side of New York, and the effectual attempts to recover Canada; and concluding with stating the continued assurances of amity he had received from the several courts of Europe.

The expences of the navy amounted to £3,205,505, exclusive of £1000, voted to Greenwich Hospital, and a million afterwards granted for the purpose of defraying the debt of the navy. The supplies for the land service were near to £3,000,000, although the extraordinaries for this service, in the preceding year, were not provided for.

In January, lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill, empowering his majesty to secure and detain persons suspected of high treason, committed in America; after warm opposition, the bill passed both houses by a considerable majority. Soon afterwards his majesty laid before the house a message, expressive of the concern he felt under the debts incurred by the expences of the household

and of the civil government, which amounted, on the 5th of January, to £600,000. He relied on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons, to enable him to discharge this debt, and to make some provision for the better support of his household in future, and of the honour and dignity of his crown. The house granted the sum of £618,340, for the discharge of the debt incurred; and, as a further provision, the annual sum of £100,000, besides the £800,000. When this bill was presented to his majesty, sir Fletcher Norton observed, in his speech to the throne, "Your faithful commons have not only granted to your majesty a large and present supply, but also a very great additional revenue; great beyond example; great beyond your majesty's highest expence. But all this, sir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally; and feeling, what every good subject must feel, with the greatest satisfaction, that under the direction of your majesty's wisdom, the affluence and grandeur of the sovereign will reflect honour and dignity on his people." This noble and energetic speech was represented by the sychophants of the court, as an insult to the throne.

During the transaction of these affairs in the British parliament, the victory at Princeton revived the drooping spirits of the Americans; another army was soon collected, and all West Jersey was as rapidly recovered as it had been lost. It seems, however, strange, that all the fortresses in the country should be so hastily abandoned, when so large an army was at hand, to assist in their defence. The commander-in-chief has been charged with throwing aside the cares annexed to his important trust, and giving himself up to the blandishments of beauty, and the fascination of deep play.

Not so were the interests of the new states attended to. Dr. Franklin had passed over into France, for the purpose of forming an alliance with that kingdom, whose secret support and assistance had at all times been rendered. This man, (who formerly had carried on the business of a printer, for many years, at Philadelphia,) may be considered as the first fruits of American genius, and perhaps no man ever owed more to the time and place of his birth: had he been a native of London instead of Boston, and born into the same rank of society, the world would probably never have heard his name either as a philosopher or a politician. Pent within a populous city, his occupation would have been more laborious, and his incentives to cultivate speculative science suppressed by every consideration of interest or ambition. He might have distinguished himself as an ingenious artist, but he would neither have formed an hypothesis to account for the phenomenon of the *Aurora Borealis*, nor have traced out the principles and operations of the electrical fluid; and, what is much more important, he would never have become a powerful engine, to shake a great empire, and to erect a congeries of republics from its dismembered parts. Nor would he have attained the appropriated distinction of introducing a new æra into the history of mankind, which may prove as important as any which have elapsed. In procuring a legislative power to the western hemisphere, he may be considered as a greater enemy to England than even Philip II. or Lewis XIV.

His love of science marked his early years; and, as if no event of his life was destined to be unimportant, even an intrigue (which caused him to quit Boston and settle in Philadelphia) brought him into a wider sphere of action, and placed him in a more respectable situation. He had passed the meridian of his life before he became conspicuous as a politician. As his influence became extensive, it was exerted among the people to promote temperance, frugality, and industry; and all his labours were exerted to advance the essential interests of humanity. He possessed the plainness of manners and precision of thought which characterized John de Wit; but he ever escaped falling into popular odium, either by being master of superior address, or acting under a more favourable series of contingencies, than that devoted patriot.

Trammelled in no system, he might be said to be a philosopher without the rules, a politician without adopting the Roman pandect, and a statesman without having sacrificed to the graces; possessing a versatility of genius without a diversity of temper.

Such was the man, thoughtful, deliberate, collected, and circumspect, who, when more than seventy years of age, appeared at the court of France, first as an agent, and afterwards as a plenipotentiary, from the new

American states. All ranks vied with each other in paying court to this hoary-headed sage. Among the subjects of an absolute monarch, it became fashionable to admire the spirit of freedom, and the new member of the *corps diplomatique* was complimented in a hyperbole of panegyrics. Public admiration is, however, no proof of merit; the frivolous frequently obtain it when it is denied to the wise. His negotiations with the court of France required uncommon abilities; and that he succeeded in the arduous work, proves that during his long life he had practically studied the philosophy of man.

Whilst the war was raging in the Jerseys, congress set on foot a loan of five millions of dollars at 4 per cent. on the faith of the United States; the Americans at the same time opened their ports to all foreign merchant-ships, and found their wants in some degree relieved by the supplies brought to this new market. It now became evident, how destructive a step it had been, to delude the nation by a reduction of the number of seamen. The American cruisers swarmed in the European seas, and our homeward-bound West India ships fell a prey to these vigilant enemies; by which the planters in the islands, and the merchants at home, were alike involved in ruin. The losses in merchandize and shipping taken by the Americans, in the course of the year 1776, was computed to exceed a million sterling. In the ports of Spain and France, the American privateers found safety and assistance, and their prizes were there openly sold, until our ambassadors at those courts remonstrated against such a conduct; after which these captures were disposed of in a more secret and guarded manner. In the French West India islands, the Americans were publicly countenanced, and even French ships received American commissions; and with few, and sometimes with no American seamen on board, made prey of the British commerce, insomuch that
1776. insurance on our homeward bound ships was advanced to 23 per cent.

In the midst of the commercial distresses, the manufactures of England felt no dangerous stagnation; for those nations which now supplied the American markets, not being able of themselves to furnish the goods required, were obliged to seek a supply from hence; and, in some degree to compensate for the loss of our merchant ships, the king's frigates captured a great number of American vessels, both privateers and traders, which they carried into the ports of our West India islands, and thus relieved the pressing wants of the inhabitants.

Our commerce being thus rendered insecure, the Thames presented the unusual and melancholy sight of great numbers of foreign ships, particularly French, taking in cargoes of English commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of our own merchants, who were thus reduced to seek that protection under the colours of other nations, which the British flag used to afford to every nation of the world.

The arsenals of France were filled with naval stores, and in every part of the kingdom as vigorous exertions were made to fit out a formidable navy, as if a war was actually waging, whilst the finances of that kingdom were entrusted to M. Necker, a native of Switzerland, and professing the protestant religion.

The attention of the nation had been chiefly directed, during the last two years, to the Western World; but some proceedings on the coast of Coromandel, diverted the public regard towards the East. The presidency of Madras had entered into a strict alliance with Mahomed Ali Cawn, nabob of Arcot, a Tartarian prince, who possessed an inland territory equally distant from the two European settlements of Madras and Pondicherry. From a close attention to his army, this Asiatic chief had become formidable, and his connection with the civil and military powers at the English settlement procured him the assistance of British officers, to discipline and command his troops. Whatever were his views in keeping on foot so large an army, he was obliged to exhaust his treasury to preserve the friendship of his allies; for European rapacity, when exercised on Asiatic princes, is insatiable. It became, therefore, necessary that new sources of wealth should be discovered, to supply his continual profusion; and he proposed to the presidency to undertake an expedition against the rajah, or king, of Tanjore, a Mahratta prince, who resided several leagues to the southward of Pondicherry, and the situation of whose country, towards the southward of the peninsula, had hitherto proved its best security against the

Mahometan conquerors of Hindostan. The country had been long in alliance with the English, and the father of the rajah, Pertoupa Sing, had been attacked by the French general Lally during the preceding war, but the incursion was bravely repelled. Pertoupa was the first Indian prince with whom the English concluded a treaty, which Tuligee, the reigning king, ratified on his accession.

The pretext on which the nabob of Arcot waged war against this prince, was founded on an unsatisfied claim of a large sum of money, which the rajah pleaded his inability to pay. The government of Madras, however, supported the nabob in his quarrel, and placed the forces of the company under the command of the nabob's son, to make war on Tanjore. Such a force was irresistible; the rajah was completely despoiled, and his subjects plundered. Every thing which the East holds sacred was violated. The apartments of the women were forced, and their persons stripped of their most valuable ornaments. Effects to the amount of 10,000,000 of pagodas were carried off, and the revenues of the country, during the two years and a half that they were forcibly collected by the nabob, amounted to fifty lacks of pagodas more. The booty collected in this marauding expedition, served to palliate the enormity of the outrage, and to render the perpetrators insensible to the disgrace and dishonour which they had brought on the English name and character.

When the news of this transaction reached the court of directors, the strongest resentment was expressed, and measures were concerted for making all possible restitution to the injured rajah. For this purpose, lord Pigot was sent out as governor of Madras, a nobleman highly respected in the settlement, for his able and effectual defence of it, seventeen years before. He arrived at his government the latter end of the year 1775; but the opposition which he experienced from the majority of the council, and the commander-in-chief of the forces, was such as entirely frustrated all the purposes which he was appointed to effect. Not discouraged by these difficulties, but prompted by an impetuous and violent temper, he had recourse to an undue exertion of his authority, and put the commander-in-chief and two of the council under arrest. The nabob fomented the dissension, and by his intrigues the governor himself was soon after seized by the officer next in command, and kept in close confinement. Representations of these events were immediately transmitted to Europe, and the nabob, who had been the principal cause of the commotions, sent a gentleman to England as his agent, through whose interposition both the company and the ministry might be enabled to decide between the contending parties.

When the business was first discussed, a large majority of the proprietors voted for reinstating lord Pigot, and punishing those who had been so daring as to dispossess him. The court of directors were more divided in opinion. At length the weight of government was thrown in, and the governor and council of Madras were ordered home, in order that their conduct might undergo a legal scrutiny. From this determination of the East India company, governor Johnstone made an appeal to the house of commons, by moving five resolutions, which tended to justify the conduct of lord Pigot, to condemn that of his opponents, and to annul the resolution for his recal. Each of these resolutions was negatived. Lord Pigot did not long survive the loss of his liberty; and those of the company's servants who had been the principal actors in the quarrel, were afterwards sued in the name of the king, and sentenced to pay a fine of £1000 each.

On the 30th of May, 1777, the earl of Chatham moved, in the house of lords, to address his majesty, that the most speedy and effectual measures might be taken for putting a stop to hostilities in America, and for the removal of accumulated grievances. He insisted, as he had done on all former occasions, that it was impossible to conquer America, and declared, in that strong and emphatic language by which he was peculiarly distinguished, that we were waging war with America, exposed at the same time to a masked battery of France, which would, ere long, open upon us, and sweep us away. The motion was rejected by a majority of 99 to 88.

The conduct of the Dutch, particularly in the West Indies, had caused a memorial to be presented by sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, to the states-general of the United Provinces, complaining of the conduct of Van Graaf, the governor of the island of St. Eustatia, in having permitted an

American pirate to make prize of an English vessel within cannon-shot of that island, of having returned the salute of a rebel frigate, and having promoted an illicit commerce, and connived at the hostile equipments of the Americans. Attestations of these charges being annexed, the memoir peremptorily insisted on the dismission and immediate recal of the governor. The states replied by their envoy at London. They complained of the menacing tone of the memorial, as more vehement than became the respect due to an independent power, united to England, for so many years, by the ties of mutual friendship. They disavowed, however, the conduct of the governor, and acquainted his majesty, that they had recalled admiral Van Graaf, that he might render an account of his conduct. It does not appear, however, that he was suspended.

In America, the army under general sir William Howe was unable to take the field early in the summer, for want of the necessary camp equipage, which did not arrive until the latter end of May. In the mean time, a detachment of 500 men, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Bird, was sent up the North river, to destroy a very large magazine, which the Americans had collected at Peek's Kill, 50 miles from York Island. Considerable stores of rum, molasses, flour, provisions, and military stores, were destroyed. A month after, major-general Tryon, governor of New York, at the head of 1800 men, penetrated into the province of Connecticut, and destroyed two large magazines deposited at Danbury and Ridefield. In destroying the magazines, the towns were also reduced to ashes. The American general Wooster was killed in a skirmish on the return of the party. These successes, previous to the opening of the campaign, tended to support the hopes of the nation, but do not appear to have had any visible effect on the operations of the main American army. The confederates were not backward, however, in retaliating these losses. A body of troops, under colonel Meigs, who had served with considerable reputation in the expedition against Quebec, embarked in whale-boats at Connecticut, and proceeded to the east side of Long Island, to a place called Sagg Harbour, where a quantity of forage, grain, and necessaries, was collected for the use of the army. A company of foot, and an armed schooner, defended the post, but were soon compelled to submit. A number of small vessels, which lay in the harbour, were burnt, and every thing on shore was destroyed. Another detachment from Providence, under colonel Briton, made an incursion into Rhode Island, and carried off by surprise general Prescot, the governor. That officer had been, on a former occasion, a prisoner to the Americans, on the taking of St. John's on lake Champlain. The American general Lee had been captured, in the preceding year, by colonel Harcourt, at the head of a few dragoons; and he was now exchanged for governor Prescot.

In consequence of the British having regained possession of the lakes, a design was formed of making an irruption from Canada into the northern colonies, and, by stretching forward to Albany, to secure the entire navigation of that river, which separates the northern from the middle and southern states. A very considerable army, composed of British and German troops, with the most ample appointments, and a fine train of artillery, was destined to execute this important plan; and lieutenant-general Burgoyne, who had been distinguished for his bravery, spirit, and success, during the preceding war, in repelling the attacks of the Spaniards on the kingdom of Portugal, was appointed to the command. With a view to hasten the return of the Americans to obedience, a body of savages had been engaged, by a profusion of presents, to act as allies of the king of Great Britain, against his colonies. Sir Guy Carleton now quitted the government of Canada, being succeeded in his command by general Haldimand, a native of Sweden.

The principal object of the southern army, under sir William Howe, was the reduction of Philadelphia. The American force opposed to this design was commanded by general Washington, who had likewise been promoted to the rank of dictator. His army was estimated by the British at 14,000 men; but, in all probability, did not amount to half that number. Though congress had, in compliance with the suggestions of Washington, voted a standing army, they did not find the requisite facility in raising troops. The luxuries enjoyed in the British lines, joined to the temptation of a large bounty offered by the general, occasioned many desertions, and inspired fears

of more. Washington, however, occupied a very strong and advantageous camp in the Jerseys, and was materially assisted by the skill and bravery of many French officers, among whom was the marquis Fayette, nephew to M. de Noailles, the French ambassador at the court of London, who had resided with his uncle for some time, and who lived in the most unreserved intimacy with many of the confidential servants of the crown. Having obtained very important information concerning the plan of operations for the campaign, particularly respecting the northern army, he suddenly withdrew to France, and, without communicating his intentions to any of his relatives, or obtaining leave of absence from his court, (which, as an officer in the French service, was requisite,) he embarked in a vessel bound to America, to serve in the army commanded by Washington.

The British general endeavoured by stratagem to induce the American commander to quit his station, aware that, with so formidable an enemy hanging on his rear, it would be impossible for him to penetrate through the Jerseys, and pass his army across the Delaware, where the enemy had placed a corps ready to dispute the passage. But the caution of Washington was not to be eluded; and Howe, after having made a feint of retiring from the American lines, which drew after it no decisive consequence, was obliged to relinquish his attempt, and, with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant plan of operation, by embarking his army in transports, and proceeding to the place of destination by sea. On the 23rd of July, the main army, consisting of 18,000 men, embarked, leaving behind them 8500 at New York, and 3000 for the defence of Rhode Island. The fleet arrived at the mouth of the Delaware on the 30th, and could a landing have been effected on the southern coast, near Wilmington, the service would have received a most essential benefit. But a number of floating batteries, fire-ships, and fire-rafts, had been collected by the enemy, which would have endangered the destruction of the fleet during the night. There were only eight or nine pilots on board, and no boats capable of withstanding the row-boats and gallies. These circumstances rendered an attempt to land extremely hazardous. The country also was marshy, and the roads formed upon narrow causeways, intersected by creeks. These difficulties and dangers determined the land and naval commanders to proceed two degrees southward, to the bay of Chesapeak; but, in their course, they were greatly impeded by contrary winds. On the 16th of August the whole fleet entered the bay, and proceeded through a difficult and dangerous navigation to the mouth of the river Elk, in which progress the skill and activity of the admiral appeared to great advantage. The whole army landed in safety on the 25th. Washington, as soon as the destination of the fleet was known, (for the alarm had been spread from Boston even to South Carolina,) passed the Delaware with his army, consisting of 15,000 men, and marched to cover Philadelphia. The two armies approached each other at a small stream called Brandywine creek, which falls into the Delaware, about twenty miles below the city. After several movements on each side, sir William Howe, by a masterly display of generalship, found a favourable opportunity for attacking the American army. The Hessians, who came first into action, behaved with such intrepidity as nothing could resist. The enemy, every where broken and dismayed, fled. A few hours more day-light might have annihilated their army; but under cover of the night, assisted by a knowledge of the country, they retreated. No time appears to have been lost in pursuing the fugitives, consistent with the safety of the troops, in a country rendered every where strong by nature, hilly, and covered with wood, intersected by ravines, creeks, and marshy grounds, where little or no knowledge can be obtained by reconnoitering. Washington did every thing becoming a skilful commander to impede the progress of the victors; but, unable to protect the city, he abandoned it to its fate, and retreated ten miles to the north of Germantown, whilst the combined army soon after encamped at that village. The earl of Cornwallis took possession of Philadelphia on the 26th of September.

In the mean time, lord Howe proceeded with the fleet round to the Delaware; but an unfortunate oversight had been committed, in neglecting to take possession of a station on the eastern side of the river, called Red Bank, which the enemy afterwards fortified, and in an unsuccessful attempt to dispossess them,

colonel Donop, of the Hessians, and many brave men, lost their lives. It was not until the 15th of November that the navigation of the river was opened as high as the city, by the reduction of Mud Island, and the removal of the *chevaux-de-frize*, in which service the Augusta, a sixty gun ship, and a sloop, went aground, and were destroyed.

A few days after the arrival of the king's troops at Philadelphia, general Washington formed a design of surprising the army at Germantown, and early in the morning of the 4th of October, attacked the outposts with great fury. The intrepid behaviour of lieutenant-colonel Musgrave stopped the advances of the assailants, and gave time for major-general Grey, who had been apprised of the attack by sir William Howe, to march a body of troops to their relief, and the army being quickly assembled, the Americans were driven back with great slaughter.

The army was now plentifully supplied with provisions from the adjacent country, the farmers preferring that market to any other, because the only one where they could receive payment for their commodities in gold and silver. They had the farther advantage of providing themselves and families with a variety of necessary articles, which could only be had in those places which were possessed by the British army and navy. It is supposed that Washington, through policy, connived at this kind of commerce, knowing that an influx of gold and silver was strengthening his country in a most important point.

The noble, populous, and wealthy city of Philadelphia, was now subdued; but the rebel army remained unbroken. It was even augmented in numbers, improved in discipline, habituated to service, and though degraded by a defeat and a repulse, yet secure in the persuasion, that the nature of their country would ever protect them from a decisive overthrow. Such successes, on the part of Great Britain, could yield little rational hopes of final triumph in the war against America, even if conquests should continue to spread in the like gradual manner as they had done during two campaigns. But such an expectancy, so short of the sanguine views entertained in England, was entirely vain. From whence could the force be drawn, that should carry on an active war during the next campaign, supposing the northern army had accomplished its purpose, and penetrated to Albany? Had that event taken place, terror alone must have effected what force could not have done; no indications were shewn by the colonists, when their affairs wore the most disastrous appearance, of a disposition to yield unconditional submission to this empire, and how was so extensive a country to be governed by the sword? Every conquest weakened the operating force equally with a defeat; but such a regular course of events was not destined to take place, and it is now necessary to speak of the expedition from Canada, and to follow the northern army in its progress.

The war upon the side of Canada and the lakes was committed to the charge of lieutenant-general Burgoyne; an officer, whose ability was unquestioned, and whose spirit of enterprise, and thirst for military glory, however rivalled, could not possibly be exceeded.

This appointment, however palliated or justified by the propriety or supposed necessity of the governor's constant residence in his province, could not fail of being sensibly felt, and could scarcely be supposed not to give umbrage to general Carleton, to whose abilities and resolution this nation in general acknowledged, and the world attributed, the preservation of Canada. It was said, that his powers had been diminished in proportion to the greatness of his services. His military command extended before to every part of America, whither he might find it fitting to conduct the army under his direction. It was now suddenly restrained to the narrow limits of his own province. He had, said his friends, in the preceding campaign, not only driven the enemy out of Canada, but a great naval armament had been formed, the enemy's force on lake Champlain destroyed, and Crown Point recovered, under his authority. The lateness of the season only prevented him from attacking Ticonderago, and immediately prosecuting the war to the southward. He had, during the winter, exerted his usual industry, and applied his military skill and judgment in the forwarding of every preparation, which might conduce to the success of the ensuing campaign. At the opening of the communication with England, instead of the reinforcement which he had required and expected, for the completion of his purpose, he received an arrangement totally new,

which, as it had been framed without any reference to his judgment, or attention to his approbation, left nothing to his discretion or opinion in the execution. Two expeditions were to be formed, in each of which, the number and nature of the troops to be employed, the particular service of each corps, with its subdivisions, and the smallest detachment to be made from it, had been minutely and precisely specified by the minister. He was not even consulted as to the number or nature of the troops, which were to remain in his hands, for the defence or security of Canada. In a word, the army which he had lately commanded, was taken out of his, and placed in other hands; and officers who lately acted under his direction, were, by a detraction from his authority, virtually placed in independent commands; for their instructions to put themselves under the orders of sir William Howe, seemed little more than mockery, as that general had informed sir Guy Carleton, that the concerted operations of the campaign, on his side, would lead him to such a distance, as to render any communication of that nature impracticable.

That the governor felt and understood this arrangement and these disappointments, in the manner I have related, is evident, from the immediate resignation of his government, which then took place; but as the notification, the appointment of another, and the passage of his successor from Europe, were all works of time, he was still, however ungrateful the task, obliged to continue in the exercise of his office, during a longer period than that of which I am treating.

Under these circumstances, and in this trying and difficult situation, he endeavoured to shew, that resentment could not warp him from his duty, and he applied himself, with the same diligence and energy, to forward by every possible means, and to support in all its parts, the expedition, as if the arrangement was entirely his own. This conduct, however praise-worthy, was not less necessary, from the peculiar nature of the service which was to be performed; a service, exceedingly complicated in the arrangement, uncommonly numerous in the parts, and very unusual in practice. It will not be difficult to conceive, how effectually negligence, dislike, obstinacy, or even a colourable and rational difference of opinion in some disputable points, might frustrate all the hopes founded upon such a system.

Nothing of this sort intervened, to damp the spirit or to defeat the success of the expedition. The preparations were carried on with vigour.

I have before taken notice, that the ministers, and more particularly the noble lord at the head of the American department, were not only particularly interested in the event, but had founded the most sanguine hopes upon the success of this expedition. Nothing was accordingly left undone on their side, which, in proportion to the number of regular troops that could be spared for that particular service, might conduce to give efficacy to their operations. Besides, Canada (it was hoped) would supply a warlike, though undisciplined militia, well calculated for, and acquainted with, the peculiar nature of the service and country.

To strengthen and increase this irregular, but necessary aid, arms and accoutrements were amply provided, to supply those numerous loyalists, who were expected to join the royal army, as soon as it approached or penetrated the frontiers of the adjacent provinces. As a powerful artillery is considered to be the great and effective arm in an American war, where a numerous and undisciplined enemy is to be continually attacked in difficult posts, and driven out of woods and fastnesses, so that this part of the service was particularly attended to, and the brass train that was sent out upon this expedition was perhaps the finest, and probably the most excellently supplied as to officers and private men, that had ever been allotted to second the operations of any army, which did not far exceed the present in number.

Besides these forces, several nations of savages had been induced to come into the field. This measure was defended upon the supposed necessity of the case; as if, from their character, it was presumed, they could not remain inactive, and, if not engaged in the king's service, would have joined the Americans. Whatever advantages were hoped from them, general Carleton did not, in the preceding year, make use of them; and civilly dismissed them at the close of the campaign, on a promise of their appearing in the next, if required. There was a good deal of discussion, how far he approved of their employ-

ment at all. The friends of ministry said, that he had recommended and forwarded the measure; others said, that partly from humanity, partly from his forming a just estimate of their services, and knowing by experience the extent of their powers and ability in war, he was unwilling to use them, aware that they were capricious, inconstant, and untractable. That, as their ideas of war and of courage were totally different from those of civilized nations, so, notwithstanding their ferocity of character, and the incredible specimens of passive valour which they sometimes exhibited, in cases adapted to their own opinions, they not only abhorred, but dreaded, whatever is considered as fair and generous service among Europeans, when the contending parties bravely seek, and are included in, one common danger, trusting only for success to their superior skill and courage. That their object and design, in all wars, was not to fight, but to murder; not to conquer, but to destroy. In a word, that their service was uncertain, their rapacity insatiate, their faith doubtful, and their actions cruel and barbarous.

WHATEVER his reasons were for not employing them in a more early and effectual manner, if it were in his power to do it as early and effectually as was imagined, this conduct was far from being generally approved of at home. Those who were particularly warm in their zeal against the colonies, began somewhat to forget their natural humanity in their anger. They insisted, that every appearance of lenience, in such circumstances, was actual cruelty in the effect; by acting as an incentive to disobedience, and increasing the objects of punishment. That, on the contrary, partial severity was general mercy; as timely exertions of justice, and strict inflictions of punishment, were at all times the sure means of preventing crimes. That the only method of speedily crushing the rebellion, was to render the situation of the actors in it so intolerable, that a cessation from danger, and the blessings of repose, should become the only objects of their contemplation and hope. That the means were but little to be attended to, when they led to the accomplishment of so great and happy a purpose as the destruction of rebellion, and the restoration of order and legal government. And that in all convulsions of states, the innocent were too frequently involved in the calamities which were intended or wished to be confined entirely to the guilty; but such was the lot and condition of mankind, and this evil, however deplored, could not in numberless instances be avoided or prevented. This doctrine was supported by the avowed friends of government, whether out of office, or in the subordinate departments of the state; it was also generally supposed to be consonant to the opinions of the ministers, and that general Carleton's scruples upon this point were by no means acceptable.

HOWEVER this was, in the present arrangement, the aid of the savages was considered as a principal member of that force which was destined to the prosecution of the northern war, and the governor of Canada was accordingly enjoined to use his utmost weight and influence, in bringing the Indian nations forward in support of the expedition. His zeal was as active in fulfilling this duty, as it was in every other which appertained to the present service. Nor was his success disproportioned to his zeal. Whether it proceeded from the governor's influence with the Indians, their avidity to seize the presents which were now liberally distributed amongst them, from their own innate thirst for war and plunder, or, more probably, from the joint operation of all these causes, their remote, as well as near nations, poured forth their warriors in such abundance, that he became at length apprehensive, that their numbers might render them an incumbrance, rather than an aid, to the army.

THE regular force allotted to the expedition conducted by general Burgoyne, consisting of British and German troops, amounted to 7173 men, exclusive of the artillery corps. Of these the German corps (consisting mostly of Brunswickers) amounted to 3217. The force required by that general, in the proposals which he laid before the minister, consisted of 8000 regulars, rank and file, besides the artillery, a corps of watermen, 2000 Canadians, including hatchetmen, and other workmen, with 1000 or more savages. We have no certain information what numbers of these auxiliaries were in actual service upon the expedition.

CANADA was largely rated, and its inhabitants must have sensibly felt the proportion which they were allotted to contribute towards this service. In the proposals laid before the minister, besides the militia, and various

species of workmen supposed necessary to be immediately attached to the army, and to accompany it on the expedition, chains of their militia, patroles, and posts, were expected to occupy the woods on the frontiers, in the rear of the army, partly to intercept the communication between the enemy and the ill-affected in Canada, partly to prevent desertion, and to procure intelligence, and for various other duties necessary towards keeping the country in quiet. Another great call upon them was for workmen, to complete the fortifications at Sorrel, St. John's, Chamblee, and Isle au Noix, which it was supposed would amount to 2000 men. A still greater call upon the Canadians, and the more grievous, as it was at their seed-sowing season, was for the transport of all the provisions, artillery-stores, and baggage of the army, from the different repositories to the water, and afterwards at the carrying places, besides the corvées for making the roads. It was estimated that this service would, for some time before, and at the opening of the campaign, require no less than 2000 men, besides a very large portion of horses and carts.

General Burgoyne was seconded by able and excellent officers. Of these major-general Phillips of the artillery, who had gained such distinguished renown by his conduct in that service, during the late war in Germany, deserves to be particularly mentioned. He was likewise assisted by the brigadier-generals Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, all distinguished officers, with the Brunswick major-general baron Reidesel, and brigadier-general Specht. The army was, in every respect, in the best condition that could possibly be expected or wished, the troops being in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy.

The detachment on the expedition to the Mohawk river, under colonel St. Leger, did not probably exceed 700 or 800 men, consisting of 200 drawn from the 8th and 34th regiments, a regiment of New Yorkers, lately raised by, and under the command of, sir John Johnson, being mostly emigrants from his own country, adjoining to the intended scene of action, with some Hanau chasseurs, a company of Canadians, and another of newly-raised rangers; these were joined by a strong body of savages, in part conducted by a number of British and Americans. The regular force left in Canada, including the Highland emigrants under that denomination, amounted to about 3700 men.

The army being at length arrived, and encamped at the river Boquet, on the west side of lake Champlain, and at no very great distance to the northward of Crown Point, general Burgoyne there met the Indians in congress, and afterwards, in compliance with the customs of those people, gave them a war feast. The speech, which he made to the savages on this occasion, has been published. It was calculated, in those powerful strains of elocution by which the general was distinguished, to excite their ardour in the common cause, and at the same time to repress their barbarity. For this purpose, he took pains in explaining to them the distinction between a war carried on against a common enemy, in which the whole country and people were hostile, and the present, in which good and faithful subjects were largely, and of necessity, intermixed with rebels and traitors. Upon this principle he laid down several injunctions for the government of their conduct, particularly, that they should only kill those who were opposed to them in arms; that old men, women, children, and prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they should only scalp those whom they had slain in fair opposition; that under no pretence, subtlety, or colour of prevarication, they should scalp the wounded, or even dying, much less kill persons in that condition, by way of evading the injunction. And they were promised a compensation of prisoners; but informed, that they should be called to account for scalps. These endeavours did in some measure mitigate, but were not of force, wholly to restrain their ferocity, of which some unhappy instances afterwards appeared.

The general soon after dispersed a manifesto, calculated to spread terror among the contumacious, and particularly to revive in their minds every latent impression of fear derived from knowledge or information of the cruel operations of the savages, whose numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose to their prey, described with uncommon energy. The force of that great power, which was now spread by sea and land, to embrace or to crush every part of America, was displayed in full, lofty, and expressive language. The rebellion, with

its effects, and the conduct of the present governors and governments, were charged with the highest colouring, and exhibited a most hideous picture of unparalleled injustice, cruelty, persecution, and tyranny. Encouragement and employment were assured to those, who, with a disposition and ability suited to the purpose, should actually assist in redeeming their country from slavery, and in the re-establishment of legal government. Protection and security, clogged with conditions, restricted by circumstances, and rather imperfectly or inexplicitly expressed, were held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitation. And all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those who persevered in their hostility.

The army, having made a short stay at Crown Point, for the establishment of magazines, an hospital, and other necessary services, proceeded, in concert with the naval armament, to invest Ticonderoga, which was the first object of their destination. Although the rash and ill-conducted attempt made upon that place, in the year 1758, with the consequent repulse and heavy loss sustained by the British army, rendered it at that time an object of general attention, it may not, at this distance of time, be wholly unnecessary to take some notice of its situation, as well as of its state of defence.

Ticonderoga lies on the western shore, and only a few miles to the northward from the commencement, of that narrow inlet, by which the water from lake George is conveyed to lake Champlain. Crown Point lies about a dozen miles farther north, at the extremity of that inlet. The first of these places is situated on an angle of land, which is surrounded on three sides by water, and that covered by rocks. A great part of the fourth side was covered by a deep morass; and, where that fails, the old French lines still continued, as a defence on the north-west quarter. The Americans strengthened these lines with additional works, and a block-house. They had other posts, with works and block-houses, on the left, towards lake George. To the right of the French lines they had also two new block-houses, with other works.

On the eastern shore of the inlet, and opposite to Ticonderoga, the Americans had taken still more pains in fortifying a high circular hill, to which they gave the name of Mount Independence. On the summit of this, which is table-land, they had erected a star-fort, inclosing a large square of barracks, well fortified and supplied with artillery. The foot of a mountain, which on the west side projected into the water, was strongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchment well lined with heavy artillery. A battery about half way up the mount, sustained and covered their lower works.

The Americans, with their usual industry, had joined these two posts by a bridge of communication, thrown over the inlet. This was, like many other of their performances, a great and most laborious work. The bridge was supported on 22 sunken piers, of very large dimensions, placed at nearly equal distances; the spaces between these were filled with separate floats, each about fifty feet long and twelve wide, strongly fastened together with chains and rivets, and as effectually attached to sunken pillars. On the lake Champlain side of the bridge, it was defended by a boom, composed of very large pieces of timber, fastened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and half square. Thus, not only a communication was maintained between these two posts, but all access by water, from the northern side, was totally cut off.

It is to be observed, that as the inlet, immediately after passing Ticonderoga, assumes a new form, suddenly widening to a considerable breadth, and becoming navigable to vessels of burden; so from thence it also holds the name of Champlain, although it is not yet properly a part of the lake. On the other hand, the southern girt from lake George, besides being narrow, is also rendered unnavigable by shallows and falls; but, on its arrival at Ticonderoga, it is joined by a great body of water on the eastern side, called, in this part, South river, but higher up, towards its source, before the junction of the elder branch with the younger, which runs from South bay, it is known under the appellation of Wood Creek. The confluence of these waters at Ticonderoga, forms a small bay to the southward of the bridge of communication; and the point of land formed by their junction is composed of a mountain called Sugar Hill.

Notwithstanding the apparent strength of Ticonderoga, from what we have hitherto

seen, it is entirely overlooked, and its works effectually commanded by Sugar Hill. This circumstance occasioned a consultation among the Americans, as to the fortifying of that mount; but their works were already far too extensive for their powers of defence, and would require ten or twelve thousand men, to be effectually manned. It was likewise hoped, that the difficulty of access to the Sugar Mount, and the savage inequality of its surface, would prevent the enemy from attempting to profit by its situation. It would be exceedingly difficult to form an authentic estimate of the number of Americans that were in the actual defence of these two posts. It appears by the commander-in-chief, general St. Clair's exculpatory letter to the congress, as well as by the resolutions of the council of war, which accompanies it, that his whole force, including 900 militia, who were to quit him in a few days, was only about 3000 men; that these were ill equipped, and worse armed, particularly in the article of bayonets, a weapon so essential in the defence of lines, that they had not one to ten of their number. This account would seem not only satisfactory, but conclusive, if it had not been contradicted by others. In a detail of the transactions of the campaign, transmitted by the war-office of Massachusett's bay to the American deputies in France, and for the conveyance of which a light ship was sent out on purpose, they state St. Clair's force at near 5000 men, well equipped and armed. It is, however, to be observed, that they talk with great bitterness of that general's conduct, as he had done, in his first letter to congress, with respect to the behaviour of two of their regiments. It may also be supposed, that, in a statement of their affairs, intended to operate upon the sentiments and conduct of a court, from which they already received essential benefits, and looked forward to much greater, they would rather increase the weight of blame upon an unfortunate officer, than detract from the public opinion of their own conduct and power, by attributing weakness to their councils, or inefficacy to their arms.

As the royal army approached to the object of its destination, it advanced, with equal caution and order, on both sides of the lake, the naval force keeping its station in the centre, until the one had begun to enclose the enemy on the land side, and the frigates and gunboats, cast anchor just out of cannon-shot from their works. Upon the near approach of the right wing on the Ticonderoga side, upon the 2nd of July, the Americans immediately abandoned and set fire to their works, block-houses, and saw-mills, towards lake George; and, without any interruption, or the smallest motion of diversion, permitted major-general Phillips to take possession of the very advantageous post of Mount Hope, which, besides commanding their lines in a great and dangerous degree, totally cut off their communication with that lake. The same supineness and total want of vigour appeared in every thing on their side, except in the keeping up of an ineffectual roar of cannon, which was so much contemned on the other, as not to be once returned.

In the meanwhile, the royal army proceeded with such expedition in the 1777. construction of its works, the bringing up of artillery, stores, and provisions, and the establishment of its posts and communications, that by the 5th, matters were so far advanced, as to require little more time for completely investing the posts on both sides of the lake. Sugar Hill was also examined, and the advantages it presented were so important, though attended with infinite labour and difficulty, from the necessity of making a road to its top through very rough ground, and constructing a level there for a battery, that this arduous task was undertaken, and already far advanced towards its completion, through the spirit, judgment, and active industry of general Phillips.

In these circumstances, a hasty council was on that day held by the American generals, to which their principal went, as he informs us, already pre-determined as to his conduct. It was represented, that their whole effective numbers were not sufficient to man one half of the works; that as the whole must consequently be upon constant duty, it would be impossible for them to sustain the fatigue for any length of time; and that, as the enemy's batteries were ready to open, and the place would be completely invested on all sides within 24 hours, nothing could save the troops, but an immediate evacuation of both posts. This determination was unanimously agreed to by the council, and the place was accordingly evacuated on that night.

However justly this representation of their

condition and circumstances was founded, and however necessary the determination of the council was in the present state of their affairs, one apparently capital error, on the side of the commanders, must strike every common observer. If their force was not sufficient for the defence of the works, why did they not form this resolution in time? Why did they not withdraw the troops, artillery, and stores, and demolish the works before the arrival of the enemy? Why did they wait to be nearly surrounded, until their retreat was more ruinous than a surrender, under any conditions that could be proposed, and little less destructive in the event, than if the works had been carried by storm?

THE baggage of the army, with such artillery, stores, and provisions, as the necessity of the time would permit, were embarked with a strong detachment on board above 200 *batteaux*, and dispatched under convoy of five armed gallies, up the South river, in their way to Skenesborough. The main army took its route by the way of Castletown, to reach the same place by land.

THE first light of the morning had no sooner discovered the flight of the enemy, than their main body was eagerly pursued by brigadier-general Frazer, at the head of his brigade, consisting of the light troops, grenadiers, and some other corps. Major-general Reidesel was also ordered to join in the pursuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunswick troops, either to support the brigadier, or to act separately, as occasion might require, or circumstances direct. The enemy left a prodigious artillery behind them, which, with those taken or destroyed in the armed vessels at Skenesborough, amounted to no less than 128 pieces, of all sorts, serviceable and unserviceable. They also left some military stores of different sorts, and no inconsiderable stock of provisions, in the forts.

GENERAL Burgoyne conducted the pursuit by water in person. That bridge and those works, which the Americans had laboured hard for ten months to render impenetrable, were cut through in less time by the British seamen and artificers, than it would have cost them to have described their structure. In a word, they did their business with such speed and effect, that not only the gun-boats, but the Royal George and Inflexible frigates, had passed through the bridge by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the vessels, and the pursuit up the river was supported with such vigour, that by three o'clock in the afternoon, the foremost brigade of the gun-boats was closely engaged with the enemy's gallies near Skenesborough Falls. In the mean time, three regiments, which had been landed at South Bay, ascended and passed a mountain with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. But their speedy flight prevented the execution of that design. Upon the approach of the frigates, the gallies, which were already overborne by the gun-boats, lost all spirit; two of them were accordingly taken, and three blown up. The rebels, now giving way to their despair, set fire to their works, stockaded fort, mills, and batteaux, after which they escaped as well as they could up the Wood Creek. This stroke seemed to complete the ruin of their ill-fated army, for the batteaux were deeply loaded, besides their baggage, with ammunition, stores, and provisions; so that they were now left naked in the woods, destitute of provision, and without any other means of defence than what they derived from the arms in their hands. Confusion and dismay equally attended their main body on the left. The soldiers had lost all confidence in their commanders, and it was useless to expect resolution, where neither order nor obedience could be maintained.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL Frazer, being detached in pursuit of the fugitives by land from Mount Independence, overtook their rear, consisting of 1500 chosen troops, under the command of colonel Francis, and commenced an engagement near Huberton, though greatly inferior in number. The arrival of some Germans, under general Reidesel, who, by a feint, made his force seem greater than it really was, decided the day. The Americans precipitately fled. Their commander, with several other officers, and 200 men, were killed, a similar number captured, and 600 are supposed to have died of their wounds undiscovered in the woods. Another division of the garrison was pursued by colonel Hill, who routed them with great slaughter, compelling them to retreat to the heights of fort Edward, after setting fire to fort Anne. The destruction of gallies and batteaux of the Americans, and the defeat of their rear, obliged general St.

Clair, in order to avoid being placed between two fires, to change the route of his main body, and to turn off from Castletown to the left. After a fatiguing and distressing march of seven days, he joined general Schuyler at fort Edward. Their combined forces, inclusive of the militia, not exceeding in the whole 4400 men, were, not long after, on the approach of general Burgoyne, compelled to retire further into the country bordering on Albany. The royal army, after these successes, continued for some days in Skenesborough, waiting for their tents, baggage, and provision. The troops were for some time employed in opening a road, and clearing a creek, to favour their advance, and to open a passage for the conveyance of their stores. A party of the royal army, which had been left behind at Ticonderago, (or Ticonderoga) was equally industrious in carrying gun-boats, provisions, vessels, and batteaux, over land, into lake George. The most severe and unremitting labour was required from the troops; but, stimulated as they were by future hopes and past successes, they disregarded toil and danger. The intricate combination of land and water carriage, together with the insufficient means of transportation, and excessive rains, caused such delay, that, at the end of 15 days, there were not more than 14 days' provisions brought forward, nor above 10 batteaux in the river. At length, after incredible labour and fatigue, general Burgoyne and the army under his command reached, on the 30th of July, fort
1777. Edward, on Hudson's river, to the inexpressible relief and exultation of his troops.

The discomfited and retreating army of the Americans was reduced to 2700 men; but, placed between the inhabitants and the British general, they formed a point of rendezvous, and abated the panic of the people. Their exertions verified the observation of St. Clair, on abandoning Ticonderoga, that he had lost a post, but saved a state. Burgoyne having issued a proclamation, requiring deputations of ten persons from each township, to attend him at Skenesborough, Schuyler published a counter-proclamation, reciting with exaggeration the violences committed by the British army in New Jersey, exhorting the people not to attend to the promises of the general, on pain of being considered in the light of traitors, and commanding the militia to join him without delay. Numerous parties were also employed in bringing off the public stores, and in felling trees, to obstruct the progress of the royal army. At first an universal panic intimidated the inhabitants, but they soon recovered; the laws of self-preservation operated in their full force, and diffused a general activity through the adjacent states. The formalities of covening, draughting, and officering the militia, were in many instances dispensed with. Hundreds seized their firelocks, and marched at the general call, without waiting for the orders of their immediate commanders. The terror excited by the Indians, instead of disposing the inhabitants to court the protection of the English, had a contrary effect. The friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, suffered from their indiscriminate barbarities. Among other instances, the murder of Miss M. Crea excited an universal horror. This young lady, in the innocence of youth, and the bloom of beauty, the daughter of a steady loyalist, and affianced to a British officer, was, on the very day of her intended nuptials, massacred by the savage auxiliaries attached to the British army. The feeble aid which the royal army received from its Indian reinforcements, was infinitely overbalanced by the odium it brought on the British cause, and the determined spirit of opposition excited by the dread of their atrocities. An American army was speedily poured forth from their woods and mountains. When those who had begun the retreat were nearly wasted away, the enthusiasm of the country immediately supplied their place with a much greater and more formidable force; and it was early conjectured, that the English army, by pushing indiscreetly forward, would be so entangled, as to fight or retreat under the most inauspicious circumstances. From the combined influence of these causes, the American army soon amounted to upwards of 13,000 men.

Besides the army of general Burgoyne, a body of troops, consisting of 700 men, with a party of Indians, commanded by lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, proceeded by the Mohawk river, and invested fort Stanwix, which was commanded by colonel Ganzevoort, a name which deserves to be transmitted to posterity, for the unshaken firmness with which he defended the place. A body of Americans advancing to its relief, were defeated by a party of Indians, but several of their most

respected warriors fell in the action; a circumstance which, together with the restraints that had been laid on their savage thirst of blood, impressed them with a hearty abhorrence of the service. St. Leger in vain attempted, by the offer of advantageous terms, and by threats of utter extirpation, in case of obstinate perseverance, to gain possession of the place, and the approach of Arnold, with a considerable army, obliged him at length to retire from the fort. The defection of the Indians, and the approach of the enemy, obliged St. Leger to retire to Canada, and abandon general Burgoyne, who, after crossing the Hudson river, advanced along its side, and in four days encamped on the heights, about two miles from general Gates's camp, which was three miles above Still-water. The Americans came out to meet the advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution. The conflict continued for five hours, without intermission. Several of the Americans placed themselves in high trees, and as often as they could distinguish an officer's uniform, took him off by deliberately aiming at his person. The English remained masters of the field, and the Americans retired in good order.

The perilous situation of the northern army being known, by this time, at New York, sir Henry Clinton, with a considerable body of troops, embarked in armed gallies and small vessels, and, accompanied by some frigates under the command of commodore Hotham, proceeded up Hudson's river, with a view of gaining Albany. After making many feints, he landed at Stony Point, marched across the mountains to fort Montgomery, and attacked the different redoubts. The garrison, commanded by governor Clinton, a brave and intelligent officer, made a gallant resistance; but the works on the land side were untenable, and at the close of day, the British entered the fort with fixed bayonets. The loss on neither side was great; governor Clinton, general James Clinton, and most of the officers and men effected their escape under cover of a thick smoke, and a darkness that suddenly prevailed.

The reduction of this post furnished the British with an opportunity for opening a passage up the North river; but, instead of pushing forward to Burgoyne's encampment, or even to Albany, they spent several days in laying waste the adjacent country. The Americans destroyed fort Constitution, and also set fire to two new frigates and some other vessels. General Tryon, at the same time, destroyed a settlement called Continental Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, besides many stores. Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of light frigates, and general Vaughan, with a detachment of land forces, continued on and near the river for several days, desolating the country near its margin. General Vaughan so completely burned Esopus, a fine and flourishing village, that a single house was not left standing, though on his approach the Americans had left the town without making any resistance.

In the meantime, Gates posted 1400 men on the heights opposite the fords of Saratoga, and 2000 more in the rear, to prevent a retreat to fort Edward, and 1500 at a ford higher up. Burgoyne received intelligence of these movements, and concluded from them, especially the last, that Gates meant to turn his right. This, if effected, would have entirely enclosed him; to avoid being hemmed in, he resolved on an immediate retreat to Saratoga. His hospital, with the sick and wounded, was necessarily left behind; but they were recommended to the humanity of general Gates, and received from him every indulgence their situation required. When general Burgoyne arrived at Saratoga, he found that the Americans had opposed a considerable force, on the opposite heights, to prevent his passage at that ford. In order to prepare the way for a retreat to lake George, general Burgoyne ordered a detachment of artificers, with a strong escort of British and provincials, to repair the bridges and road leading thither. Part of the escort was withdrawn on other duty, and the remainder, on a slight attack of an inconsiderable party of Americans, ran away. The workmen, thus left without support, were unable to effect the business upon which they had been sent. The only practicable route of retreat, which now remained, was by a night-march to fort Edward. Before this attempt could be made, scouts returned with intelligence, that the Americans were entrenched opposite to those fords, on the Hudson's river, over which it was proposed to pass, and that they were also in force on the high ground between fort Edward and fort George; they had, at the same time, parties

down the whole shore and posts, so near as to observe every motion of the royal army. Their position nearly extended round the British, and was, by the nature of the ground, defended in a great measure from the attacks. The royal army could not stand its ground where it was, from want of means necessary for its subsistence; nor could it advance towards Albany, without attacking a force greatly its superior in number; nor could it retreat, without making good its way over a river in face of a strong party, advantageously posted on the opposite side. In case of either attempt, the Americans were so near as to discover every movement, and by means of their bridge could bring their whole force to operate.

Truly distressing was the condition of the royal army. Abandoned in the most critical moment by their Indian allies—unsupported by their brethren in New York—weakened by the timidity and desertion of the Canadians—worn down by a series of incessant efforts—and greatly reduced in their numbers by repeated battles, they were invested by an army nearly three times their number, without a possibility of retreat, or of replenishing their exhausted stock of provisions. A continual cannonade pervaded their camp, and rifle and grape-shot fell in many parts of their lines; they nevertheless retained a great share of fortitude.

In the mean time, the American army was hourly increasing; and, as no prospect of assistance appeared, and the provisions of the English forces were nearly expended, general Burgoyne thought proper, on the evening of the 13th of October, to take an account of the remaining supplies. It was found on enquiry, that the means of subsistence would not last more than three days. In this state of distress a council of war was called, of the generals, field-officers, and captains, who concurred unanimously in the opinion, that their present situation justified a capitulation on honourable terms. A messenger was therefore dispatched to general Gates, who demanded, in the first instance, that the royal army should surrender prisoners of war, and proposed that the British should ground their arms; but general Burgoyne replied, *This condition is inadmissible in every extremity; sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter.* After various messages a convention was arranged, by which the British troops were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and their camp artillery, to a fixed place, where they were to deposit their arms, and were allowed a free navigation to Europe, from Boston, upon condition of their not serving in America during the war. According to the account of the provincials, the whole number of killed, wounded, found in the hospitals, and taken prisoners, from the 6th of July to the unfortunate 17th of October, was upwards of 9213 men. Upon this memorable occasion, the generosity of the American commander would not suffer an individual to leave his camp, to witness the degrading spectacle of piling the British arms.

The whole plan of this campaign was severely censured. A co-operation of the two principal armies, under Howe and Burgoyne, had been universally expected; and so firmly persuaded was general Washington that a junction between them was in contemplation, that, when the British army at New York had actually embarked on the expedition to the Chesapeak, he persisted in his opinion, that the fleet was destined to the northward. The truth is, that no traces are discernible of any regular system of operations. Vague and general hopes were entertained, that the army under general Burgoyne, with such aid as he might eventually derive from the central force at New York, would suffice for the subjugation of the northern provinces, and that general Howe would, in the mean time, accomplish the conquest of the southern. Such were the flattering delusions which, at the distance of 3000 miles, were entertained by the court of London; and, in the annals of England, Minden and Saratoga will remain incontrovertible proofs, that the wisdom of lord George Germaine, in the cabinet, was *fully commensurate with* his prowess in the field!

Before intelligence had arrived in England of the disastrous catastrophe of an expedition, on which the government had chiefly founded its hopes of a successful termination of hostilities, enough was known, respecting the progress of the war, to convince the nation, that very erroneous estimates had been made of the service to be performed, the force which it required, and the manner in which it was to be executed. On the meeting of parliament,

however, (November 20th) his majesty's speech expressed his confidence in the spirit and intrepidity of his forces, and intimated the necessity of preparing for further operations. Warm debates ensued, on the merits of the speech, and lord Chatham descanted with unusual eloquence on the folly of the war, and on the opportunities it afforded to the gratification of Gallic enmity and ambition. He proposed an amendment to the address, advising the cessation of hostilities. A few days after this amendment was rejected, the secretary for America was obliged to acquaint the parliament with the fatal issue of the northern expedition; and the minister, anxious to obtain a respite from the expressions of censure and indignation so profusely and so justly bestowed, prevailed upon his majesty to prorogue the parliament so early as the 20th of January, 1778.

Among the domestic incidents of the year 1777, the trial and execution of Dr. Dodd excited the most powerful interest in the public mind. He had forged a bond for £4200 in the name of the earl of Chesterfield; and, though he pleaded in his defence, that his forgery was only an expedient to gain time, and that he had made restitution to the amount of the greater part of the money obtained, he was found guilty, after a deliberation of 20 minutes. As he had long and justly been distinguished for his talents as a preacher, and had cultivated the popular favour with unusual assiduity, though his private habits were of the most profligate description, his pardon was implored in numerous addresses to the throne, signed by more than 50,000 persons. The sheriffs of London, attended by the city remembrancer, the governors of the Magdalen Charity; and the citizens of Westminster, headed by lord Percy, addressed their majesties in the most fervent and importunate terms of supplication. Their efforts were ineffectual, and he suffered the dreadful sentence of the law.

The case of the chevalier D'Eon, who had for some time exercised the functions of ambassador from the court of France, became the topic of general conversation. An action was brought, by Mr. Hayes, a surgeon in Leicester fields, against Mr. Jacques, a broker and under-writer, for the recovery of £700; the said Mr. Jacques having, about six years before, received premiums of fifteen guineas per cent., for every one of which he engaged to return one hundred guineas, whenever it should be proved, that the chevalier D'Eon was actually a woman. The jury believing the evidence to that effect, a verdict was given to the plaintiff, for the full amount of his demand.

The celebrated Mr. Horne, (afterwards John Horne Tooke) was visited with an ex-officio information, for a libel on the army. He had issued an advertisement, dated King's Arms Tavern, Cornhill, purporting to be an account of the proceedings of the *Constitutional Society*. One of their resolutions contained the following paragraph: "The sum of £100 shall be raised, to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, *inhumanly murdered* by the king's troops at or near Lexington and Concord, in the province of Massachusetts." The advertisement was signed by Mr. Horne, and, after a long and brilliant defence, he was found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of £200 to the king, to be imprisoned for the space of twelve months, and afterwards to find sureties, himself in £400, and two sureties in £200 each, for his good behaviour for three years.

A fire, which had occurred in the rope-house at Portsmouth, had passed for an accident; and, as no suspicion had fallen on any individual, no enquiry was made, till, on the 15th of January, one of the under-clerks at the dock-yard, having occasion to move some hemp in the hemp-house, discovered an inflammable machine. James Aitkin, alias John the Painter, was tried for having set fire to the dock-yard, and was convicted on the clearest evidence. He appears to have been a most abandoned miscreant, capable of the most enormous crimes, and of suffering, without remorse, the most rigorous punishment.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GEORGE III.

[1778 to 1780.]

Failure of Negotiations with America—Admiral Keppel takes the Command of the Grand Fleet—Naval Operations—Trial and Acquittal of Keppel—Trial of Sir Hugh Pelliser—Manœuvres, on the Coast of America, of the Hostile Fleets under Howe and D'Estaing—Cruelty and Treachery of Colonel Butler towards the Americans—Discontents in Scotland and Ireland—Exploits of Admiral Byron—Return of D'Estaing to France.

IN the momentous struggle between Great Britain and her colonies, it was not to be expected that France would remain an inactive spectator. To participate in the commerce of America was the ardent wish of her mercantile population, and to separate the American colonies from their mother country was the favourite object of the court. On the 19th of March, a message from the king was presented to the reassembled houses of parliament, relative to a declaration delivered to lord Weymouth, by M. de Noailles, the French ambassador, signifying, in form, the treaty of friendship and commerce, which had been entered into with the states of America. It described these states as being in full possession of independence, and declared, that the contracting parties had paid great attention, not to stipulate any exclusive advantage in favour of the French nation. It expressed a desire, that the harmony subsisting between Great Britain and the court of France might not be altered by such a measure; and signified, that, at all events, his most Christian majesty was determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag. Notwithstanding the obloquy entailed on the British ministers, by their acknowledged ignorance of the machinations of the French court, they proceeded to repair the loss of troops sustained in America, and to provide such an additional number, as might be adequate to a vigorous prosecution of the war. They were supported in their efforts by the patriotic spirit of the British people. The sentiments of the nation had been divided, respecting the merits of the existing contest; but the principles, on which it had been commenced, began to recede from their view, when they perceived the distress in which the kingdom was likely to be involved, by the disasters in America, and the threatened warfare with the house of Bourbon. The towns of Liverpool and Manchester first testified their loyalty, by offering to raise a regiment of 1000 men each; notwithstanding the failure of an attempt to obtain the sanction of the city of London, an association of the minority was immediately formed, for the support of the king and government; the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow formed each a regiment, and a considerable number of Scottish troops were embodied by means of subscriptions in England and Wales.

DURING a very animated debate in the house of lords, on the state of the nation, the earl of Chatham, whose vigorous mind, on so momentous an occasion, endeavoured to shake off the pressure of bodily infirmities, having spoken with a vehemence proportioned to his enthusiasm, was suddenly seized with a fainting fit, which he survived but a short time. On the 11th of May this truly great man resigned his breath, in the 60th year of his age.

England has not less reason to exult in having produced a Pitt, than in giving birth to a Milton, or a Newton; his genius, like theirs, being great and original. Nature had endowed him with every bodily and mental qualification of the perfect orator; a graceful figure, a piercing eye, a voice strong and clear, which, in every variety of cadence, was harmonious and insinuating. Born to act, as well as to harangue, every department of government felt his renovating influence. When he withdrew from power, the instance which he gave of incorruptible integrity consummated his character; he delivered into the treasury a very large sum of money, of which he was exempted from rendering any account, having officially received it for the secret service of the state, a purpose to which it had not been found necessary to apply it. Such was the effect of his spirit and his sagacity, that the houses of Austria and Bourbon trembled at his name. In testimony of the reverence borne to his memory, and their sense of his exemplary services, the house of commons voted, that the expence of his burial should be defrayed by the public, and that a monument should be erected to his memory in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster. An annuity of £4000 a year was annexed to the earldom of Chatham, and the sum of £20,000 was voted for the discharge of his debts.

About the same time that the subject of the duke of Richmond's motion was discussed in the house of peers, and eventually rejected, lord Nugent moved for the appointment of a committee of the whole house, to consider the trade of Ireland. This he introduced by a representation of the distress of that kingdom, in consequence of the war. His proposition was assented to. But although no one doubted of the fact upon which it was grounded, yet the advantages proposed to be given to the Irish trade and manufactures were strenuously opposed by the English manufacturers, who would have been prejudiced by them. And the result was, that only some small advantage was given to the linen trade. Yet the motion may be considered of considerable national benefit, as a prelude to the acts which were afterwards passed in favour of Ireland.

This was followed by a motion, made by sir George Saville, in which every liberal mind was interested, for the repeal of certain penalties and disabilities laid on Roman catholics, by an act of king William to prevent the growth of popery. When a provision is made for the public peace and safety, at the expence of the comfort of individuals, or distinct bodies of men in a state, it is cruel to continue them any longer than the occasion that gave rise to them exists. This sentiment so universally prevailed, that the motion was received by general approbation; and a bill for the repeal of the act was unanimously passed; by which a considerable body of peaceable citizens were restored to social comfort and security, on their submitting to a test, by which they engaged to support the civil government by law established.

Among the proceedings of this session, was an act to enable his majesty to make a suitable provision for his younger children, out of the hereditary revenues of the crown.

When these acts had received the royal sanction, his majesty, having thanked the two houses for the zeal which they had manifested in support of the dignity of the crown, and the true interests of the nation, prorogued the parliament.

At no period was the zeal of the British nation more necessary, to defend the kingdom, and preserve the monarchy from ruin, than the present. For, with all the dangers and difficulties which had attended former contests with the house of Bourbon, the state had now to maintain a war with those provinces, from which it had before derived great part of its strength and resources. To avert these complicated evils, the premier's conciliatory bills had been passed; and the commissioners, appointed by virtue of them, had sailed for America in the month of April. Unfortunately the olive branch was presented too late. The proposals which they offered to the congress, on their arrival in the Delaware, in the month of June, it was thought, would have been joyfully embraced by a great majority of the provinces, had they been brought forward at an earlier period; the terms were indeed more advantageous to the provinces than those which they had themselves petitioned. Among these was an engagement, "That no military force should be kept up in America, without consent of the congress, and of the several assemblies; to admit of representatives from the several

states, who should have a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; to establish a freedom of legislation and internal government, comprehending every privilege short of total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends." But these not being received till a month after the arrival of Silas Deane, with the treaties of alliance and commerce which the states had signed with France, on the footing of independency, the congress absolutely refused to treat as dependent states; they resented the 1777. disrespectful manner in which their ally was spoken of; and they, in fine, declared as a proof of their inclination to peace, that they were ready to enter upon a consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain would demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; but that the only solid proof of such a disposition would be an explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies. This answer, delivered by Mr. Laurens, president of the congress, precluding the possibility of a treaty, upon terms compatible with the interests of Great Britain, no proceedings between that body and the commissioners were commenced. An attempt was made to open a correspondence with some members of it, as individuals, which failed of success. On which the commissioners issued an address to the people at large, which only served to irritate the congress, and draw from it a defiance, expressive of indignation; after which they took their departure for England. Such was the issue of this embassy, and the termination of the connexion between Great Britain and her American provinces; distressful and mortifying in itself, and rendered more so to the British government, by a reflection, that, far from having been beyond the reach of human foresight, it had been repeatedly foretold; and that they had themselves been the instruments of accomplishing the favourite object of their enemies, by disengaging the colonies from their dependency on Great Britain.

The decision of the contest was now finally referred to the sword, and the narrative of military occurrences will be uninterrupted by the record of conciliatory transactions. From the time when the two armies went into winter-quarters, no signal event had taken place, till the resignation of general Howe, in the month of May. He had, some time 1778. before, expressed an intention to retire, assigning as his reason, that he did not enjoy the necessary support and confidence of his superiors. By his own desire he now laid down the command in chief, and was succeeded by sir Henry Clinton.

If the service of sir William Howe was painful, that of his successor was much more so. He came to the command at a time when the officers and men were disheartened by the symptoms of weakness which the government had discovered, in an offer to concede nearly all for which they had contended; when the spirits of the loyal Americans were sunk in despair, and those of the strenuous republicans were elated with success; and when it was found necessary to enter on his command with an abandonment of all the designs planned in the late campaign. It was expedient to yield to existing circumstances. Philadelphia, which had been chosen for its central situation, whither the royalists might most conveniently repair to the royal standard, and whence detachments might easily be made to annoy the revolters, became dangerous, when a powerful maritime state had declared for their enemy, who might send a strong fleet to block up the Delaware. It was determined, therefore, to march back to New York, that they might be better supported by the British fleet; and, under its protection, might be properly supplied with provisions and military stores.

While these arrangements were projected in the military department, it became necessary to select some naval commander, of tried valour and long experience, to whom the government might entrust the fleet, which was to be opposed to that of France in the European seas. These qualities, which had gained him the warm esteem of all ranks in the navy, pointed out admiral Keppel for that important service. He was one of the oldest officers in the navy, and had seen a greater variety of service than any other man in it. When not more than fourteen years of age, he accompanied commodore Anson, in his voyage round the world; and, in the last war, had rendered himself conspicuous for his gallantry and success in Europe, Africa, and America. A noble descent, an ample fortune, and

personal merit were united in this commander; but, as a senator, he had declared his dislike of the American war, and had arraigned the conduct of the admiralty-board, in not rendering the naval force of the kingdom more powerful and effectual, to awe its enemies. The exigence of the times required, however, that ministers should seek the assistance of those whom they could not call their friends, and the king himself therefore proffered him the command. The admiral declared his readiness to serve his king and country, but disclaimed all acquaintance with official men; and, as he received his command immediately from his majesty, he threw himself upon his majesty's gracious support and protection.

When Keppel arrived at Portsmouth, to take upon him the command of the grand fleet, he found that there were only six sail of the line which were in any degree of condition for immediate service, and a great deficiency in sailors, as well as in all kinds of naval stores. His applications to the admiralty-board caused uncommon exertions to be made; and by the beginning of June he put to sea, with a fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line and three frigates. He soon after fell in with two French frigates, which he captured, although the situation of the two nations, with respect to each other, was that neither of war nor peace. By the papers found on board these prizes, he first learned, that thirty-two sail of the line and ten frigates were then lying at anchor n Brest water, preparing to put to sea. This superiority of force determined him to return into port for a reinforcement. He might certainly have kept the sea, without being compelled to fight upon such unequal terms; and to save the appearance of a retreat is ever to be wished. On the 9th of July, the admiral commanded thirty sail of the line, with which he went in search of the French fleet, which had only quitted their harbour the day before, under the command of count D'Orvilliers. In the afternoon of the 23rd, the two fleets came in sight of each other. The French had the wind; so that they might choose whether to fight or avoid it. The line of battle was formed by the British fleet; but no action took place. The next day, two ships of the French fleet, the one of 80, the other of 64 guns, were so separated, that their admiral was compelled to bear down and attack the British, if he meant to rejoin them; but so reluctant was he to risk the fate of a battle, that he rather chose to suffer that diminution of his force, than regain it upon such conditions. Keppel inferred from this apparent backwardness, that the enemy expected a reinforcement; he therefore redoubled his efforts to bring on an engagement; and, as sailing in a regular line of battle would have retarded the progress of his fleet, he threw out signals for chasing. The two fleets were employed, the one in retreating, the other in pursuing, until the 27th, when a sudden squall intercepted them from the sight of each other. The weather, however, very soon cleared up, and discovered the enemy formed in line of battle; and, as the French, by a sudden shift of the wind, had the advantage of the weathergage, they bore down on the headmost ships of the British fleet, and discharged their broadsides. The two fleets, sailing upon different tacks, maintained a running fight, within pistol-shot of each other, for nearly two hours, and the action was closed between one and two o'clock in the afternoon.

Nineteen years were now almost completed, since the force of the two rival nations had contended on the ocean; and it appeared in the course of this day's action, that the French had greatly improved, during that time, both in the manner of working their ships, and discharging the guns; in consequence of which, the British fleet sustained considerable damage in this passing conflict. The English behaved with their wonted bravery, and did great execution on the enemy; but still the contest remained to be decided by a close and general action, and Keppel afterwards declared, that at the time he wore his ship, and laid her head towards the enemy, he thought it would have been a proud day for England. Three hours were employed in repairing the damage which the fleet had sustained, and some ships in the rear division fell so much out of their course, as to be in danger of being cut off. D'Orvilliers saw the opportunity, and threw out a signal to the duke de Chartres, who commanded the French rear, to bear down; but the order not being immediately understood, the British admiral had time to interpose for their relief.

Sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the blue, who commanded the rear division, had formed the line of battle by three o'clock, and in the

position which the British fleet then kept, his ships composed the van; sir Robert Harland's division, which properly formed the van, being now in the rear. The commander-in-chief, solicitous to renew the fight, threw out signals for his rear and van to take their proper stations. This was immediately performed by sir Robert Harland's division; but the rear-admiral of the blue paid no attention to the signal which was flying, and although captain Windsor, in the Fox frigate, was sent with express orders for the vice-admiral to bear down into his admiral's wake, yet no effort was made for that purpose; in consequence of which, the night came on before the British fleet was formed.

The French had a peculiar method of repeating signals at night, by means of rockets and explosions of gunpowder; these were discernible until day-break, but when light returned, the French fleet was only visible from the mast head. Keppel did not think proper to pursue them; but, as soon as every ship had entirely disappeared, he directed his course homeward, in order to repair his crippled ships, and to be, as soon as possible, in a condition to meet the enemy again. However justifiable the motives for this conduct might be, it furnished the enemy with a colourable pretext to boast of a victory, and gave the other states of Europe an unfavourable idea of British prowess, of which they had entertained so exalted a sentiment, that a drawn battle, between two fleets of equal force, was considered as highly disgraceful. The reasons assigned by the commander-in-chief for this conduct were, that a strong wind blew directly into the harbour of Brest, under favour of which the French fleet was able to enter that harbour before he could possibly have come up with them; and the shattered condition of many of the ships under his command would have exposed them to imminent hazard from a lee shore. This indecisive action was fought in lat. 48° 38′ ushant distant, 27 leagues east half south.

When the transactions of this day came to be canvassed, the commander-in-chief was distinguished by the particular notice of those ministerial agents, whose business it is to hunt down characters in the public prints. They placed him as a mark, at which their envenomed shafts were aimed. The moderation he had shewn, in screening the misconduct of the officer who commanded his rear, and the favourable manner in which he had spoken of that officer's behaviour, in his letter to the secretary of the admiralty, were certainly not to be justified on the principle of strict discipline, which is essential to the public service. This sacrifice of his duty he had been tempted to make, to the remembrance of a long subsisting friendship, which, however, had been in its wane. Had Keppel, immediately upon his orders being disobeyed, put the delinquent under an arrest, and brought the whole transaction before a court martial, with a rigid but warrantable austerity, the alarm which such a spirited conduct would have spread in the navy, and throughout the nation, would not have been so violent, nor its consequences so fatal, as those which were actually experienced.

Admiral Keppel sailed again on the 23rd of August, with sir Robert Harland and sir Hugh Palliser, second and third in command, and being joined some time after by three line of battle ships, his force then consisted of thirty-one sail of the line. The French fleet left their harbour five days before, but shaping their course to the south-westward, effectually avoided a second action; but, however, the trade of France, by this manœuvre, was left defenceless, and several West India-men, bound to Nantes and Bourdeaux, were captured, and three East Indiamen were made prizes to two ships of war and a king's frigate, whilst our own trade arrived from every quarter of the world, safe and unannoyed.

When the approach of winter caused the grand fleet to return home from its second cruise, the admiral was received by his sovereign, with every mark of satisfaction and regard, whilst the first lord of the treasury was in no respect backward in his professions of good-will and esteem. At length, however, the never-ceasing buzz of paragraph writers excited the nation to discontent. The people always expect some decisive consequences, when two fleets or two armies engage; and although that expectation is continually disappointed by the event, yet its impatience is in no degree abated. Sir George Pococke, during the last war, thrice fought and worsted the French fleet in the East Indies, without a single ship being sunk or captured on either side.

But to return to our operations in America.

The whole army passed the Delaware on the 18th of June, 1778. The only road by which the baggage and stores could proceed to New York was narrow, so that the waggons, artillery, and camp-equipage extended twelve miles; notwithstanding which, the general found means to defend the whole from all attempts made by Washington and his army. A large body of Americans, commanded by general Lee, was driven back, and, if the intense heat of the day had not put an end to pursuit, the royal army would have obtained a very decisive advantage; but being thus impeded, the action was memorable only from the circumstance of 59 soldiers having expired through excessive heat and fatigue, without receiving a wound. The American accounts represent the fortune of the day as having been reversed by the misconduct of general Lee, and assert, that if he had acted with spirit, a very capital advantage would have been gained over the royal army. That officer was afterwards tried by a court-martial on several charges, and dismissed the service. The marquis de la Fayette distinguished himself in this action.

THE judicious manner in which sir Henry Clinton conducted this retreat of the confederate army received great applause; it is perhaps his most distinguished achievement. His whole force did not reach Sandy Hook until the 1st of July, so that a fortnight elapsed, from leaving Philadelphia to the arrival of the army at New York. If such were the impediments and dangers in traversing this country, with an enemy hanging on their rear, it is obvious to infer, that sir William Howe was perfectly right in not attempting to penetrate by that route, when Washington was prepared to dispute every inch of ground, and the British general must have driven the enemy before him through the whole progress; a situation much more embarrassing than merely to repel his attacks.

THE abandonment of Philadelphia was rendered necessary by the approach of the count d'Estaing's fleet to the American coasts. Interest and ambition will frequently lead men to assume the semblance of generosity; but that government, which was then actually exercising the most unfeeling severity on the brave Corsicans, because their stubborn nature could not be brought to yield obedience to a foreign yoke, should have little credit given to it on the score of motive, in the relief which it now sent to America. Tempests, which had dispersed and shattered admiral Byron's fleet, had only retarded that of d'Estaing, so that he arrived in full force at the mouth of the Delaware the latter end of June, only three days after lord Howe had sailed from thence for New York. The British naval force was so inferior to that of the enemy, that the consequences of his arrival, a few days sooner, might have been very fatal. The Americans masters of Philadelphia; sir Henry Clinton's army on its march; and only sixty four gun ships, three fifties, and two forties, to make head against eleven ships of the line, of which one carried 90 guns, another 80, six 74, and three 64, besides which there were a 50 gun ship and three large frigates; neither superior bravery nor skill, although exercised in their fullest extent, seemed capable of extricating such a fleet from such a situation. The French admiral, thus disappointed, in not meeting his enemy in the spot most favourable to his designs, sought him in his more defensible post. Lord Howe, who possessed every qualification of a naval commander, in a very eminent degree, made great use of a very short space of time, in protecting his ships in the harbour. The ardour, activity, and undaunted firmness, discovered by all ranks on this trying occasion, presaged a favourable termination of the conflict.

D'ESTAING, on the 11th of July, appeared in sight of the British fleet at Sandy Hook. His force consisted of twelve sail of the line, and three frigates. The English fleet was somewhat inferior. D'Estaing, designing to attack the British fleet in the harbour, cast anchor on the Jersey side, about four miles from the Hook. The British sailors had the mortification to see their fleet blocked up in their own harbour for eleven days, and the French flag flying without. On the 22nd of July, however, the French admiral set sail, and concerted measures with general Sullivan for the reduction of Rhode Island. The latter was to invade the island on its north end, from the continent, while the former entered the isle of Newport, and thus enclosed the British troops on every side. Lord Howe, as soon as he received intelligence of the danger of Rhode Island, set sail to relieve it; but, from unavoidable delays, did not arrive until the day after the French had entered the harbour.

The two fleets stood out to sea; but were prevented from fighting by a violent tempest, which separated the ships of both squadrons, and threatened their destruction. D'Estaing took refuge in Boston, and Howe at New York. The British fleet being strengthened by the arrival of seven ships, lord Howe put to sea again; but no memorable action occurred in this quarter, during the remainder of the campaign, at the close of which his lordship left the command to admiral Gambier.

It being too late to enter upon any new plan of operations, the commander-in-chief contented himself with distressing his enemy. About the same time, the army of general Knyphausen was so posted, relatively to that of lord Cornwallis, that, being only separated by the North river, they could unite their forces within 24 hours, while they prevented the separated strength of general Washington from uniting in less than eight or ten days.

Even the cruelties of the preceding year were far exceeded by the outrages, against all the feelings of humanity, committed by colonel Butler, a ferocious Indian agent and commander, who was now destined to bring disgrace on the British arms. The object of his warfare, in which he was associated with Brandt, a half Indian by blood, was the fertile and flourishing settlement of Wyoming, on the Susquehana, which has been immortalized by the strains of the poet Campbell, in his *Gertrude*, and whose remoteness from the seat of war might have been expected to secure the inhabitants from its calamities. Against this peaceful and happy district, consisting of eight townships, each five miles square, these savage hell-hounds were dispatched, at the head of 1600 men, a part of whom were Indians At their approach, the governor of Kingston, a fort which was the chief defence of the settlement, desired a parley with Butler. This was acceded to; but, that treachery might not be wanting to complete the crimes of these commanders, when he repaired to the place appointed, and expected to have entered into a conference, he, and the body of men who attended him as his guard, were suddenly surrounded by their enemy, the greater part of them were cut off, and the governor narrowly escaped with his life. The commandant of the fort, in the absence of the governor, then desired to know what terms of surrender would be granted him; to which Butler laconically answered, *The hatchet*. The garrison were soon made acquainted with their fate. Some of them were carried away alive; but the barbarous conquerors, to save the trouble of murder in detail, shut up the greater part promiscuously in the houses and barracks, and, setting them on fire, they enjoyed the savage pleasure of beholding the whole consumed in one general blaze. A dreadful scene of havoc and barbarity then ensued throughout all the townships. The inhabitants were massacred, the standing corn was destroyed, the houses were set on fire, and, in a short time, one of the most prosperous settlements in America presented nothing to view but a desolate waste, the wreck of those beauties which the cultivated face of nature had formerly exhibited.

It is a relief to revert our attention from these and similar enormities, to the regular operations of honourable warfare. The intervention of France had rendered the defence of the West Indies an object of the highest importance. The commander-in-chief, when informed that Dominique had been reduced, and that Bouillé, after effecting that conquest, was preparing, with the aid of d'Estaing's fleet, for further victories, dispatched generals Grant and Meadows, with 5000 troops, under a convoy of commodore Hotham's squadron, to guard the British West India islands, and annoy those of the enemy. They proceeded to make a descent on the island of St. Lucie, and in a short time obtained possession of the strong posts intended to secure the Careenage, and the Cul de Sac, two of the three bays by which the island is indented. The ensuing day, d'Estaing arrived off the island, with a fleet of twelve ships of the line, and 9000 troops on board, elated with the hope of success against a fleet so far inferior as that of Barrington, which consisted of no more than three ships of the line, and three of 50 guns. On the enemy's approach, he warped his transport vessels, laden with stores, into the Cul de Sac, and stationed his ships in a line, to guard its entrance. Thus circumstanced, he was twice attacked by the superior force of his enemy, and as often gave them a repulse. D'Estaing then determined to try his fortune by land. Having disembarked his troops, he proceeded with 5000 men, commanded, under himself, by de Bouillé and and count Louendahl, to an attack on general

Meadows, who was posted, with 1500 men, to defend the peninsula of La Vierge. Their onset was made with characteristic impetuosity; but they were received with such bravery, and invincible firmness, that they were repulsed with great loss, after three furious assaults. A few days after, d'Estaing re-embarked his troops, and the governor capitulated.

Early in the year an expedition was undertaken, by a squadron under the marquis de Vaudreuil, and a body of troops under the duke de Lausun, against the British settlements on the African coast; and these commanders made an easy conquest of the factories at Senegal and in the river Gambia. This event was followed by an enterprise of greater importance. The reduction of Jersey was undertaken by 3000 men, under the command of the prince of Nassau-Siegen. But they were so warmly received by a single regiment stationed there, that they deemed it expedient to retire after a faint attempt. A descent, at the same time, was threatened on the coasts of England and Ireland, and the combined fleets of France and Spain appeared in the Channel. But on the appearance of sir Charles Hardy, with an inferior force, their demonstrations ended in a fruitless gasconnade.

It has already been remarked, with what successful assiduity admiral Keppel had been traduced in the public prints; at length those newspapers, which served as vehicles for anti-ministerial doctrines, could no longer forbear acting in their vocation, and accordingly took up the other side of the question, so that the conduct of sir Hugh Palliser was brought under discussion, with no more delicacy than had been shewn to his superior officer. During this reciprocation of slander, an anonymous letter was inserted, which was neither scurrilous nor misleading; it stated the transactions of that day fairly, and drew just and obvious conclusions, which indeed conveyed an implied censure on the vice-admiral of the blue. Sir Hugh Palliser applied to admiral Keppel, requiring him to contradict the facts advanced in that paper. The admiral declared his total ignorance of it or its author, but that he could not consider himself under any obligations to confute an anonymous writer; especially as he had not thought it worth while to take notice of any, among the numerous attacks which had been made upon himself. In a few days after, sir Hugh Palliser published in the newspapers his state of facts, which bore hard on the conduct of his superior officer; and to this piece he signed his name.

This procedure caused the matter to be agitated in the house of commons, and a member moved to address his majesty, to bring sir Hugh Palliser to trial; which was then over-ruled, but not rejected. Before this proposition was resumed, sir Hugh Palliser preferred to the board of admiralty five articles of accusation, or specific charges against admiral Keppel, for his conduct on the 27th of July, and demanded a court-martial to be held upon that officer. The admiralty-board were far from hesitating to comply with a requisition, which affected the life of the most respectable commander then in the service, and who, during forty years, had acquired the respect, esteem, and love of the navy; without adverting to the suspicious appearance which this conduct bore, of being dictated by personal resentment, from the length of time which had elapsed, between the transaction on which it was stated, and the charges produced; without being withheld by the consideration of the vast injury which such a step must inevitably produce to the public service, not only by encouraging a captious humour towards superior officers, but by introducing divisions and animosities into the navy, at a time when the salvation of the nation depended upon the united exertions of that body of men; and, finally, without regarding the act of indelicacy, in giving countenance to a member of their own board, in his attack upon one in every respect whatever his superior, whilst the accuser might be supposed to have taken this step for the purpose of screening himself. Uninfluenced by any or all of those motives, they suffered an ill-founded plea of official duty to varnish over their prompt alacrity, and immediately sent a copy of the charges to the accused admiral, accompanied with a notice for him to prepare for his speedy trial. Such a conduct spread disgust through the navy, and no less than twelve admirals, at the head of whom appeared the respectable name of lord Hawke, signed a memorial, which was presented to his majesty, in which they founded their complaints against the conduct of the board of admiralty upon the grounds above stated.

A COURT-MARTIAL was accordingly appointed to be held on board the Britannia, in Portsmouth harbour; but, in consequence of the admiral's ill state of health, an act of parliament was passed, empowering the lords of the admiralty to order it to be held on shore; from the ship it was therefore adjourned to the governor's house at Portsmouth, and began on the 8th of January. On the 11th of February, the thirty-second day of the trial, the court, having heard the evidence and the prisoner's defence, were of opinion, that "the charge was malicious and ill-founded, it having appeared that the admiral, so far from having, by misconduct and neglect of duty, lost an opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, or tarnished the lustre of the British navy, behaved as a judicious, brave, and experienced officer. The court, therefore, unanimously and honourably acquitted the said admiral Augustus Keppel, of the several articles contained in the charge against him." Sir Thomas Pye, the president, on delivering to admiral Keppel his sword, addressed him in the following words:—*Admiral Keppel, it is no small pleasure for me to receive the commands of the court, that, in delivering your sword, I am to congratulate you on its being restored to you with so much honour, hoping, ere long, you will be called forth by your sovereign, to draw it once more in defence of your country,*

1779.

IMMEDIATELY upon the acquittal of admiral Keppel, the houses of parliament voted him their thanks, for his gallant conduct on the 27th of July. Soon after, sir Hugh Palliser resigned his seat at the board of admiralty, gave up his posts of lieutenant-general of marines, and governor of Scarborough castle, and vacated his seat in parliament, retaining only his rank of vice-admiral of the blue, which he continued to hold as a qualification for his trial by a court-martial. Besides the honours and authority annexed to these distinctions, he gave up an income of £4000 per annum. Many circumstances were stated in evidence, which tended to criminate the accuser; the lords of the admiralty, therefore, issued orders for a court-martial to be held on sir Hugh Palliser, which began to sit, on board the Sandwich, in Portsmouth harbour, on the 12th of April. The trial continued till the 5th day of May, when, all the witnesses having been examined, and sir Hugh Palliser having made his defence, the court proceeded to deliver their opinion, which was, "that the behaviour of the vice-admiral, on the 27th and 28th days of July, was in many instances most meritorious and exemplary, but that he was blameable for not making known to the admiral the distressing situation of his ship; yet, as he was censurable for no other part of his conduct, the court are of opinion that he ought, notwithstanding that, to be acquitted, and he is acquitted accordingly." Vice-admiral Darby, the president, then delivered sir Hugh Palliser his sword, with this short address: *Sir, I am directed by the court to return you your sword.*

ON the 17th of June, the minister laid a message before the house, intimating that the ambassador of the king of Spain, having delivered a paper to lord Weymouth, signifying, that he had received orders from his court immediately to withdraw from this country; his majesty had thought proper to recal his ambassador from Madrid. Though much blame was, in consequence of this message, thrown upon the ministry for want of information, an animated address was unanimously voted, assuring his majesty of the strenuous support of the legislature, in the war in which he was engaged.

AMIDST the evils of foreign war, violent tumults were occasioned in Scotland, by the repeal of the laws against Roman catholics; and that country was once more convulsed by the harangues and writings of a set of fiery zealots, who filled the people with apprehensions of danger to the established church, from the possible extension of the acts to that kingdom. The cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow presented scenes of the most horrid outrage, which continued till an armed force was called to the aid of the civil magistrate, and the minds of the people were pacified by an assurance from the lord provost, that no repeal of the penal statutes against the catholics should take place.

VIOLENT as these proceedings in Scotland were, the state of Ireland was still more alarming. The disorders in the former country arose from temporary circumstances, which could be easily removed; whereas the symptoms of disaffection which discovered themselves in the latter arose from more permanent causes, which were rooted in the minds of the people, and could not be removed

without sacrificing other interests, and incurring other difficulties and dangers. This country had felt the ill-consequences arising from the war, in several different ways. Its manufactures were decreased; the expence of ordinary subsistence was enhanced; and, what greatly aggravated these evils to a considerable part of the nation, an embargo was laid on the export of beef and butter, in order to distress our enemy, without having the desired effect. Some small commercial privileges had been granted them; but these were so inadequate to their grievances, that they were considered rather as mockeries of their distress, than as an effectual remedy. The most considerate persons in England, as well as Ireland, when they perceived the misery and discontent that prevailed, recommended, that every reasonable requisition of the Irish nation should be complied with; that they should be admitted to an union of interests and a participation of benefits with Great Britain, as the only means of concentrating our strength in this crisis of danger, and preventing these malcontents from following the example of the American colonists. It was not a time, they thought, to hazard the loss of this kingdom, when we had already lost our provinces, and Ireland was at this instant threatened with an invasion by the combined fleets of France and Spain. And they insisted, that to conciliate the attachment of this nation, by liberal treatment, was the wisest policy that the government could pursue, and would tend eventually to the benefit of Great Britain, by increasing the affluence of Ireland, and its demands from the sister-kingdom. On the other hand, it was said that the grievances of the Irish were exaggerated; that they only shared in the distresses of England and Scotland; and that, should we relieve the Irish manufacturers, at the expence of the British, we should incur the danger of rebellion in one country, whilst we averted it in the other.

When the advocates of the distressed people found that their reasonings were of no avail, different means were adopted for procuring redress. Agreements were entered into by an association formed in the city of Dublin, not to import or wear any English manufactures, which could be manufactured in Ireland, till an enlightened policy, founded upon principles of justice, shall appear to actuate the inhabitants of certain manufacturing towns of Great Britain, who have taken so active a part in opposing the regulations proposed in favour of the trade of Ireland; that they appear to entertain sentiments of respect and affection for their fellow-subjects of this kingdom. This example was followed by the city of Waterford. And when the nation at large were informed, that their interests had been discussed by the English parliament, and that nothing effectual was done for removing their grievances, finding that redress must come from themselves, they entered into similar associations throughout the kingdom.

These were not the only alarming proceedings of the Irish nation. When the combined fleet was cruising in the Channel, military associations were formed, "for the purpose of defending their country against foreign enemies, and their rights against what they thought domestic usurpation;" they declared themselves to be loyal to their king, and affectionate to Great Britain; "but it was with such loyalty and affection, as consisted with their own liberty and prosperity." Twenty thousand volunteers were instantly enrolled; and their standard seemed to be upheld, not by any particular party, but by men of all ranks, descriptions, and political principles. Their appearance was rendered more formidable by that deliberate temper and firmness, which were displayed in all their proceedings.

The government now perceived, that it was absolutely necessary to adopt effectual measures for redressing the grievances of this nation. As a precaution, to prevent the ill-consequences apprehended from the associations, they wisely endeavoured to conciliate the attachment of the associates, by giving them the approbation of the state, that they might appear to act under its authority. On the meeting of the Irish parliament, in the autumn, the patriots declared, that nothing less than a free and unlimited trade could save their country from ruin. Nor were their requisitions any longer fruitless. In so important a light were the affairs of this kingdom seen, that they became the primary object of the English parliament, which met soon after. The earl of Shelburne, deeply interested in its welfare, moved for a vote of censure against the minister, for not having taken effectual measures for its relief, in consequence of an

address presented to his majesty in the preceding session. Lord Ossory made a similar motion in the house of commons. And the minister at last found it expedient to bring forward his proposition for the relief of Ireland.

1. A REPEAL of the laws which prohibited the exportation of Irish manufactures, made of or mixed with wool, to any part of Europe.

2. A REPEAL of an act of the late reign, which prohibited the importation of glass into Ireland, except of British manufacture, or the export of glass from Ireland.

3. THAT Ireland be suffered to carry on a trade of export and import, to and from the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and her settlements on the coast of Africa, subject to such limitations, restrictions, and duties, as the parliament of Ireland shall impose.

BILLS, founded on the two former propositions, were brought in and immediately passed. And another on the third, which liberally admitted the Irish to a participation of the chief branches of our foreign trade, was passed, after some deliberation, early in the ensuing year; Ireland being, at the same time, subjected to such an increase of taxes as was deemed reasonable, in consequence of this enlargement of its privileges.

THE operations in America contributed to prolong, rather than to decide the contest. In the beginning of May, sir Henry Clinton, with sir George Collier, commander of the marine at New York, formed a plan for an expedition to the Chesapeak, and a descent upon Virginia. The naval and land forces were commanded by sir George Collier and major-general Matthews. Sir George, having passed by the capes of Virginia, left part of the fleet in Hampton road, to block up that port, and proceeded himself, with the smaller ships of war and transports, up Elizabeth river. Not only Portsmouth but Norfolk fell into the hands of these troops. The fleet and army carried destruction wherever they went, and took great quantities of stores and provisions, designed for Washington's army. When the commanders of this expedition had done great injury to the shipping of the provincials, and destroyed fort George, with the store-houses and dock-yards, they returned to New York, where they arrived at the beginning of June, and joined a body of troops under the command of major-general Vaughan, in an expedition up the North river. The naval department continued under the direction of sir George Collier. Their enterprise was unproductive of important consequences, and after having destroyed a few insignificant forts and fortified places, they were ordered to return. It now became the wish of general Clinton to bring Washington to an engagement; an attempt of great difficulty, as the latter had fortified himself on the high mountainous posts, surrounding Verplanks and Stoney Point, and on both sides of the North river.

IN the mean time, the American general Wayne attacked, with great skill, and took Stoney Point, with above 500 prisoners in the garrison. This place being gained, the victor directed his artillery against Verplanks, which obliged the shipping to cut their cables, and fall down the river. The news of this unexpected disaster caused general Clinton to advance, with the main army, to Dobb's ferry, while sir George Collier, with the fleet, proceeded up the river. Stoney Point was easily regained, as general Washington declined a general engagement for his relief, and sir George Collier proceeded to the deliverance of a party of the king's troops, who were besieged in a fort on the Penobsot, in the eastern confines of New England. When the reinforcements appeared, the Americans made a precipitate retreat. Sir George chased the provincial ships which lay before the fort, and took nine fine frigates. Twenty-four sail of transports were, at the same time, destroyed, and some store-ships captured.

ADMIRAL Byron assumed the command, after the surrender of St. Lucia to admiral Barrington, and their squadron being now superior to that of d'Estaing, they endeavoured to draw him from Port Royal, by challenging an engagement, but in vain. Admiral Byron, being soon after informed of an intended reinforcement of d'Estaing's fleet, and aware that a large fleet of merchant-ships was waiting for convoy at St. Kitt's, judged it necessary to convoy the merchant-men, for the greater part of the way, with his whole fleet. As soon as he departed, 150 Frenchmen from Martinique landed, and took St. Vincent's; and, though the garrison exceeded the number of invaders, the latter carried their design into execution without firing a single shot. After this exploit, M. d'Estaing, being joined by M. de la Motte, with a supply of troops, stores,

and provisions, appeared off the isle of Grenada, on the 2nd of July, with a fleet of 26 sail of the line, besides frigates, and near 10,000 land forces. To this superior force lord Macartney was obliged to yield; but the insulting terms of capitulation offered by d'Estaing disgraced him as a man and a soldier. Rather than submit to them, the garrison surrendered at discretion, and were taught by their future treatment, that they had fallen into the hands of a commander, equally destitute of compassion and magnanimity.

Admiral Byron, on his return, being informed of the success of the enemy, set sail with 21 sail of the line and several transports, and, on the 6th of July, came within sight of the French fleet. About half past seven, the action was commenced by admiral Barrington, in the Prince of Wales, and the captains Sawyer and Gardner, in the Boyne and Sultan; these ships closed with the van of the enemy, and with incredible resolution sustained the fire of that division, but with great damage and loss of men. Similar encounters took place at different times, but Byron failed in bringing the enemy to a decisive engagement; and having learned that the French had possessed themselves of Grenada, he directed his whole thoughts to the defence of his transports and troops. Though the British fleet was materially damaged, d'Estaing observed it with great indifference, and did not so much as interrupt the passage of the transports. This action indeed gave such a superiority to the French, as to strike an universal panic throughout our West India islands, which, however, d'Estaing confirmed no further than by appearing for a whole day, with his fleet, off St. Christopher's.

Having first convoyed the homeward-bound French West India ships till they were out of danger, d'Estaing meditated the destruction of general Prevost's force in Georgia, and, in conjunction with general Washington, an attack, both by sea and land, on the British forces at New York. General Prevost was at this time at Savannah. The principal division of his troops was at Port Royal, in South Carolina, and the difficulty with which this force could effect a junction with the general, rendered his danger very apparent.

The French landed at Beaulieu, about 13 miles from the town of Savannah, and the frigates approached as near the lines as they possibly could. On the 16th of September, d'Estaing sent a summons to the general, to surrender the place; a truce of 24 hours was agreed upon, during which colonel Maitland arrived, confirmed the garrison in their resolutions against a surrender, and inspired the whole with fresh hopes and spirits. D'Estaing, now joined by general Lincoln, prepared for a regular siege. About midnight, October the 3rd, the enemy began a very heavy bombardment, and the following day opened a cannonade with 37 pieces of heavy artillery. During this cannonade, which lasted five days, the distresses of the women and children became excessive, and greatly increased by the throwing in of carcasses. To alleviate this unnecessary, and, it was thought, avoidable calamity, general Prevost wrote a letter to d'Estaing, requesting that the women and children should be sent on board ships in the river, and placed under the protection of a French man of war, until the siege should end; but the request was shamefully refused.

A little before day-light, on the 9th of October, general Lincoln and M. d'Estaing attacked the British lines; as the firing became general, and as darkness obstructed observation, no change took place in the disposition of our troops. D'Estaing, with the principal troops selected from both armies, made his attack on the right, and supported it with considerable courage. A redoubt on the Ebenezer road was so obstinately defended by a colonel Taws, and a captain Wickham, that, after a most bloody conflict, in which Taws fell, the redoubt was totally cleared of the enemy, even although they had advanced so far as to plant two stand of colours in it; at 10 o'clock, a truce was demanded by the enemy, in order to bury the dead, and carry off the wounded, which was granted. The number killed and wounded, both French and Americans, was between 1000 and 1200. In a few days afterwards, upon the clearing up of a fog, it was discovered that the enemy had totally abandoned their camps; and d'Estaing, about the 1st of November, departed from the coast of America. In the whole of this campaign, d'Estaing exposed himself to censure; and, in particular, it was said, that in this last affair he ought to have proceeded with more vigour in the sap, and not to have lost time in regular approaches against field works. On his return to France he was received with coldness, and permitted to pass the remainder of his days in congenial inactivity.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GEORGE III.

[1780.]

Mr. Dunning's celebrated Motion—State of the Public Mind—Alarming and destructive Riots—Naval Exploits—Campaign in America—Trial and Execution of Major André as a Spy—War with Holland—Defeat of Colonel Baillie in India by Hyder Ali.

1780. AT the commencement of the session, the peculiar situation of the nation, and the evident imbecility of the minister, presented peculiar advantages to the friends of liberty, and to the efforts of opposition. Numerous petitions for œconomical reform had been presented from various parts of the kingdom, which were represented by some to convey the sense of the nation, and by others to be nothing more than the clamour of faction. The whole house was converted, (March 3rd) into a committee upon the subject of these petitions; and Mr. Dunning, in pursuance of the general desire of the minority, moved, as an introduction to other propositions connected with his plan of reform, that "the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." So general was the conviction of the fact, that, notwithstanding the minister opposed the motion with great ability, it was approved by a majority of eighteen members, of which number was the speaker himself. In this critical state of things, an illness, with which the speaker was seized, gave occasion for an adjournment; and, by affording time to those who had receded from the court party, to reconsider the merits and effects of the motion, produced another change in the balance of parties. Mr. Dunning, on the resumption of parliamentary business, proposed an address to his majesty, requesting that he would not dissolve the parliament, nor prorogue the session, till measures should be taken by that house to diminish the influence of the crown, and to correct the evils complained of in the petitions of the people. This motion was rejected, in a very full house, by a majority of fifty-one members; and the opposition was thus deprived of the fruits of its former victory.

WHILST the reformation of abuses in the state was so earnestly sought by all ranks of people throughout the kingdom, that some described the nation as having run mad about public virtue; as being actuated by an innovating spirit, which formed notions of ideal perfection; as cherishing causeless discontents, which inflamed to turbulence and dissention; an unlooked-for source of civil commotion produced the most alarming effects. The partial relief which had been rendered to the subjects of England who adhered to the Romish faith, had given no sort of offence to the nation; in Ireland, the principle had been adopted with great success, and no disgusts were testified by any class of the people. These appearances induced some leading men in Scotland to promise to use their interest in parliament, for the purpose of extending the relief to that country; but the design was no sooner named, than a few impetuous zealots, who were utterly unacquainted with the nature of the relief which was meant to be obtained, became alarmed at the danger to which they thought the protestant church was exposed, and made use of every method which a blind enthusiasm suggested, to inflame the people to the most violent resentments. Every active principle was employed in this cause,

whilst no effectual means were used to counteract these designs, by representing to the people at large how groundless their apprehensions were, and that nothing more was meant to be done than to repeal an unjust law, which, by a strange concurrence of circumstances, had become a law contrary to the intentions even of its first framers, and that a great number of penal statutes against Roman catholics would still remain in force. It is highly becoming the leading and enlightened part of mankind, to make use of every means which argument, intermixed with good-humoured pleasantry, can supply, to remove any false notions which are likely to remain, to the disturbance of the public tranquillity. Of all mistakes, those which arise from a conscientious attachment to religious principles deserve the most assiduous endeavours to correct and confute them. The outrages which were committed in Edinburgh and Glasgow, early in the year 1779, on the houses and property of the Roman catholics; in consequence of the popular resentments having been excited against them by a variety of inflammatory pamphlets, which had been industriously circulated, would never have happened, if any portion of zeal had operated to the producing, and spreading widely, of well-written tracts, to disprove the assertions which had been so roundly and falsely made. But the weapons of reason are less frequently resorted to, for the purpose of suppressing a popular infatuation, than those forcible weapons, with which the state is armed; and the progression of discontent is seldom attended to, until the consequences of its maturity are felt.

From Scotland, this spirit of bitter enmity against the catholics passed into England, and caused a society to be formed under the title of *The Protestant Association*, which was composed of well-meaning but uninformed people, whose fears were excited, because they considered the principles of popery as increasing to an alarming pitch in this country, and that the design of the legislature was to patronise that religion. The aversion which British protestants discover to Roman catholics is uncommonly inveterate; it seems almost to have survived their religious principles. The Dutch, although they revolted from Spain, because they were cruelly persecuted as protestants, yet were so far from bearing an implacable enmity to the Romanists, that they allowed a general toleration; and the Roman catholics, to this day, are conspicuous in those states, both for the largeness of their numbers and the peaceableness of their demeanor. The Swiss cantons know no dissensions, because some are of the Romish persuasion, and others Calvinistical protestants. But the attempts which have been made in England, since the reformation was introduced into it, to render the religion of the church of Rome the national religion, and to exterminate or depress the reformed church, had established a hereditary antipathy, which is not yet extinct; insomuch, that the peaceable conduct of this body of men, for 120 years, has not been sufficient to expiate the misdeeds of a former race. It therefore became the indispensible duty of every man of influence to oppose to this popular prejudice the force of truth; but while a general supineness prevailed concerning the principles and conduct of this society, it increased in numbers and in zeal, under the influence of a president, whose violent and daring spirit qualified him for creating and leading a faction. This young nobleman was descended from one of the most antient and honourable families in Scotland, so that he might lay claim to popularity as a birthright, whilst a peculiar cast of character, which marked his whole deportment, drew the public attention; his singularities passed for marks of genius, and his dress and appearance, which seemed to have been copied from the age of puritanism, impressed the superficial multitude with a notion of the sanctity of his manners; although, under this disguise, his private life was not conspicuous for a single corresponding austerity. Through the influence of this reformer, a petition to the house of commons was drawn up, in the name of the society, praying the repeal of the act for the relief of Roman catholics, which was signed by vast numbers; to attend the delivery of which, all true protestants were invited by hand-bills, and advertisements in the newspapers, to assemble in St. George's Fields, and to distinguish themselves by wearing blue cockades in their hats, their champion, who was a member of the house, having declared, that he would not deliver their petition, unless he was attended by twenty thousand men; and a number not short of that were actually got together. Although it was not the intention

of government to grant the prayer of the petition, yet it either did not apprehend, or did not choose to provide against, any consequences which might arise from the assembling of such a concourse of people. The behaviour of lord George Gordon, the popular leader of this multitude, which now beset the house of commons, and occupied every avenue to its entrance, tended greatly to exasperate and inflame his followers. Many of the lords received personal affronts and injuries in their way to the house of peers, and in the evening, the Romish chapels belonging to the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors were demolished and set on fire, although no proper objects of their resentment, because the obnoxious act of parliament no way affected them. The mounds of law and order being thus broken down, the dwelling-houses of the Roman catholics, in different parts of the town, were dismantled, and the furniture piled up in the street and burnt, whilst the dwellings were set on fire. The civil power was unable to prevent such outrages; and the few military which could be drawn out, acting under the command of the magistrates, were not effectually employed to suppress them. A wealthy and luxurious metropolis must harbour a number of desperate wretches, who are only awed by the scourge of the law, which is held over them, and would not fail to avail themselves of the suspension of legal authority, to commit the most atrocious crimes. These, being now collected, levelled their attacks against the places which they had most reason to dread; and the different jails were forced open, the prisoners set at liberty, and every thing consumed which was susceptible of the action of fire. The dwelling-houses of several justices of peace shared the same fate; and, as all authority and control was borne down, no limits could be set to the devastations which might follow. The destruction of the Bank of England was openly threatened, and the fate of the empire seemed to depend on the torches of a ruthless banditti.

Lord Sandwich had a very narrow escape as he was passing in his carriage to the house of lords. The same evening, after having burnt the house of justice Hyde, they proceeded to Newgate, in order to release their companions who had been imprisoned; the consequence was dreadful; in a few hours the flames were so general, that 300 prisoners were enabled to escape. The houses of the catholics in Devonshire Street, Red Lion Square, were destroyed; the house of justice Cox, in Great Queen Street, met the same doom; the doors of Clerkenwell prison were thrown open, and, after burning all the writings and valuable goods of sir John Fielding, the house of lord Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square, was attacked. His lordship escaped through a back door; but the house, with his valuable collection of manuscripts, his library, &c. were totally consumed; a party of the guards fired once or twice, but without at all repressing the violence of the infatuated mob.

On Wednesday, the King's Bench and Fleet prisons, with the house of Mr. Langdale, an eminent distiller in Holborn, were marked for destruction; and as the evening approached, a scene presented itself, the outlines of which may be described, but the human imagination is incapable of conveying those sensations of horror, which filled the breasts of those who saw it. At the same instant, the King's Bench and Fleet prisons, New Bridewell, the toll-gates on Blackfriar's bridge, the large house at the bottom of Holborn, and various houses at other parts of the town, to the number of thirty-six, were seen in flames. Some wretches were burnt at the houses of distillers; the spirits were brought out in pail-fulls, and not only common, but non-rectified spirits, were drank with avidity. At one time, a piece of ruins fell on the heads of these devoted miscreants; at another they were seen nodding over the fire, and so desperately insensible of their situation, and incapable to move through intoxication, that many of them were seen to drop into eternity in a manner too shocking for description. The same day attempts were made on the Bank and the Pay-office; but these places being strongly guarded, they failed; and many of the rioters embraced an untimely and unprepared death at the hand of the military, rather than abandon their destructive pursuit. This night was the most dreadful of any; the number of the killed cannot be ascertained; but as far as report enables us to estimate them, they stand thus;—109 killed by association troops and guards, 101 by light horse, and 75 died in the hospitals. Those who were present speak of these scenes as exceeding any thing recorded in our annals. Before noon, on

Thursday, the regulars and militia from the country had put a stop to all further devastations.

In the mean time, about 200 members of the house of commons had the courage to assemble in that place, under the protection of the military. Some resolutions were passed: one was an assertion of their own privileges; the second was for a committee of enquiry into the late and present outrages, and for the discovery of their promoters and abettors; a third for a prosecution by the attorney-general; and the fourth for an address to his majesty, for the reimbursement of the foreign ministers, to the amount of the damages they had sustained by the rioters. But the news of the conflagration begun in the city arriving, occasioned their hasty adjournment. On Thursday, the 8th of June, lord George Gordon was taken into custody, and conveyed to the Horse Guards, where he underwent an examination before the lord president, lord North, lord Amherst, the secretaries of state, and several lords of the council; and in the evening was committed a close prisoner to the Tower. He was attended thither by a greater force than ever was known on a similar occasion. Lord George Gordon was, in the following year, brought to trial for high treason, and acquitted of all the charges; nor, among all those who were apprehended, brought to trial, and hanged, were there any proved to belong to that company who assembled in St. George's Fields.

It was determined, in a committee of the whole house of commons, that no repeal should take place in the act in favour of the Roman catholics, as the grievances said to arise from it were imaginary; and they came to resolutions, in order to set the conduct of parliament in a fair light, and to undeceive the ill-informed, but well-meaning part of the petitioners. On Saturday, July the 8th, his majesty closed this tedious session with a speech, in which he expressed his satisfaction at the magnanimity and perseverance of his faithful commons.

On the 1st of September a proclamation was issued, for the dissolution of this parliament, and for calling a new one.

While intestine violence and riot shook the capital, our fleets abroad met with success, which served to console the unthinking populace for past misfortunes. The close investment of Gibralter immediately followed the Spanish declaration of war. In the month of January, 1780, a fleet consisting of 21 ships of the line, under the command of sir George Rodney, proceeded to the relief of Gibralter. This fortunate commander had not been many days at sea, before he fell in with 15 sail of Spanish ships, laden with naval stores and provisions, bound to Cadiz, which were escorted by a Spanish man of war of 64 guns, and five frigates, all of which were taken. Eight days after, upon doubling cape St. Vincent, a Spanish fleet, consisting of 11 sail of the line, under the command of Don Juan de Langara, was descried, which he immediately bore down upon, keeping nearer to the shore than the enemy, to prevent their escaping into any port; which, by the direction in which the wind then blew, was, in the marine phrase, keeping the lee-gage. The engagement began about four o'clock in the afternoon; and, after it had continued near forty minutes, one of the Spanish ships, of 70 guns, blew up, and 600 men, who were on board her, perished. Soon after which, the battle was changed to a flight on the part of the Spaniards. During the night, which immediately came on, the British ships pursued the enemy through a great sea, the weather proving tempestuous, and the next morning the fleet had approached towards the shoals of St. Lucar. Four Spanish men of war were carried into Gibralter, among which was the admiral's ship; two other ships were taken, but being afterwards driven on shore, the one was lost and the other rescued. This signal success was obtained with the loss of only 32 men killed, and 102 wounded. The vanquished fleet consisted of fourteen sail; but three ships had been separated from the rest just before the engagement. The scene of this memorable action was the very same with that on which Boscawen effected the destruction of de la Clue's squadron, in the last war, only the pursuit was made in different directions. Boscawen completed his triumph on the coast where Rodney began.

The principal object with the Spaniards was to recover the Floridas; but whilst a force was collecting for this purpose by Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, a small force was sent from Jamaica against Omoa, a Spanish settlement on the Musquito shore, which was soon taken, to

the great annoyance of the enemy; but the unhealthiness of the place caused it to become the grave of the brave men who subdued it. Admiral Hyde Parker, on the Leeward Island station, took and destroyed a large number of vessels, on the coast of Martinico, which had sailed from France for the supply of that island. Several French frigates were likewise taken. Admiral Rodney thrice engaged the French fleet in the West Indies, commanded by M. de Guichen, without any decisive consequences; although the palm of victory was justly claimed by the English admiral, notwithstanding his force was considerably inferior, and, in the first action, he was badly seconded by many ships of his fleet. The honourable captain St. John, of the Intrepid, and three of his lieutenants, were killed. The dreadful hurricanes, which spread desolation over many parts of the West India islands, some time after, proved fatal to the ships of both nations in those seas.

The operations of this campaign in America were carried on to the southward by sir Henry Clinton in person; who, in order to provide a sufficient force for an expedition against Charlestown, found it necessary to evacuate Rhode Island, although a possession of great importance, on account of its valuable haven. A voluntary surrender of it, therefore, furnished a melancholy proof of the disparity of the force employed in this war to the objects sought. The French immediately took possession of a place, which they had in vain attempted to subdue. Charlestown surrendered on the 13th of May, 1780; soon after which, sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, and earl Cornwallis became commander-in-chief in South Carolina.

It being necessary that his lordship should remain at Charlestown, to regulate the affairs of that province, lord Rawdon (now earl Moira) was detached, with the troops destined for active service, to Camden, on the Santee, not far from the borders of North Carolina; a place which he selected as an advantageous rendezvous for the loyalists in both provinces, as calculated to protect the security of Carolina, and as a magazine and place of arms during the intended operations for the reduction of North Carolina.

At this period it was first seen, how much the royalists had been deceived respecting the real disposition of these provinces. In the hour of victory, a number of South Carolinians had accepted the invitation given them in the royal proclamation. But when baron de Kalbe, with a detachment of 2000 men from Washington's army was advanced into North Carolina; when colonel Sumpter had levied a body of men in that province; and general Gates, who had signalized himself by his campaigns in the north, was arrived to take the command of the provincials in this quarter; their conduct immediately proved that most of them had temporised, and were still inclined in their hearts to the revolted cause. In the month of August, lord Cornwallis, being informed that Gates was on his march to join Sumpter, and that they were expected to advance, with their united forces, against lord Rawdon, marched with all possible dispatch to Camden. The royal army was so sickly, that the effective men did not amount to more than 2000, including 500 Carolinians, while that of Gates was 5000 strong. Yet so necessary was victory regarded, to the preservation of their conquests, that it was determined, by the royalist generals, to give their enemy battle. That they might have some advantage, to balance the disparity of force, they concerted a plan for taking Gates, who was posted about thirteen miles from them, by surprise. With that view they decamped (August 15th) from Camden by night, but had soon the mortification to be informed, that their enemy had formed a similar design. A battle ensued on their route, in which the royalists were led on with great courage by lord Rawdon and colonel Webster, and the whole was commanded with much judgment by lord Cornwallis. The Americans made a resolute stand for above an hour, but were at last obliged to give way to the intrepid attacks of the royalists. The flight became general, notwithstanding all the efforts of Gates to rally his fugitive troops, and they left their antagonists a complete victory, obtained with a comparatively small loss, capturing 2000 stand of arms, their baggage, and eight pieces of artillery.

On intelligence of the defeat of Gates, Sumpter began a precipitate retreat towards North Carolina, which lord Cornwallis deemed it of importance to intercept, and general Tarleton, with his legion, was dispatched in pursuit of them. By forced marches, he overtook him at Catauba ford, on the Watteree. A dreadful slaughter ensued, in which a great

part of Sumpter's corps were cut to pieces or taken prisoners, and the general himself with difficulty escaped. Lord Cornwallis, perceiving his advantage, instantly availed himself of the opportunity of penetrating into North Carolina, and a plan was concerted for that purpose; in the execution of which he was to be supported by two detachments, under Tarleton and Ferguson. Each of these generals was to take a different route through the interior country; and it was expected that, in the present state of affairs, they would, by their joint operations, have borne down all resistance. But a reverse of fortune now awaited the royalists, and it was at length discovered, that their past successes had not been owing to causes which would operate in the further prosecution of hostilities. Civil wars are, of all others, the most liable to sudden changes, because, in these contentions, the feelings and passions of the people more frequently concur with policy in producing them. Lord Cornwallis had advanced to Charlotte Town, near the borders of the two Carolinas, without any check on his prosperous fortune, when a new and formidable enemy was seen to issue from the districts on the west of the Allegany mountains, whose natural fierceness compensated for the want of discipline. Being apprised that colonel Ferguson was approaching towards their country, they assembled about 3000 men, commanded by several chiefs, and so hemmed in his small corps, that an action became inevitable. The irruption of these hardy republicans was put in execution without any direction from the government of America. They had so little of the mechanism of a regular army, that the colonels of some of the states, from which they issued, commanded each day alternately. The hardships these volunteers underwent were very great. Some of them subsisted for weeks together without tasting bread, or salt, or spirituous liquors; and slept in the woods without blankets. Ears of corn, or pompions thrown into the fire, with occasional supplies of beef or venison, roasted in the woods, were their chief provisions. Surrounded by such enemies, bravery and fortitude were general Ferguson's only resources. For a long time he gallantly maintained his ground against their greatly superior force, repelling their attacks with the bayonet. But while in pursuit of one party, he was continually assailed, in ambush, by another. His troops fought with unabated intrepidity, till the leader fell, by whose example they had been animated. With him all hopes of success vanished, and a complete victory remained to the provincials, which was accompanied by the surrender of 800 prisoners of war. From this defeat we may date the turn of fortune. Lord Cornwallis, when informed of the fatal event, and of the circumstances attending it, convinced of the disaffection of the natives, and the danger of prosecuting his enterprise with so small a force, began his retreat to Wynnesborough, near Camden. He was in this position when he received intelligence that Sumpter was again at the head of a considerable force near the Broad river. Tartleton was dispatched against him, and a hard-fought action ensued on the 20th of November, 1780, at Blackstocks, in which the royalists, after a signal display of valour, were obliged to give way to superior numbers.

During these changes in the southern provinces, no memorable occurrence had taken place in the north. Washington retained his position at Morristown, in the Jerseys, and continued to act on the defensive, and Tryon and Knyphausen were only engaged in one or two ineffectual skirmishes.

The succours, which had been promised to the provincials from France, were delayed by several unforeseen accidents, and did not arrive at Rhode Island till the 12th of July. The armament consisted of seven sail of the line, and five frigates, under the command of M. de Ternay, with a fleet of transports, conveying 6000 chosen troops, under the command of the count de Rochambeau. This force the French general represented as only the vanguard of a very considerable army, destined by his most Christian majesty for the aid of the American republic. In the mean time, the Americans were destined to prove, not only the calamities of war, but the more dangerous effects of treachery. The active services of general Arnold had rendered him a favourite with both the soldiers and the people; but his love of pleasure caused him to contract debts which he was unable to pay; and, as the ministry of Great Britain were not unpractised in the arts of corruption, they knew to what quarter they could most successfully apply. A correspondence was

established between Arnold and a young officer of the name of André, at that time adjutant-general to Clinton's army, under the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson. The station in which Arnold was posted at West Point, was extremely favourable to the traitorous design. The object of the negotiation was to induce Arnold to make such a disposition of his forces, that sir Henry Clinton should be enabled to surprise West Point, in which case the garrison would be so completely in his power, that the troops must have been obliged to lay down their arms, or be cut to pieces. To favour the communication, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in North river, as near to Arnold's posts as was practicable without exciting suspicion. In order effectually to settle the whole plan of operation, a conference took place; and on the night of September 21st, a boat was sent from the shore to the Vulture, for major André. Arnold met him on the beach, without the posts of either army. The negotiation was not settled till it was too near the dawn of day for André to return, and he was conducted within the American posts, where he stayed the whole day, and at night changed his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under his surtout, for a common coat, and being furnished with a passport from Arnold, under the name of John Anderson, proceeded on horseback for New York. In his way he was met by three privates of the New York militia, who were out on a scouting party; one of them sprang from the cover, and seized André's horse by the bridle. The major, instead of producing his pass, asked the man where he belonged to, who answered, *To below*, meaning New York;—and André, suspecting no deceit, replied, *So do I*, and declared himself a British officer, and begged that he might not be detained. Upon the soldier beginning to search him, he found his mistake, and offered them a purse of gold and a valuable watch, if they would suffer him to escape; with promises of permanent provision, and future promotion, if they would accompany him to New York. Though these three poor men had no claim to hereditary honours, they evinced more nobility of sentiment in resisting bribes, than is often found in those of superior station; their names were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, and the American congress afterwards rewarded them with a pension of about £50 per annum. André was conducted by his captors to colonel Jameson, who had the command of the scouting parties. It is much to be regretted that this officer suffered André to write to Arnold, by which circumstance the traitor escaped the fate that so deservedly awaited him. After a fair trial before a board of fourteen general officers, French and Americans, major André was condemned to be executed as a spy. Great exertions were made by the British officers to save his life; but the Americans resisted every offer, and would agree to no terms but Arnold's being delivered up to them in the room of André, which on the part of the British was also refused. The unfortunate André, therefore, suffered the sentence of the court. To his memory, the public homage of the nation has been voted; and his name has been consecrated in song. Impartial history can only do justice to his character as a man of courage,—there his panegyric must end. He was an idle and dissipated young man, and relinquished the more honourable and useful occupation of a merchant, for that of a soldier. The fugitive general, his partner in intrigue, attempted, in several publications, to justify his own conduct, and to persuade others to follow his example; but his treachery had excited so much contempt in the breasts of the Americans, as to produce an effect contrary to his wishes; since it is a memorable circumstance that desertion ceased in the provincial camp immediately after Arnold became a traitor.

The campaign closed in the northern states with some success to the Americans, at fort George in Long Island. The Spaniards on the American frontier were not inactive during these transactions. Don Bernando de Galvez, the governor of Louisiana, was one of the first to proclaim the independence of America, and, in the spring of 1780, assembled a small force at New Orleans, and surprised and made himself master of Mobille, and all the British settlements on the Mississippi.

The siege of Gibralter still continued, and the blockade was renewed after admiral Rodney's departure; but the Spaniards, under Don Barcelo, were defeated on the 7th of June, in an attempt to burn the English shipping in the harbour there. In the command of the Channel fleet, sir Charles Hardy, (who

died on the 19th of May) was succeeded by admiral Geary. He sailed in the beginning of June, and was not out many days before he was so fortunate as to intercept a considerable convoy of French West India ships, homeward-bound from St. Domingo, and captured twelve rich vessels. But this advantage was counterbalanced by the loss of almost all the outward-bound convoy from England to the East and West Indies, which, on the 29th of July, was taken by the combined fleets, to the number of fifty-five.

THE naval pre-eminence of England had for ages excited the jealousy of the other maritime states of Europe. In the late war, they had been deeply chagrined at the triumph of Great Britain over the fleets of the house of Bourbon, and the same feelings were excited by her recent successes. Other combinations, therefore, were deemed necessary to restrain her power. With that view, the empress of Russia came forward as the projector and patroness of a confederacy, of which the chief object was, to dispute the right of the king of Great Britain, by virtue of the general law of nations, to search neutral vessels, and thus prevent supplies from being carried to his enemies. In opposition to this, the empress now proposed a new regulation, "that neutral ships shall enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers; and that all effects, belonging to the subjects of the said belligerent powers, shall be looked upon as free on board such neutral ships; except only such goods as are stipulated to be contraband." This regulation was warmly promoted by the kings of Sweden, Denmark, Spain, France, and Prussia, and was earnestly supported by the Dutch states.

THE terms on which this country stood with the Dutch, had long been latently inimical. The restraints which their carrying trade had been laid under, during the last war, at which they murmured, but which they dared not resent, had not been exercised with equal severity in the present state of hostilities. The partiality which that republic, particularly the province of Amsterdam, shewed to the interests of France, as well as to those of America, was seen with great dissatisfaction by the court of London. Many attempts had been made, by American agents, to negotiate a loan in Holland, which did not prove successful; but the outlines of a commercial treaty had been secretly adjusted in September, 1778, at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the orders and instructions of M. Van Berkel, counsellor and pensionary of the city of Amsterdam, with a commissioner on the part of the congress. The assistance which the Dutch might be brought to render to America, either in an open or private manner, if a respectable personage, properly empowered by congress, should reside at Amsterdam, induced Mr. Laurens, the president of that congress, to undertake transacting the concerns of America with that republic; but on his voyage, the ship in which he sailed was captured by an English frigate, and the American president, being brought to London, was committed to the Tower. All his papers, which he had committed to the sea as soon as his fate was ascertained, happening to be recovered, were exposed to the inspection of the British cabinet. The discoveries which they made, determined the court of London no longer to keep any terms with the United States; and on the 20th of December, 1780, a royal manifesto was published, which amounted to a declaration of war, and letters of marque and reprisal were soon after issued. This conduct certainly implied, that the open enmity of the Dutch was less to be dreaded than their secret disservices. Farther, by this declaration of hostilities, the republic was rendered incapable of acceding to the armed neutrality, by which the northern powers would have become, in a manner, guarantees for his protection and security. For a kingdom, already overwhelmed with foes, to denounce war against another state, appeared to be a measure so singularly bold and big with danger, that it could only be justified by the plea of state necessity, which had been urged on a variety of occasions, and implicitly admitted. To qualify this measure, it must be observed, that such a radical defect had long prevailed in the government and genius of the Dutch, that the maritime force possessed by that republic, seems to have sunk in a like proportion to the advancement of the strength of this country. A well-informed politician had long before pronounced the Dutch commonwealth to be "in a state of dissolution; and not to have, either within or without herself, those means of recovery, by conjunctures and by character, that she

has had on several occasions, from the time her government was first formed."

When the new parliament assembled, after the Christmas recess, Mr. Burke attempted again to introduce his plan of œconomy, with worse success than the preceding session. In the course of his speech upon this occasion, he asserted, that the king of France had abolished 606 useless offices, by which reduction he had provided himself with the means for carrying on the war, without laying a single additional tax upon the people.

The French minister of finance had delivered to the king, his master, an ample detail of the reformations he had introduced, and pointed out a variety of means by which the state might be essentially benefitted in future. It was a new thing in France, for a full, clear, and explicit state of the finances to be laid before the people, and it may astonish an Englishman to hear the French minister declare, *That the public bank of France has never been in advance on account of government; but the royal treasury has constantly a capital in bank of some millions (of livres.) This bank, therefore, has not been of any direct utility to the royal treasury; and the interest of government, in the success of its establishment, has been no other than the prosperity of commerce, the moderating the interest of money, and giving a greater activity to circulation.* Such probably will never be the state of affairs in this country. The exchequer is never likely to become "the great spring of public credit, and the great scene of all transactions relative to public receipts and payments." The monied interest commands even government itself; the public, like an extravagant spendthrift, being obliged to deal with usurers on their own terms; although the landed men are the true owners of the political vessel, the monied men, as such, are no more than passengers in it.

Sir George Saville presented a petition, signed by thirty-two freeholders of the confederated counties, known by the name of delegates, which was rejected, on the ground that a petition, signed by thirty-two persons, on such a national concern, carried no apparent weight or importance; and the idea of these gentlemen being delegated by several counties in England, could not be admitted, because the constitution knows no such bodies of men as county-delegates, except those within the walls of the house of commons. So different is the language used at the commencement, and towards the close of a parliament!

In this struggle between government and the people, it may be remarked, that the principles upon which the party distinctions of Whig and Tory had been founded, seem to have been lost, and those who still chose to be known by such names, had apparently changed sides; for if, as a learned metropolitan observed in the house of lords, the conduct of the Whigs was not Whigism, but Whigism run mad; a like phrensy may be said to have seized the Tories. The principles of Toryism 120 years ago, and from thence down to the present reign, were utterly repugnant to the corrupt influence of the crown in the two houses of parliament. If it be said, that the body of the Whigs were now as clamorous against the power of parliament, as they were formerly against the power of the crown, and that the Tories were as yielding to the increase of influence which the crown has acquired, as they were formerly to the claims of prerogative, it may be answered, that still the political principles to which each was attached, are very different from those which divided their forefathers. The Whigs, when they supported the power of parliament, meant to form a barrier against the encroachments of regal power, and every Tory will surely admit, that the influence of the crown is very different from the power of the crown. The distinguishing characters of each party are, at length, lost in the changes incidental to human affairs, and one grand and important national object now ought to engage the public attention. It is indeed time that all party names should be done away; they serve only to narrow and degrade the sentiments and views of mankind, and the times render it necessary, that new distinctions should take place, not as badges of petulance and ill-will, but such distinctions as must, in their very nature, discriminate between the lover of his country and its betrayer. The nation, at this time, ought to be divided into those who claim from their representatives, and from the legislation in general, a provident expenditure of the public money, and a sincere, strenuous, and judicious intention to introduce an universal system of œconomy; and those self-interested and rapacious harpies, who become important by the spoils of their country.

The sudden and unexpected commencement of hostilities against the Dutch, caused their valuable commerce to become a prey to British ships, and a large number of their seamen to be detained captives in England. In the West Indies, the island of St. Eustatius, which, during the war, had been a most beneficial mart of traffic, both for the French and Americans, was reduced by sir George Rodney and general Vaughan. The island, although highly important to the Dutch in a commercial view, is no more than a barren rock, incapable of providing defence or subsistence for its inhabitants. The city of Amsterdam was chiefly concerned in this trade; but many English merchants were also embarked in it, as well as in the carrying trade. Our whole force in the West Indies was brought against this spot; so that the governor, unable to make any defence, surrendered at discretion. The British commander dealt the full measure of punishment to all upon the island with an implacable severity; private property was seized without mercy, and the vindictive spirit which dictated the orders and their execution, scarcely left the miserable residents, particularly the Jews, the means of subsistence; they were deprived of their very provisions. A Dutch fleet of merchant-ships, consisting of thirty vessels, and a 64 gun ship which convoyed them, and had just sailed, were pursued, and the whole taken; but the greatest part of the merchant-ships were afterwards captured by the French, near the Irish coast, on their voyage to England. The island of St. Martin, and the settlements of Demarary and Essequibo, on the continent of South America, were soon after reduced.

Thus was one great object in breaking with Holland accomplished; another was to prevent their trade to the Baltic, to effect which object vice-admiral Hyde Parker was sent out, with five line of battle-ships, one of 50 guns, and five large frigates to intercept a Dutch fleet, which he met with off the Dogger Bank, consisting of eight two-decked line of battle ships, and several large frigates; these were convoy to a fleet of merchant-men going to the northward. With the true spirit of a British seaman, he engaged the enemy, although so much superior in numbers. The battle was obstinate, and proved that the Dutch had not lost that firmness in time of action, which had been so conspicuous in the contests between the two powers in the last century. The engagement was maintained for almost four hours, when the ships of each squadron becoming unmanageable, they lay to for a considerable time near each other; but at length the Dutch ships of war, with their merchant-men, bore away for the Texel, and one of their 64 gun ships sunk. The English, in this hard contest, lost in killed and wounded 443 men. In consequence of this action, the Dutch Baltic fleet was unable to pursue its voyage. Parker returned home in disgust, at not being sent out with a sufficient force. The additional ships which he asked for had been withheld from him, without any specific service being assigned them; and, though his sovereign paid him peculiar attention, in visiting him on board his ship at Chatham, the veteran struck his flag, and withdrew from the service. The nation had been so long accustomed to see those officers, who were most distinguished for the length and eminence of their services, retiring with gloomy discontent, at the conduct of the marine minister, that this instance was observed as a common occurrence, although no circumstance, in the then critical situation of the empire, could be a more warrantable cause of alarm, or a more necessary subject for investigation.

The operations against the Dutch were not confined to these objects. Commodore Johnstone was invested with the command of a squadron, destined to attack the cape of Good Hope, whence he was to proceed to the Spanish settlement of Buenos Ayres, in the Rio de la Plata of South America, where a dangerous insurrection had given great alarm to the court of Madrid. Our ministry had been apprised of the posture of affairs in those parts by a priest, who had been sent a prisoner from thence to Spain, for his conduct in fomenting this civil commotion; but the ship in which he was embarked happened to be taken by an English cruiser. This man accompanied the commodore on the expedition. The republic of Holland, unable to make head against this attack, was obliged to seek protection from France; and a fleet was sent out from Brest, of superior force, in order to counteract the designs of commodore Johnstone, whose exact strength was well known to the French commander, M. de Suffrein, who came up with the British fleet at the cape

de Verd islands, and attacked him whilst lying under the protection of the Portuguese flag, in the small island of St. Jago, several outward-bound East Indiamen being in company. The French were, however, disgracefully beaten off, with great loss and damage; but, as they reached the cape before the British commander, the attempt upon that place was effectually frustrated, and the French became actual masters of the settlement and harbour. Five homeward-bound Dutch East Indiamen were afterwards surprised by Johnstone; four of which he captured, the other was burnt by its crew. It was now found necessary to relinquish the objects of the expedition. The ships destined for the East Indies proceeded on their voyage thither, and the commodore returned home with his prizes.

The immense quantity of merchandize found on the island of St. Eustatius, detained admiral Rodney for a considerable time on that spot; and, although a large fleet was expected to arrive from France, which sir Samuel Hood was cruising with the British fleet to intercept, yet three ships of the line remained with the commander-in-chief. Hood remonstrated in vain against the station which he was appointed to keep, as one in which he could not prevent the junction of the French ships in the harbour of Martinique with the fleet from Europe. The event proved his suggestion to have been judicious, although slighted by his superior officer. The French became stronger by five ships of the line. He fought them, however, with this odds, and kept them long at bay. Rodney, at length, took the command; and, having now collected his whole force, after some time went in search of the enemy, who had already reduced the island of Tobago. The British fleet consisted of twenty-one ships of the line, the French of twenty-four. A glorious opportunity was presented, of deciding this long-protracted contest. The two fleets were drawn up in order of battle, the British seamen exulted in the prospect of action, they were kept all night under arms; but the next day did not gratify their expectations. The French were far from becoming so confident, by the advantage which their superiority of numbers gave them, as to seek their enemy; and the British admiral was induced to repress the ardour of his men, because there was no port at hand, to afford a retreat to the disabled ships, though to this inconvenience the French were equally exposed. After this parade of battle, sir George Rodney returned to Europe, in an 80 gun ship, at a time when the cause of his country demanded his most strenuous and bold exertion, and which, most probably, would have prevented the catastrophe which followed on the American continent.

At the close of the year 1778, the British in India made repeated attempts to interfere in a revolution which had taken place in the Mahratta government. Raganout Rou caused his nephew, the reigning paishwa, with the care of whom, during his minority, he was solemnly entrusted, to be assassinated. In consequence of the protection afforded to Raganout by the British government, a confederacy was formed in the year 1779, between the Nizam, Hyder Ali, and the Mahrattas, for the expulsion of the English from India.

It being determined to pay no regard to the treaty of Wargaum, active preparations were made for the renewal of warlike operations by the presidency of Bombay, and a body of forces was dispatched from Madras to reinforce the Surat army. As soon as these were completed, at the opening of the present year, general Goddard penetrated into the territory of Dubhoy, belonging to the Mahrattas, and gained possession of a fortress of that name, which was its chief defence. Then, advancing into the Guzerat country, where he was joined by a body of Futty Sing's cavalry, he invested Ahmedabad, and reduced that capital by storm in five days. This important place was then consigned to Futty Sing, as a means of fixing him in the company's interests; and that prince, in return, granted the company such districts of the territories appertaining to it, as were most desirable to them, together with the privilege of establishing a factory at Ahmedabad.

Mr. Farmer being generously released from his confinement as a hostage, about this time, some overtures were made through him for an amicable arrangement with the Mahratta chiefs, Scindiah and Holkar. But when it appeared that the surrender of Raganout was made the first stipulation, and that they were desirous to establish a power independent of the company, the conferences were dropped.

After various negotiations, hostilities were

commenced with great success by the British forces. General Goddard, taking Scindiah's army by surprise, made vast havoc among the Mahratta horse with his artillery, and at last drove him from the field with great slaughter. Nor was this the only honour acquired by the British arms. In the course of the campaign, several brilliant actions were performed by the detachments under Campbell, Walsh, and Forbes, in all which victory was the reward of British valour, in support of the distinguished military address of our commanders.

The supreme council, in the mean time, were pursuing such measures as they deemed most advisable to attach the ranna of Ghod to their interests. The Mahrattas were in possession of the strong fortress of Gualier, in the heart of the ranna's territories. Knowing how mortifying and distressing this was to him, they made it their first object to relieve him from that annoyance. With that view, major Popham was sent with a body of troops to his support. After gaining so decided an advantage over the Mahrattas which were stationed for the defence of the territory, as enabled him to clear the country of them, he sat down before Gualier. It was till this time deemed impregnable. But Popham, being apprised that it was accessible by a track which led over an adjoining precipice, employed the native troops, with such admirable judgment, in climbing it and assailing the fortress unexpectedly, that it was reduced with a very inconsiderable loss of men.

During these transactions in the north, the presidency of Madras had been adopting every expedient in their power, to secure themselves in the possession of the Guntoor Circar, the value of which was enhanced to them, by its situation near their own and the nabob of Arcot's territories on the Kristna river. Bazalet Jung was perfectly aware that he had incurred the enmity of Hyder Ali, as well as the Nizam, by his treaty of cession. To guard him from the attack which he apprehended would be the consequence of their anger, colonel Harper was sent with a body of troops to his support. But having occasion to cross the Cuddepah, which Hyder had lately conquered, he was intercepted on his march by a detachment of Mysoreans, and was constrained to desist from the prosecution of his expedition.

Mr. Holland, meanwhile, was employed as resident at the nizam's court, with instructions to reconcile that prince to his brother's transaction with the presidency; and, moreover, to prevail on him, if possible, to remit the whole or a part of the peshcush, or annual tribute granted to him, as the mogul's vicegerent, when the five northern Circars were ceded to the company. His reception was such as might reasonably have been expected under such circumstances. The nizam was naturally disposed to peace; but when he reflected on the whole tenour of the company's conduct, and compared it with their present insolent propositions, he thought it politic to sacrifice his own disposition to the safety of his dominions, and the general welfare of Hindostan; he boldly told Mr. Holland, that, if the company was bent on war, he also was prepared for it, and was confident it would be waged with advantage to himself. He stated that "the surrender of the Circars to the company had proceeded from the fraud and ignorance of his managers, that he had submitted to that heavy loss from a sense of his engagements; and, considering himself bound by the treaties, had still adhered to them." Concluding his conference with a threat that he would join Hyder Ali, he only subjoined, that the commencement of hostilities must be the necessary consequence of withholding the peshcush; and, when no satisfactory answer was given, Mr. Holland was forthwith ordered to prepare for his departure.

It ought here to be observed, for the credit of the supreme council, that these affairs, by which the company was involved in a new war, were transacted without its privity. And although the developement of them excited much indignation in that board, and threatened a rupture between the two presidencies, who were jealous of each other's power, yet the subsequent soothing measures, adopted by the governor and council, had the good effect of preventing the nizam from taking the field.

The irresolution of the other powers was strikingly contrasted by the firmness and activity of Hyder Ali. The Mysorean had been indefatigably employed, during the interval of peace, in improving the civil, judicial, and military systems of his empire. While others were shrinking from the combat, Hyder, conscious of his strength, seemed to rejoice that so fair an opportunity was presented of

avenging his personal injuries. He was aware that the presidency of Madras, engaged in their private intrigues, had neglected the requisite measures of defence; and that the company's military force, though amounting to 30,000 men, was divided into detached and unconnected bodies. With his usual promptitude, he assembled an army of 80,000 men, which was rendered more effective by the French officers, who had joined him from the nizam's service. He poured like a torrent into the country on the east of the ghants or passes; and, while Tippoo Saib was laying waste the northern Circars, he advanced in person, with the grand army, and sat down before Arcot. To oppose this formidable force, colonel Baillie was placed with a small detachment in the Circars, and sir Hector Monroe took the field, with all the forces which could be assembled at Madras. Hyder, anxious to avoid a pitched battle, raised the siege on the approach of the English general; and, with a view to prevent the intended junction of Baillie's corps with sir Hector Monroe's army, he posted his own forces on that officer's route, and detached his son and his brother, with 30,000 of his best troops, to intercept him on his march. The result of these movements was an action at Perimbancum, where, notwithstanding the great disadvantages to which the English general was subjected, from his want of cavalry, and inferiority of force, he obtained a victory, more glorious than important.

But even victory could not extricate the troops from their embarrassment. Colonel Fletcher having arrived with a detachment from sir Hector Monroe to their support, the two commanders were advancing, with their combined forces, towards the grand army, united near Conjeveram, when they were suddenly attacked (September the 10th) by Tippoo Saib in ambuscade. A furious battle succeeded. Surrounded by 25,000 cavalry, and thirty regiments of sepoys, the compact British detachment, with only 10 pieces of artillery, were enabled to repel every charge, by the invincible firmness with which they maintained their ground. Fortune seemed inclined to reward their bravery and their fortitude, when the accidental explosion of their tumbrils threw them into irrecoverable confusion. The disastrous defeat which ensued, was rendered more severe by the loss of nearly the whole detachment, and by the death of colonel Fletcher, and the capture of Baillie. The immediate consequence of this event was the surrender of Arcot, and the siege of Wandewash and other fortresses. The presidency, alarmed and astonished, restored, as a condition of the termination of hostilities, the Guntoor Circar, and propitiated him by the assurances of an early payment of the stipulated peshcush.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

GEORGE III.

[1781, 1782.]

State of the Public Mind—Campaign in America—Surrender of Lord Cornwallis—Attack upon Minorca—Exploits of Admiral Rodney—Siege of Gibralter—Its gallant Defence—Affairs in the East Indies—Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Mahratta War.

THE war with Holland was censured in the new parliament, (for a dissolution had been deemed expedient, after the suppression of the riots had strengthened the authority of the crown,) but the country in general was not inclined to admit, that the ministry had wantonly prolonged the war. Yet, though on this subject the people agreed with the court, they were displeased by the rejection of a judicious bill of retrenchment, introduced by Mr. Burke, and with the disregard shewn to a petition from the delegates of those counties, which had formed associations against the encroaching and increasing influence of the crown.

THESE subjects were debated with spirit; and, on another occasion, the conduct of the court, in directing military execution at the time of the riots, excited animadversion, which was repelled with some plausibility of argumentation and remark. In this debate, Mr. Sheridan distinguished himself. He had already obtained an exalted rank in the dramatic world, and he now began to shine as a parliamentary speaker. At this time, indeed, he did not evince that readiness and fluency which he afterwards displayed; but he gave strong indications of oratorical ability. He exercised with dexterity the weapons of wit, of satire, and of argument. His reasoning was not destitute of force, and his remarks and allusions were pointed and appropriate.

BEFORE we attend to the occurrences of the American campaign, it is proper to advert to a second attempt made by the French for the reduction of Jersey. Eight hundred men were sent against the island in the month of January, under the command of baron de Rullecourt. The descent was conducted by night, with so much secrecy, that the invaders obtained possession of St. Heliers, the capital, by surprise, and took major Corbet, the lieutenant-governor, prisoner. But as soon as the troops in the island could be assembled, major PIERSON, on whom the command devolved, led them to the attack, and so completely overpowered the enemy, in an action fought in the streets, that the whole body were slain or taken prisoners. Unfortunately the brave major Pierson fell in the moment of victory. The baron de Rullecourt also was wounded in the action. 1781.

IN America, the royalists under lord Cornwallis, assisted by lord Rawdon, generals Webster and Leslie, and colonel Tarleton, prepared to execute their concerted invasion. The American army was now commanded by Greene, a general of eminent merit, who had succeeded Gates in his command, and who was assisted by colonel Morgan, an officer distinguished by his services in the northern war. General Greene, who was sensible of the inferior merit of his troops, divided his forces, in order to harass his enemy by desultory movements. In pursuance of this plan, when lord Cornwallis was moving from his camp at Wynnesburg, towards the borders of North Carolina, he dispatched Morgan, with 470 provincial infantry, and 70 light dragoons, against the British post of *Ninety-six*,

DEATH OF MAJOR PEARSON.

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in South Carolina. Morgan, on his route, provided himself with about 500 militia. This movement brought on the battle of the Cowpens, near the Broad river, between that general and Tarleton, who was sent to oppose his march. The latter had the advantage of commanding well-disciplined and veteran troops, and had 350 cavalry. But Morgan proved himself superior in generalship. He retired on Tarleton's approach; and, finding himself warmly pressed, drew up his forces in two lines near a wood, placing his militia in the first, and the continentals in the second, colonel Washington with his dragoons making a *corps de reserve*. Tarleton, confident of victory, made a furious attack upon the first line, and put them to flight, as Morgan had foreseen. He then attacked the continentals, who withstood him with great firmness for some time, but were at last obliged to give way. Had the British infantry been properly supported by the cavalry, at this moment of the battle, the victory must have been theirs. Morgan, observing their situation, seized the opportunity to make his attack on them, harassed as they then were with hard duty. This stroke of generalship turned the fortune of the day. The royalists, who had been accustomed to success, were panic-struck, and instantly put to flight. Tarleton, endeavouring to atone for his want of conduct by his valour, rallied his cavalry, and repulsed those of Washington, but in vain. The victory
1781. was totally lost, and the field was abandoned to the enemy, with the loss of 600 men, while that of the Americans was comparatively trivial.

General Morgan now retired, and made his retreat across the Broad river; and it became the first object of lord Cornwallis, to overtake him before he should arrive at the Catauba. He therefore disencumbered himself of every superfluous article, that he might supply the paucity of light troops, by the active and spontaneous movement of his whole army, and pursued the enemy across the rapid river of Catauba, 500 yards broad, in the face of 300 men placed to guard the passage. All his efforts, however, were ineffectual. Morgan, having, with extreme difficulty, made his retreat across the Catauba and the Yadkin, formed his desired junction with general Greene.

The British, having failed in their attempt to pass the Yadkin, were obliged to cross at the upper fords, after Morgan and Greene had met at Guildford court-house. The plan of general Greene was not to enter on an immediate action; but to keep alive the courage of his party, to depress that of the royalists, and to harass the foragers and detachments of the British, till reinforcements should arrive. While Greene was unequal even to defensive operations, he lay seven days within ten miles of Cornwallis's camp, but took a new position every night, and kept it a profound secret where the next was to be. By such frequent movements lord Cornwallis could not gain intelligence of his situation in time to profit by it. He manœuvred in this manner to avoid an action for three weeks, during which time he was often obliged to ask bread from the common soldiers, having none of his own. By the end of that period, two brigades of militia from North Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with 400 regulars raised for eighteen months, joined his army, and gave him a superiority of numbers; he therefore determined no longer to avoid an engagement. Lord Cornwallis having long sought for this, no further delay took place on either side. On the 15th of March, 1781, the American army consisted of about 4400 men, of which more than one half were militia. The British of about 2400, chiefly veterans. The former was drawn up in three lines. The front composed of North Carolina militia, the second of Virginia militia, the third and last of continental troops, commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. After a brisk cannonade in front, the British advanced in three columns; the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant-colonel Webster's brigade on the left, and attacked the front line. This gave way when their adversaries were at the distance of 140 yards, from the misconduct of a colonel, who, on the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer at some distance, that he would be surrounded. The alarm was sufficient: and without inquiring into the probability of what had been injudiciously suggested, the militia precipitately quitted the field.

The Virginia militia stood their ground, and kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat. General Stevens, their commander, had posted 40 riflemen at equal distances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with

orders to shoot every man who should leave his post. That brave officer, though wounded through the thigh, did not quit the field. The continental troops were last engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit for an hour and a half. At length, the discipline of veteran troops gained the day. They broke the second Maryland brigade, turned the American left flank, and got in rear of the Virginia brigade. They appeared to be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops; a retreat was therefore ordered. This was made in good order, and no farther than over the Reedy fork, a distance of about three miles. Greene halted there, and drew up till he had collected most of the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's iron works, ten miles distant from Guildford. The Americans lost four pieces of artillery and two ammunition waggons. The victory cost the British dear, and their killed and wounded amounted to several hundreds. The British had only the name, the Americans all the good consequences of a victory. General Greene retreated, and lord Cornwallis kept the field; but, notwithstanding, the British interest in North Carolina was from that day ruined. Soon after this action, lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation setting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring order and good government, and offering a pardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted, who should surrender themselves on or before the 20th of April. On the day after this proclamation was issued, his lordship left his hospital and 75 wounded men, with the numerous loyalists in the vicinity, and began a march towards Wilmington, which had the appearance of a retreat.

During these operations, lord Rawdon had been left with 900 men at Camden, to guard the frontier of South Carolina. When Greene had no longer any prospect of success against his former antagonist, he turned suddenly towards South Carolina, with about 1500 men, and advanced rapidly to Camden. Regardless of the great disparity of force, lord Rawdon, on the 25th of April, marched out to a spot called Hobkirk's Hill, about two miles from his camp, and made so impetuous an assault on his advancing adversaries, that they were soon obliged to give way; and, though repeatedly rallied and brought to the charge, were driven from their ground, and yielded the loyalists a complete victory. The victors, however, had the mortification to find, that honour was the only result of their most meritorious achievements. Their advantage was temporary, their loss of men irreparable; whereas that of the vanquished was immediately supplied. After various movements of both armies, the campaign closed with a desperate conflict (September 8th) at Eutaw Springs, between Greene and colonel Stuart, who had taken the command on lord Rawdon's return to England. The event, though indecisive, gave the enemy a firm footing in that province; and the royalists, contenting themselves with the protection of Charleston, no movement deserving of notice was made by either party during the remainder of that campaign.

Before the end of April, lord Cornwallis proceeded on his march from Wilmington to Virginia. To favour the passage of the many rivers with which the country is intersected, two boats were mounted on carriages, and taken along with his army. With little interruption, he reached Petersburgh, where he was joined by general Phillips, and found himself once more at the head of a considerable force.

From the commencement of hostilities in this country, the American army had never been placed in so critical a situation as at the present moment. Several of the states, tired of the war, furnished their contingents of men, money, and provisions, very slowly and reluctantly. The extreme depreciation of the paper currency occasioned universal distress, and brought disrepute on the congress; and 1300 of the American troops, unable any longer to endure the extreme hardships to which the service subjected them, mutinied, and withdrew from Washington's camp at Morristown. The dissatisfaction, however, of the army, arose from the pressure of extreme distress, and not from the influence of disaffection. They rejected an invitation to throw themselves under the protection of the British army, and to receive from its commander-in-chief the arrears due from the congress. On the contrary, they prepared the way to the reconciliation which ensued, by delivering up the agents who were employed to seduce them from their duty.

It was on trying occasions like these, when difficulties were to be removed, dangers to be averted, or the passions of men to be soothed, and when every movement of the enemy was to be watched, and every advantage to be instantly improved, that the talents of the American general were displayed. He perceived that sir Henry Clinton would reluctantly abandon the objects of the expedition in Virginia, and that the English troops in America were not sufficient to answer this purpose, and to keep possession of New York, the most advantageous station for the British grand army. He therefore dispatched the marquis de la Fayette, with a small force, into Virginia, which was afterwards reinforced by general Wayne; and these generals, without any memorable action, acquitted themselves of their commission by obstructing the enemy's progress. The death of general Phillips, which happened soon after his arrival in Virginia, the disappointment of supplies, and (August 30th) the arrival of a reinforcement of troops from France, and of De Grasse, with a fleet of 28 sail of the line, from the West Indies, all tended to turn the balance in favour of the Americans. Admiral Graves indeed entertained hopes of intercepting Du Barras's fleet on its voyage from the Rhode Island station; but he was disappointed in his views, and Du Barras brought with him, on his junction with the fleet of De Grasse in the Chesapeak, a very acceptable supply of artillery and military stores. A partial action took place between De Grasse's van and a part of Graves's centre, in which the French gave way; but no material advantage was gained, and the English commander was constrained to leave De Grasse in the Chesapeak, and repair to New York to refit.

At this crisis was exhibited the masterstroke of Washington's policy. By keeping sir Henry Clinton in continual alarm, he obliged that general to recal a part of the forces from Virginia; and lord Cornwallis, being thus deprived of those troops, which alone could enable him to keep the field against de la Fayette and Wayne, selected York Town, in Virginia, as his station; where he hoped to maintain himself till he could be relieved. This was the snare into which Washington wished the British commander-in-chief to fall. Having concerted his design with the French admiral De Grasse, and with Rochambeau, he kept up the appearance of an intended attack upon New York, to prevent Clinton from sending relief to lord Cornwallis; and then, marching from the Jerseys with all possible dispatch through Philadelphia, appeared suddenly with his army before York Town. The situation of lord Cornwallis and his troops was now desperate. He had little more than 3000 *effective* men, to defend a place, which was only guarded by works thrown up hastily, against the fleet of De Grasse on one side, and an army of 13,000 men, with a hundred pieces of artillery, on the other. Lord Cornwallis had no resource, but in offering a capitulation, or attempting an escape. He adopted the latter alternative. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Glocester Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats of conveyance, and frustrated the enterprise. The royal army, thus weakened by division, was exposed to increased danger.

With the failure of this enterprise the last hope of the British expired, and their commander was constrained by necessity to surrender his garrison prisoners of war, as the only means of saving the remains of an army, which had deserved well of their country. He therefore wrote a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for 24 hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to adjust the terms of capitulation. It was remarked, that while lieutenant-colonel Laurens, the officer employed by general Washington on this occasion, was drawing up these articles, his father was closely confined in the Tower of London, of which lord Cornwallis was constable.

The posts of York and Glocester were surrendered by a capitulation. It was stipulated, that the troops were to be prisoners of war to congress, and the naval force to France. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to general Lincoln, when he surrendered Charleston, was now refused to lord Cornwallis; and, in the same spirit of retribution, this very general Lincoln was sent (October 19th, 1781) to receive the submission of the royal army at York. The troops of every kind, which surrendered prisoners of war, amounted to 7000, of whom only 3000 were effective men; so

great was the number of the sick and wounded. The mortification attending this disaster was considerably enhanced by the arrival of a British fleet, and an army of 7000 men, to the assistance of lord Cornwallis, four days after he surrendered. On receiving the unexpected intelligence of the late event, they retired from the Chesapeak, and returned to Sandy Hook and New York.

The misfortune of lord Cornwallis made a strong impression upon the public mind. It tended to produce a general conviction of the impolicy of continuing the war, and a regret for the useless sacrifice of lives, and consumption of treasure, with which its protracted course had been attended. Yet the obstinacy of the ministers seemed invincible. They were indeed less arrogant; but folly and prejudice were still the chief ingredients in their composition. They hoped to retain the confidence of a submissive senate; but in this respect they were disappointed, for a majority of the house of commons at length refused to support them. It was voted, by a majority of 19, on a motion of general Conway, that the war ought no longer to be prosecuted, for the impracticable purpose of subduing the colonies.

The parliamentary tide having thus been turned against the ministers, they reluctantly resigned their offices. The two posts which lord North had so long filled, were transferred to the marquis of Rockingham and lord John Cavendish. Mr. Fox succeeded lord Stormont, as secretary of state for foreign affairs, while the earl of Shelburne superseded the earl of Hillsborough in the home department. Lord Camden was placed at the head of the council; the duke of Grafton became keeper of the privy-seal; the duke of Richmond master of the ordnance; Conway chief commander of the army; and Keppel first lord of the admiralty. These changes happened between the 27th and the 30th of March. It was generally believed, that the illustrious personage, whose consent was necessary in a political revolution of such magnitude, felt no common degree of agitation, in being compelled by the public voice to make an entire change in his councils. Yet the greater part of the nation were sincerely gratified. So many individuals of eminent abilities, and patriotic principles, had never before met in one administration. The first business which engaged their attention was a general pacification; and, two days after he was appointed for the foreign department, Mr. Fox wrote a letter to M. Simolin, the Russian minister in London, acquainting him that his majesty was willing to negotiate for the purpose of bringing about a peace with the Dutch, agreeable to that agreed on between his majesty and the republic, in the year 1674. The states of Holland, however, appearing indisposed to accept of a separate peace, negotiations for a general peace were opened at Paris. Mr. Grenville was appointed to treat with all the belligerent powers; and he received instructions to propose, in the very first instance, the independence of the United Provinces of America, without making it the condition of a general treaty.

1782.

Several judicious statutes were passed, in favour of the Irish complainants, and in support of the liberty of the subject, against the influence of the crown. But the marquis of Rockingham did not long enjoy his station. He died about three months after his appointment, respected as a man of honour and integrity, and beloved for his private virtues. He was succeeded by the earl of Shelburne, who, on the resignation of lord John Cavendish, procured for Mr. William Pitt the post of chancellor of the exchequer.

The earl of Shelburne, (afterwards marquis of Lansdown) and distinguished by the ironical cognomen of *Malagrida*, a pious jesuit, had not yet obtained the confidence of the Whig leaders. Mr. Fox refused to act with him; and retiring from office, renewed his opposition to the court. The true motive of his resignation was his secret wish for the nomination of an ostensible premier, who would submit to be guided by his dictates.

It will now be proper to turn the attention of my readers to such naval and military transactions as took place in the year 1782, and in a particular manner in the West Indies, which, to a considerable extent, was still the threatre of war. The island of St. Nevis surrendered to the arms of the king of France on the 14th of January. The inhabitants received very liberal terms from the marquis de Bouillé and the count de Grasse. The private property of the planters, merchants, and people in general was held sacred; the council was allowed to continue, and the assembly of the island was chosen as usual. The inhabitants

were to have the free exercise of their religion; and all officers of civil and criminal courts were to retain their posts, as well as justice be administered in the way previously established in the island, especially with respect to trials by jury. Eight thousand French troops, with a large train of artillery, were landed on the island of St. Christopher about the same time. Admiral Hood endeavoured to relieve it with 22 sail of the line, when he was three different times attacked by the count de Grasse, who had the command of 29 sail of the line, but he was nevertheless beat off with loss. The British had 80 killed, and 260 wounded. After the French effected a landing at St. Christopher's, the superiority of the enemy made brigadier-general Frazer draw in his out-posts, and take his station on Brimstone Hill. An officer was sent by sir Samuel Hood to general Frazer, offering him assistance; and this officer was accompanied by general Prescot. When they landed on the island, the following message was sent by general Frazer to general Prescot: "That as he had taken the trouble to come with troops to his assistance, he should doubtless be glad of the honour of seeing him; but he was in no want of him or his troops." In spite of this high-toned declaration, however, he was under the necessity of capitulating on the 12th of February, when the garrison was permitted to march out with the honours of war. The French, during the same month, likewise obtained possession of Demarara and Essequibo, with a number of British vessels.

Admiral Rodney, on the 19th of the same month, arrived in the West Indies, and took the command of the fleet on that station, at which was assembled a numerous French fleet, with a considerable body of troops, the enemy having already formed the idea of attacking Jamaica. A partial action took place between the two hostile fleets on the 9th of April; during which the Alfred of 74 guns lost her commanders, the Royal Oak of 74 guns was very much disabled, and a number of other ships suffered considerable damage. Sixteen of the British ships were so becalmed, that they were rendered incapable of taking part in the action. The Barfleur, of 98 guns, had, at one time, no fewer than seven ships of the enemy firing upon her, and commonly three. She had eight men killed, and 22 wounded. A general action took place on the 12th of the same month, when admiral Rodney obtained a very splendid and decisive victory over the French fleet, which was commanded by the count de Grasse. The British fleet consisted of 37 sail of the line, and the French of 34. The conflict began about seven in the morning, and continued with unabating fury till half past six in the evening. The British admiral's flag-ship was the Formidable, of 90 guns; and the count de Grasse was on board the Ville de Paris, of 110 guns, a ship presented to the French monarch by the city of Paris. The Formidable fired nearly eighty broadsides in the course of the action; and for three hours she was so completely enveloped in smoke, as to be almost invisible to the officers and men of the rest of the fleet. Sir Samuel Hood commanded the van division of the British fleet, and rear-admiral Drake the rear division; both which officers, during this memorable action, very much distinguished themselves. But the fate of the day was owing to a bold manœuvre of the Formidable, which threw the French fleet into confusion, by breaking their line. The Cæsar, of 74 guns, was the first French ship that struck, whose captain fought with great gallantry, and fell in the action; and when she struck she had not a single foot of canvas, through which a shot had not passed. She unfortunately blew up, however, soon after she was taken, when about 200 Frenchmen perished on board of her, with a British lieutenant and 10 seamen. The British fleet took le Glorieux and le Hector, of 74 guns each, with l'Ardent of 64 guns, and a French 74 was sunk during the engagement. On both sides it was allowed to be a hard-fought battle, although the French in the issue were totally defeated. It was nearly dark when the Ville de Paris struck, in which the count de Grasse had fought with great gallantry, and was wounded in the action. The fleet of the enemy had 5500 troops on board, and both these and the seamen suffered very severely. The British had 230 killed, and 759 wounded. On the 19th of April, a squadron from the main fleet, which was commanded by sir Samuel Hood, took the Cato and Jason, French ships of 64 guns each, with l'Aimable of 32, and Ceres of 18 guns. About the same time, admiral Barrington, while off Ushant, took from the French le Pegase of 74 guns, l'Actionnaire of 64, and ten sail of vessels under convoy.

1782.

From the glory which the state and nation had acquired from these naval actions, and the exploits performed by our commanders in the West Indies, we must carry our attention for a moment to a signal loss, by which our prosperous fortune was alloyed. The fort of St. Philip's in Minorca, we have seen, was opened in the late autumn, under very favourable auspices. It was garrisoned at first with only 2692 men of all descriptions, including 400 invalids; a force not half sufficient to mount its extensive works. The besiegers, on the other hand, were 16,000 strong; and had 106 pieces of cannon, and 36 mortars. Such a disparity, with despair of relief, were alone sufficient to damp the spirit of a less resolute governor; but their formidable appearance had as little influence on the minds of general Murray and his garrison, as the bribes offered him had on his fidelity. He even dared to make a sally on the besiegers. The troops employed in it, attacking the duke de Crillon in his head-quarters at cape Mola, drove him from his post, and returned with 100 prisoners to fort St. Philip's. But an evil more fatal than the enemy's warlike apparatus afflicted the garrison. Such was the effect which excessive heat, the damp air in the subterraneous works, the want of vegetables, and extreme fatigue, had on the health of the troops, that, in the course of five months, they were reduced to 660 effective men. To persist in the defence of a fortress, under these circumstances, would have been making a wanton sacrifice of men, whose services had merited a far better fate. Therefore the governor, reflecting on the strength and resources of the besiegers, and the miserable condition of his garrison, consented to a capitulation, by which he obtained all that he asked, except the article by which he would have freed his forces from the mortification of being considered as prisoners of war; which the duke de Crillon was not empowered to grant. The emaciated troops, then marching through a line formed by the Spanish army, deposited their arms in the place appointed; supported, amidst their adverse fortune, by a consciousness of having bravely discharged their duty.—*Nihil quisquam locutus indignum, et, quanquam inter adversa, salva virtutis fama.* It deserves to be recorded, for the honour of human nature, that some of the Spaniards were seen to shed tears at the sight of their vanquished and afflicted adversaries, and that our sick men experienced every humane attention from the enemy.

Elated with success, to which his arms had for ages been unaccustomed, the Spanish monarch proceeded, in the animation which it inspired, to prosecute with redoubled force and ardour the operations for the reduction of Gibralter, the favourite object of his wishes. The fortress having bid defiance to the efforts of our enemies, in the usual method of carrying on sieges, and the brave and upright governor having foiled every artifice to corrupt his integrity, their ingenuity was now exerted in devising a new mode of attack, which it was thought would render the force brought against it absolutely irresistible. The author of this invention was the chevalier d'Arcon, who had signalized himself at the siege of St. Philip's.

The rock of Gibralter runs from north to south, projecting into the sea several miles from the continent, to which it is connected by an isthmus of low sand. It is a part of the province of Andalusia in Spain. From the perpendicular front to the north, which is of various heights, to the southernmost point, which is called Europa Point, the distance is 2350 fathoms, or something more than two miles and a half. The base of the rock, on the north front, is 475 toises, or 950 yards, and the extreme breadth, taking it from the New Mole to the Mediterranean side, is 800 toises, or 1600 yards. It is inaccessible for the whole length of its escarpment on the east, or Mediterranean side, which is called the back of the rock. The north front, perpendicular towards the isthmus, is equally inaccesssible, and the edge of this perpendicular escarpment is occupied by twelve batteries, commanding the isthmus. The front to the west, and the bay, is a gradual slope, and almost generally of easy access. There are several roads on that side the rock, which render the communication with the higher parts so easy, that cannon can be dragged up with the greatest facility. All these communications are open, and without retrenchments, except that part of the lines which flanks the entrance to Land Port and the Inundation. It is at the foot of this accessible slope, that the town and garrison are placed. The town is closed, on the side of the bay, by an irregular long wall, the defences of which are so inconsiderable, as to admit

of easy approach. The flanks, in short, are not by any means proportioned to the line of defence.

From the town to the New Mole there is but little disputable ground. Between the New Mole and Europa Point there are several accessible places, where an enemy may land, and where some hundreds of men may form, without being immediately dislodged; a circumstance which would consequently create a considerable diversion in the garrison. But these walls and lodgements are washed by the sea, which greatly protects them. This front indeed is so vulnerable, that it belies the commonly-received idea of the impregnability of the rock, which its general appearance to the eye so naturally suggests.

There are two ways of entering the town from the isthmus, one under the escarpments on the cause-way, the other under those of the lines, which lead to the glacis that covers the low front, presenting a curtain with two half bastions, on which are mounted twenty-six pieces of heavy artillery, besides the protection already mentioned, of the flanking lines.

To the south, the town is terminated by a retrenchment, flanked by a bastion on the west side, a flat bastion in the centre, and a demi-bastion which commands both. The post of Wind-mill Hill possesses several local advantages, of which sufficient avail has never yet been taken.

The garrison had, from long habitude, by this time, become inured to every species of danger and fatigue. They had hitherto braved the hardships of the siege with unparalleled firmness and alacrity, animated by the noble consciousness of fighting for the honour of their country. For a series of several months, they had not enjoyed above one night's uncertain repose in three, to refit them for the arduous duties of their several stations. The British and Hanoverian soldiers, however, though unaccustomed to shrink from danger, to repine at hard fare, or complain of excessive labour, could not bear the idea of being perpetually exposed to the enemy's fire, even in the hour of repose, and of necessary relaxation from the fatigues of duty. This reflection began to make a sensible and melancholy impression upon the minds of the soldiery, and became the object of serious attention with the governor, ever alive to the voice of complaint, and ever vigilant in his designs upon the enemy. It became his anxious wish to remove the cause of apprehension in his garrison, before it could be realised, by the opening of the battery *d'empotrada* upon the camp.

The Spaniards had now been employed nearly thirteen months on their advanced works. The nature of the soil, and the downward fire from the garrison, by whom all their operations were seen, rendered their progress laborious, tedious, and dangerous. It was impossible to sink the trench in the sand, under which they found water at the depth of three feet.

It was therefore necessary to construct all these works with an enormous quantity of chandeliers, and large beams in the form of frames, and with a vast number of fascines and sand-bags. They at length, however, completed this formidable front, the *epaulements* of which were 22 feet high, defended by several flanks. These communications, together with an infinite number of traverses, and three large powder-magazines, they constucted under an unremitting fire from the garrison, with unexampled coolness and perseverance.

The army of the besiegers was now 14,000 strong, and their ordnance pointed against the garrison formidable in the extreme.

About this time, information from various quarters uniformly concurred in assuring the general, that the enemy, considering the garrison as few in number, debilitated by the scurvy, and wearied out with fatigue, concluded that the British soldiers were not in a condition for active enterprise; and laying aside, therefore, every apprehension of danger to their works from that quarter, gave themselves up to a degree of listlessness and indolence, perfectly inconsistent with the first principles of military discipline.

On the evening of the 20th of November, two deserters from the Walloon guards came in at Land Port, and were immediately conducted to the governor's head-quarters. One of them was a corporal, a shrewd intelligent fellow. He was a man of such observation as to be perfectly versed in the detail and disposition of the enemy's works, guards, and forts.

He brought with him a rough sketch of the advanced works, drawn by himself, with a common pen, upon the spot; but sufficiently correct to convey a satisfactory idea of them,

and to elucidate his own deposition, which was that night taken down by the town-major. It was so clear and distinct, that a correct plan of the Spanish camp, night-guards, and out-posts from Algeziras to fort Barbara, might have been made out from it. So well informed was he, and so accurate in every thing he advanced upon that occasion, that he never once contradicted himself in the most trivial circumstance, through a continued series of cross-examination. This deserter attended the governor to Willis's, where he further described to him various parts of the enemy's works and camp.

The perfect coincidence of the various information which the governor had, through different channels, obtained, describing the carelessness with which the night-duty was carried on in the enemy's camp and works, suggested the idea of a sortie, which, under other circumstances, could not have been hazarded, consistently with the safety of the garrison.

There can be little doubt but general Elliot, ever since the apprehensions of the soldiery reached his ear from the effect of the battery *d'empotrada*, had revolved in his mind the practicability of destroying these works of the enemy, and formed in secret that plan, which he executed with the caution and firmness which so peculiarly characterized him. The present, from a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, seemed to be the opportunity the most favourable for carrying such a great and hazardous enterprise into effect.

The governor, therefore, having digested his plan in his own capacious and enlightened mind, and having weighed every step that ought to be taken to insure success, committed to paper the necessary instructions for the different officers who were to be leading agents in its execution.

Early in the afternoon of the 26th of November, all the houses where wine and spirits were retailed out to soldiers, were shut up, to prevent every degree of intoxication in the garrison; and, a little after sun-set, orders were issued for a detachment to parade at midnight on the red-sands. Meanwhile, all the general officers in the garrison were summoned to attend the governor at the field-officer's room to the southward, where every other officer who was to be entrusted with any particular command in this important enterprise was present. The governor then opened his design, read his plan, and gave his instructions to the executive officers, who were required to propose whatever alterations they thought should be made in that part of the disposition which regarded their own command; to many of which alterations the governor agreed, by this means rendering those gentlemen more particularly interested in the success of the enterprise.

Tools of all kinds, for demolishing the enemy's works, were delivered to the workmen, and the following directions for their destination communicated to the principal officers:

"The right column to lead, and to march through Forbes's Barrier, for the extremity of the parallel, keeping the eastern fences of the gardens close on the left hand. The centre immediately to follow, marching through Bay-side Barrier, and directing their course through the middle of the gardens, to the object of their destination. The left column to follow the centre through Bay-side Barrier, then to march to their destination, keeping the western fences of the gardens on their right hand.

"When the rear of the right column has got clear of Forbes's, and the rear of the left clear of Bay-side, the heads of the three columns are, as much as circumstances will admit, to be found in a line, and to march on so as to arrive at their different points of attack at the same time.

"No person to advance before the front on any pretence whatever, unless commanded so to do by the officer leading the column. The most profound silence to be observed, as the success of the enterprise may depend thereon.

"The troops of the right column, preceding the workmen and artillery, are destined to attack and force the eastern parallel of the enemy's approaches.

"The troops of the centre column, preceding the workmen and artillery, are destined to attack and force the two mortar-batteries.

"The troops of the left column, preceding the workmen and artillery, are to attack and force the two six-gun batteries.

"The troops appointed to each particular attack are to form in a line as soon as they arrive at a proper distance from the several objects, and as the ground will permit.

"The workmen and artillery are to form in divisions. The 12th, and Hardenberg's

regiments, composing the sustaining corps, are to form in one line to the front, and to be ready to detach to the right or left, as occasion may require.

"The reserve, after having assisted in the storm, and the works are carried, to form in the farthest gardens, at some distance in the rear of the sustaining corps. The grenadiers of the 56th and 58th, in the centre; the light company of the 56th, fronting to the east; and the light company of the 58th, fronting to the west.

"As soon as the different works are carried, the troops that have performed these services are to form, and take up their ground in the following manner, in order to cover their several working parties and artillery:

"Of the right column, the grenadiers of Reden's and La Motte's are to form behind the parallel.

"Of the centre column, the light companies and grenadiers of the 39th and 73rd regiments are to form along the front and communication of the fourth branch of approach.

"Of the left column, the grenadiers and the light company of the 72nd regiment are to post themselves behind the westernmost six-gun battery, covering their right flank with the fourth long breach of approach, and with their left to the gun battery close to the beach."

The point of attack assigned to each column, was the precise spot where the enemy's guards were posted, that the suddenness of the danger might put it out of their power to reflect, and to take any defensive measures that might essentially retard the progress of the assailants.

By the time the above destination of the columns was made known to the different officers, and other necessary arrangements had taken place, the morning of the 27th was pretty far advanced. At about a quarter before three o'clock, the moon had nearly set, and that darkness was coming on, indispensably necessary to the successful execution of the enterprise. At this time it was that the detachment began its march, by files from the right of the rear line, for the attack. Although nothing could exceed the order and silence of the troops, when the right hand column had got near the gardens, they were three times challenged by one of the enemy's advanced sentries, but no answer being returned, he immediately fired at the column, and retired some paces, when he fired a second shot. The column kept moving forwards.—A second sentry discharged his piece, and retired. Lieutenant-colonel Hugo, finding the enemy alarmed, immediately formed the attacking corps, and pushed on for the eastern parallel. When they came near, a third centinel fired at them; upon which the grenadiers returned the fire, and leapt into the works. The enemy fled in that quarter, without attempting further opposition. The workmen immediately began to dismantle that part of the works, and the artillery soon after set them on fire.

Part of Hardenberg's regiment, attached to this column, owing to the darkness of the morning, found themselves with the storming party of the centre column, in front of the St. Carlos battery. In this situation, immediately before the centre of the left flank of the battery, no alternative remained but pushing forward, which they did in the most gallant manner, receiving at the same time a discharge of three rounds of musquetry from the enemy defending that flank. Upon their mounting the parapet, the enemy precipitately gave way, when the Hanoverians, with considerable difficulty, descended the stupendous work, forming with their left to the tower. They were thus situated when lieutenant-colonel Dachenhausen, at the head of the 39th flank companies, got over the St. Carlos battery, and naturally mistaking them for Spaniards, fired upon them, and wounded several. Further mischief was, however, prevented by the counter-sign. The grenadiers of La Motte's and Reden's, after having stormed the eastern parallel, and dislodged the enemy from the centre guard-house, formed in the rear of the parallel, fronting towards the enemy's lines.

The centre column was fired at as soon as it entered the gardens, and the enemy's outsentries continued firing and retreating as it advanced. When the column had got near the St. Carlos battery, a smart fire was for a short time kept up by the enemy from their flanks; but the storming party at the head of the column, consisting of the 39th and 73rd flank companies, with the 56th and 58th grenadiers, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Dachenhausen and major Maxwell, rushing forward, soon drove them from their works. How to descend into the battery now became a matter of some difficulty; for from the

scaffold on the inside to the platform of the batteries, the height was eighteen feet, and the enemy had removed the steps or ladders by which they mounted to the scaffold. Some of the most active of the British having leaped down upon the sand, their comrades followed the example, and they were immediately masters of the work.

The left hand column proceeded according to instructions, and possessed themselves of the two-gun batteries without much resistance, in which they took prisoners several Spanish grenadiers. Such were the spirit and activity with which lieutenant-colonel Trigge, at the head of the 58th light infantry, and the flank companies of the 72nd regiment, pushed on to the two-gun batteries on the side of the bay, that the enemy were incapable of making any resistance, but fled with the greatest precipitation; and several Spanish grenadiers were afterwards taken prisoners in their splinter-proofs, where they had been asleep when the British troops entered the batteries. All their batteries were constructed with splinter-proofs, capable of containing a very great number of men.

The sailors belonging to the left column, to be employed as workmen, mistook their way, and made for the mortar-batteries, so that the gun-batteries were not destroyed as soon as the others: but this mistake being rectified, the seamen proceeded to demolish them with an increased impetuosity, and the batteries were speedily on fire.

The ardour of the assailants was irresistible. The enemy on all sides fled, abandoning with the utmost precipitation those works, which it had cost them so much labour, and so much blood and treasure to erect.

When the British troops had taken possession, the attacking corps formed, agreeably to their orders, to repel any attempt which the enemy might make to prevent the total destruction of their works, whilst the 12th regiment took post in front of the St. Carlos battery, to sustain the western attack; and the reserve, under major Maxwell, drew up in the gardens nearest the Spanish works.

The 12th regiment and Hardenberg's were drawn up with considerable intervals between the companies, that the artificers and pioneers might retire between the intervals, in case of being forced back, and that their retreat might be thus effected without loss or confusion.

Captain Curtis, commander of the squadron, went out in the sortie as a volunteer, and, with lieutenants Muckle and Campbell under his command, led on the volunteer seamen. Such indeed was the general ardour to partake in this bold enterprise, that every man considered himself as unfortunate; who was obliged to remain behind within the walls of the garrison.

The exertions of the seamen, artillery, and artificers, upon the enemy's works, were astonishing. The batteries were soon in a state for the fire-faggots to operate, and the flames spread with astonishing rapidity into every part. The column of fire and smoke which rolled from the works, grandly illuminated the troops and neighbouring objects, forming altogether a *coup-d'œil*, which it is impossible by language to describe, and of which the pencil of the painter alone can convey an adequate idea.

Ten brass thirteen-inch sea-mortars, and eighteen brass twenty-six pounders were spiked by the artillery-men in the enemy's works. Amongst the latter were the six guns mounted *d'empotrada*. About the time that the fire was spreading along the batteries, in spiking one of the mortars in the St. Carlos battery, an explosion took place, by which some of the workmen were hurt.

In an hour, the object of the sortie was fully effected, and trains being laid to the magazines, brigadier Ross ordered the advanced corps to withdraw, and the sustaining regiments to cover their retreat. They retired with the most perfect deliberation, and in the best order; but, by some oversight, the barrier at Forbes's was locked after the flank companies had returned, which might have proved of serious consequences to Hardenberg's regiment, had the enemy attempted to annoy the retreat, as the Hanoverians were obliged, from that circumstance, to follow the 12th regiment through Bay-side. The whole detachment had got back into the town in less than two hours from the time of its sally.

Several small quantities of powder took fire whilst the detachment was on its retreat; and just as the rear had got within the garrison, the principal magazine blew up with a tremendous explosion, throwing up vast pieces of timber, which, falling into the flames, increased the general conflagration.

The British carried with them into the

garrison nineteen prisoners, and themselves sustained no other loss than that of four men killed, and one officer and twenty-five others wounded.

Lieutenant Tweedie received a grape-shot in the thigh, immediately as the 12th regiment had formed in front of the St. Carlos battery. This gallant officer, after having received the shot which broke his thigh, supported himself in his post, on the other knee and his spontoon, and in this position he was first discovered by general Eliott, as he was passing along the front of the regiment.—The general asked him, *Why he was in that situation?* To which Mr. Tweedie coolly replied, *That he was wounded.* The general immediately ordered him to be assisted, and conveyed to the garrison, not without betowing due praise upon his gallantry and resolution.

The only man of the detachment who did not return into the garrison, was a private of the 73rd grenadiers. This man was one of the first to mount the battery, where he encountered with the Spanish captain of artillery, whom he wounded, and by whom he was wounded in turn. The soldier fell upon the top of the battery, and when the troops were ordered to retire, the flames spread with such rapidity to the spot where he lay, that it was impossible to save him. It is to be regretted that the name of this gallant soldier cannot now be ascertained. It is worthy of being transmitted with honour to posterity, as an incitement to others in a similar situation, to act with a heroism that would well adorn a higher rank.

Although the enemy must have been early alarmed, not the smallest effort was made to save or to avenge the destruction of their works. The fugitives seemed to have communicated a panic to the whole; for their army, though drawn out under arms in the front of their camp, remained silent and inactive spectators of the conflagration. Instead of materially annoying the British detachment from the flanking forts, which might have been done with very great effect, they directed the fire from their lines chiefly towards the town and upper batteries, from whence a warm and well-served discharge of round shot was returned upon their forts and barrier. To the latter, indeed, the fire from the garrison was chiefly directed, to prevent the camp from detaching any troops to the support of the party in the advanced works, which would have been thus rendered a service of very peculiar danger.

With respect to the number of the enemy in their advanced batteries at the time of the sortie, different statements have been made. It was a generally received opinion in the garrison at the time, that the Spanish guard consisted only of one captain, three subalterns, and 74 privates, including the artillery. Though even this small force, in such strong works, might have kept any numbers at bay, till a reinforcement had been sent from the lines; yet, for the glory of the enterprise, it becomes satisfactory to state, from the best authority, that the enemy's force was much more considerable. The following return was communicated, some time afterwards, by a relation to the commander-in-chief of the Spanish camp, and may be relied on as authentic.

Spanish Guard in the Advanced Works.

	Men.
One company of militia grenadiers -	100
One ditto of Walloon guards - -	100
Three companies of artillery, of 70 men each - -	210
Total	410

That the Spaniards never entertained the smallest apprehension of a sortie from the garrison, was evident from the circumstances in which they were found; for even four hundred men were but a weak guard for works of such importance and extent. The chief commandant of the Spanish camp, too, was sleeping that night at St. Roque, two miles distant from his post; and in one of the splinter-proofs of the batteries was found the report of the commanding officer, which, when the guard was relieved, was to have been sent to the Spanish general. The report expressed, "that nothing extraordinary had happened," which clearly evinces the unmilitary state of security in which the Spaniards conceived themselves to be.

It is a known fact, by the acknowledgment of several persons of distinction in the Spanish army, that the construction and materials of these works, destroyed by the fire, cost the enormous sum of thirteen millions of large piastres, (equal to three millions sterling) besides the considerable loss of 5000 men, killed

by the fire from the garrison, and who died of distempers occasioned by excessive fatigue and unwholesome air, which prevailed in the sands almost the whole year.

General Eliott's anxiety on the occasion would not permit him to await the issue in the garrison, but as he had given the command of the enterprise to brigadier-general Ross, he went out merely as a volunteer. He probably considered it as his duty to be on the spot, lest any fatal accident should befal the brigadier. Acquainting the lieutenant-governor, therefore, with his intention, he accompanied the sortie. By the time the advanced corps had got possession of the works, the general was in the front of the St. Carlos battery, where he remained till the retreat of the detachment.

Brigadier Ross did not know of general Eliott's intention to go out, and as the latter followed the detachment, the former was not acquainted with the circumstance till the service was nearly performed. General Ross, with the utmost activity, had gone in person through the whole of the enemy's works, and after they had been carried, and the troops had formed, upon his returning to take post in front of the 12th regiment, general Eliott was pointed out to him, standing at the foot of the battery. The general soon after accosted the brigadier, who had expressed marks of surprise at seeing him, by asking him in an easy pleasant way, *What he thought of the business, and if it was not something extraordinary that they should have gained the enemy's works so easily?* The brigadier briskly replied to the general, *That the most extraordinary thing was to see* him *there.*

There was something noble in general Eliott's resolution to be present in the sortie, and something equally so in his manner of doing it. As the command had been publicly given to general Ross, he would not hurt the feelings of that officer, by going out at the head of the detachment; he therefore contented himself with following it; and with a magnanimity worthy of him, he at all times imputed that merit to the brigadier and his detachment, which they so fully deserved, but a great share of which certainly attached to the projector of the enterprise.

In the spot where general Eliott stood, it was that the principal defence had been made, and after the works had been carried, and while the workmen were employed in firing them, his humanity led him to see that all possible attention was paid to the wounded, whether of his own troops or those of the enemy. Amongst them, and almost expiring, he found an elegant young man, who was known by his uniform to be a captain of the Spanish artillery. The general spoke to him with the tenderness which such a scene naturally inspires in a brave mind, and assuring him of all possible assistance, ordered him to be removed, as the fire was spreading rapidly to the spot where he lay. The Spaniard endeavoured to raise himself from the ground, and with the most expressive action, feebly articulated, *No sir, no—leave me—let me perish amidst the ruins of my post.* An officer remained near him a few minutes, until he expired. It was afterwards found, that he had commanded the guard of the St. Carlos battery, and gallantly maintained his ground, until his men, finding themselves overpowered, threw down their arms, and deserted him. He reproached their baseness, and exclaiming, *At least one Spaniard shall die honourably,*—rushed down from the top of his work amongst the attacking column, and fell where he was found, at the foot, and in front of the battery which he guarded. It was much lamented by general Eliott, and the officers of the detachment, that any doubt should have existed of the name of this gallant man; they believed it to have been Don Joseph Barboza; but there is still an uncertainty, which his countrymen will perhaps one day feel it their duty to remove.

Two Spanish officers were carried prisoners into the garrison. The one was baron Von Helmstadt, an ensign in the Walloon guards, with the rank of captain; the other, Don Vincente Friza, a lieutenant of artillery.

Baron Helmstadt having been severely wounded by a musquet shot in one of his knees, was found lying upon the platform of the St. Carlos battery, by two British artillery soldiers, who, moved with generous compassion at his situation, resolved to rescue him from his impending fate. They took him up in their arms, and carried him out of the battery, where he must soon have perished in the flames. Unwilling to leave him upon the sands in his helpless state, they determined upon carrying him into the garrison. They were executing their noble purpose, when

they met with lieutenant Cuppage of their own corps, who, while he bestowed the warmest encomiums upon his men for their humanity, himself assisted in the generous office which it suggested. With every possible tenderness they conveyed the wounded prisoner to the barriers, where they did not arrive till two hours after the whole detachment had retired. During this time they had been exposed to the fire of the enemy's lines, and had been reported in the garrison as lost. Having presented themselves at the barrier, and being admitted, they passed through the different guards amidst the mingled admiration and applause of the whole; till they reached the garrison hospital, where they deposited the baron. On such an instance of humanity, the mind dwells with an applauding rapture. While strongly characteristic of the generous disposition of a British soldier towards a vanquished enemy, it dignifies human nature, and illumines the rugged front of war with the radiant emanations of philanthropy. To the feelings of a British officer, any eulogium upon an exercise of his humanity would wear the appearance of an insult. Generosity to a conquered enemy is a distinguishing feature in the military character of this country; and it seems indeed to be an axiom established by the stamp of Omnipotence itself, that the most generous are invariably the most brave. To the two soldiers the same considerations of delicacy do not so strongly apply as to their officer, and it becomes the peculiar duty of the historian to snatch from oblivion the names of two men, whose feelings were equally an honour to their profession and their species. They were named Campbell and Paton, two privates in the second battalion of the royal regiment of artillery.

The wound in the baron's knee was deemed incurable, and it was not without great reluctance that he submitted to an amputation. When the surgeons first informed him that an operation was absolutely indispensable, he resolutely opposed it. *Amputation*, he said, *seldom succeeded in Spain; besides, he was then betrothed in marriage to a lady, and would rather risk his life than present himself before her with only one leg.* The governor, being told of this determination, immediately visited the baron, and used every argument to persuade him to comply. *His mistress*, the general kindly urged, *must undoubtedly esteem him the more for the honourable wound which he had received in the service of his sovereign; and as to the operation being fatal, he might almost assure himself of a certain recovery, since, in the many similar cases which had occurred in the garrison during the siege, the surgeons had been generally successful;*—and to convince him by ocular proof, several mutilated convalescents were ordered into the room. This generous attention of the governor had a powerful effect upon the baron, and he at length consented to the operation. The day after it was performed, he was visited by the governor, whom, upon entering his apartment, he addressed in these words,—*Ha! mon general! me voici un vieillard!*

It must be satisfactory to pursue the account of this unfortunate young officer without interruption. For many days after the amputation, there was every prospect of his doing well; but, on the 28th of December, about a month after the operation had been performed, he died of an inflammatory fever. During his illness, flags of truce were daily passing and repassing, to inform his friends of his situation, who were not inattentive to him. They sent him fowls, and refreshments of different kinds, with a supply of money.

On the 29th, about noon, his body was conveyed from the hospital to the New Mole, with every mark of military honour. The grenadier company of the 12th regiment accompanied it, and the governor, major-general de la Motte, captain Curtis, and their suites, with Don Vincente Friza, joined in the procession. As the corpse was deposited in the boat, the 12th grenadiers fired three vollies over it, and the town-major and secretary accompanied it. Sir Charles Knowles and the adjutant-general preceded, in a barge carrying a flag of truce, and delivered the corpse to the enemy, who in the same manner met them upon the occasion half way over the bay. Every thing sent by his friends, and left unused by the baron in his sickness, was also returned, even to the minutest article.

In the beginning of April it was that a new spirit seemed to have been infused into the Spanish camp. His catholic majesty, mortified at the disgrace that had been brought upon his arms, and the great loss he had sustained by the sortie in the month of November, publicly declared his determination

to have Gibralter at all events, cost what it would. It was now that they were to prepare for that grand attack by sea and land, which had so long been projected, and the ultimate success of which, the Spanish nation would not, for a moment, allow themselves to doubt.

The duke de Crillon, to whom the garrison of Minorca had surrendered on the 15th of February preceding, was destined to take upon him the command of this mighty enterprise, and he was now preparing for the execution of it, flushed by recent victory, and confident of success. In the conquest of Minorca, however, there was but little to boast of, as a soldier could not reasonably plume himself upon vanquishing an hospital; though the brave men which it contained had, under the command of general Murray, made a very spirited defence. To the garrison of fort St. Philip, consisting of considerably less than 1000 sickly and decrepid soldiers and seamen, pent up in confined and untenable works, was opposed a vigorous and well-appointed army of 14,000 men. Such was the distressing appearance of the British garrison, when they marched out with the honours of war, that many of the Spanish and French troops were said to have shed tears of compassion as they passed them. Such at least was the generous testimony of the duc de Crillon, and baron de Falkenhayn, the French commandant.

On such a conquest, therefore, the duke could not much pride himself, nor from thence anticipate the event of his vast projects against Gibralter. This conquest, however, unimportant as it was, seemed to re-animate the Spanish camp, perhaps chiefly from the proof which it gave, that a British garrison might at length be subdued by sickness and fatigue.

It was said that his catholic majesty, in proof of his approbation of the conduct of the duc de Crillon, added to his other titles that of duc de Mahon; but that great general aimed at another, still more flattering to his military pride: he hoped that the conquest of Gibralter would give him a claim to add the name of that rock to his titles; a conquest which, as he had no doubt of achieving, he thought would rank him as the first general of his age. This ambition, though, as the event proved, extravagant, yet in a soldier was laudable; and the duc de Crillon had proved himself to be not unworthy of general estimation. During the siege at Minorca he had acted with spirit and judgment; and, after the surrender of the garrison, he behaved with humanity and moderation.

On the 9th of April, a line of battle-ships, with seven large vessels and tartans, arrived in the bay from the west, and anchored at Algeziras. A rumour of the intended attack by sea had reached the garrison of Gibralter, which induced the governor and chief engineer to direct their attention principally to the sea line, and some little improvements in that quarter were consequently made.

On the 14th, several of the large ships at Algeziras struck their yards and top-masts, and a great number of men appeared to be employed on board of them; circumstances which left the garrison no room to doubt that they were intended to be fitted as floating batteries for the grand attack. Parties of workmen were constantly employed upon them, in opening port-holes, and covering their larbourd sides with junk, which from its elasticity they no doubt imagined capable of of resisting shot. The enemy seemed likewise busily employed in landing cannon and military stores beyond Point Mala. The buz of mighty preparation, in short, seemed to go through their whole camp.

The garrison were no longer doubtful of the intentions of the Spaniards. They saw that a vigorous attack by sea was meditated, and they calmly prepared for the event. At this time there were upwards of a hundred pieces of cannon in the artillery-park of the enemy.

On the 25th it was that the engineers began to mine a gallery from a place above Farringdon's battery (Willis's) to communicate through the rock to a notch or projection of the rock, below Green's Lodge, in which the governor purposed to construct a battery.

In the end of May, several Corsicans arrived at Gibralter to offer their services to general Eliott, by whom they were very graciously received, and afterwards formed into an independent corps, the command of which was given to signor Leonetti, nephew to general Paoli.

On the 26th of May, a large fleet appeared from the East, upwards of 100 sail of which in the evening entered the bay, and anchored between the river Palamones and Algeziras.

Amongst these were three large men of war, one of which had a flag at her mizen; the rest were vessels with troops and military stores. On the three succeeding days they landed twelve battalions, making in all near 9000 men. As the troops disembarked, they encamped in the rear of the second line, extending towards Buena Vista, which had been fitted up for the commander-in-chief's quarters.

On the 28th of this month, a flag of truce came from the enemy, with a letter from Mr. Anderson, a merchant, who had left the garrison a few days before, and was taken on his passage to Faro. Before the purport of the flag was known, the governor, speaking to the officers near him, said, *He supposed the duke had arrived, and now sent to summon the garrison—his answer should be short—no, no;* and addressing himself to the officers present, *he hoped the gentlemen would all support him.*

The exertions of the enemy in their camp, and amongst their shipping, were prodigious, and vessels of all kinds were daily arriving in the bay, laden with materials for the siege.

On his majesty's birth-day, the last of the garrison gun-boats was launched. They were twelve in number, three carrying a 24-pounder each, and the rest 18-pounders. They were manned from the Brilliant and Porcupine frigates, and Speedwell cutter, with twenty-one men each.

For some time past the enemy had almost discontinued their labours in their advanced works, and their fire upon the garrison was considerably slackened. This interval of tranquillity the governor employed with indefatigable zeal in repairing and improving the works of the garrison.

On the 11th of June, a shell from the enemy fell through the splinter-proof, at the door of the magazine on Princess Anne's Battery, (Willis's) and bursting, communicated with the powder, which instantly blew up. The explosion was so violent as to shake the whole rock, and throw the materials on both sides to an almost incredible distance into the sea. The battery was very materially injured, and 14 men were unfortunately killed, and 15 wounded, by the accident. Immediately after the report of the explosion, and upon the appearance of the column of smoke, the enemy gave a loud huzza; their drums beat to arms in their camp, and they kept up a brisk cannonade upon the spot where the accident happened for the remainder of the day.

On the 14th a French frigate, with eighteen or nineteen polacres, &c. arrived in the bay, from which was landed a body of French troops; and on the 16th a new camp was observed between the grand magazine and the Orange Grove. On the succeeding day another French convoy, of upwards of sixty sail, arrived from the eastward, filled with French troops, computed to amount to 5000 men. On the 20th and 21st they disembarked, and encamped to the eastward of the stone quarry, immediately under the queen of Spain's chair.

Several general officers, both Spanish and French, about this time frequently visited the lines, and some of them occasionally came out to view the advanced works. The enemy's fire at this time was extremely inconsiderable, and on the evening of the 22nd it totally ceased. At this period it was that the duc de Crillon arrived in the camp, to take upon him the command of the combined army.

From this period the blockade was converted into a spirited siege, and all those vast projects for the reduction of this fortress, which had been so long agitated, were to be carried into vigorous effect.

The duc de Crillon was attended by Monsieur d'Arcon, a French engineer of reputation, who came to execute the floating batteries according to the plan which he had given to the Spanish court, and according to which they were to be constructed upon principles that were to render them insubmersible and incombustible.

This operation of the attack by sea had long been unanimously agreed upon, and no other question remained but respecting the means projected by M. d'Arcon for executing it. His plan was judged to be very simple, and was approved by all the Spanish ministers; but he stated in the memoir which he gave in with it, *that it would never succeed, unless a number of national volunteers would adopt it, and execute it, at their own risk, with all the confidence inspired by a thorough conviction.*

The treasures of Spain, however, were to be lavished in these preparations, the impression of which, it was believed, that Gibralter could not resist for four and twenty hours. The most powerful means possible were to be put in practice, *pour conbuter*, (according to the Spanish phrase) to overpower this

fortress, there certainly never was an instance of such a formidable force, and great preparations, as those of the besiegers before Gibraltar. Almost all the cannon and howitzers upon the isthmus battered the place *d'enfilade*, and these, in the old and new batteries of St. Philip and St. Barbara, with that of St. Barbe, and their several communications, amounted to the vast number of 246 pieces. Never was seen collected upon the same front, so vast a quantity of ordnance, while in the attack by sea 213 other pieces of artillery were to be employed, which were to take the works of the garrison in reverse, and by a ricochetting fire, increase the means of destruction. All their batteries were to combine in the demolition of the walls and flanks, whilst the other part of their force was to be employed in ravaging the interior defences, in order to expose and sweep away the soldiers of the garrison.

General Eliott, with a firm and equal mind, beheld the operations of the enemy. He felt all their strength; he anticipated every thing; and without giving the least ground of suspicion to the besiegers, he made such preparations, and adopted such cautious measures, that the most dreadful display of force must have failed before them. He relied upon himself, he relied upon his garrison, now inured to danger, to repel the most formidable assault which human force and ingenuity could direct against him.

Rear-admiral Buenaventura Moreno was appointed to co-operate with the duke and M. d'Arcon, in the projected attack by sea. The latter, however, now found himself, from the conduct of the Spanish ministry, in such a situation, that although they allowed him certain discretionary powers, yet in case of success, all the glory of the enterprise was to be transferred to others, whilst the disgrace of a miscarriage was to fall solely upon him, as the projector of a scheme which had not been crowned with success.

They proceeded, notwithstanding, with such expedition upon the floating batteries, that, in the beginning of July, the tenth was under equipment. Since the arrival of the duke, their batteries had been wholly silent, notwithstanding which the garrison kept up a brisk discharge, as well upon their lines as their advanced works.

To detail all the preparatory operations of the enemy, would far exceed the bounds of the present work. It has already been observed, that the preparations made for the attack by sea were formidable and immense, and the consequent expence incurred by Spain has scarcely a parallel in history. The activity of the enemy was proportioned to the magnitude of the design, and the attack by land, as an auxiliary operation, was to occupy all the space that the nature of the ground would permit.

The morning of the arrival of Monsieur le comte d'Artois, which happened on the 15th of August, was distinguished by the complete developement of a flying sap of a new kind, the erection of which had been concealed from the garrison by a silence and rapidity of execution as yet unequalled. This was a parallel of 230 toises in length, with a communication or boyau of 630 toises from the place where it was joined to the principal barrier of the lines, the construction of which had required one million six hundred thousand bags of sand, besides an immense quantity of casks employed in the parallel, which was afterwards converted into a battery of 64 cannons, besides howitzers, at the extremity to the south-east, and four batteries of mortars to the north-west.

In one night was this extraordinary work of the epaulement raised to the incredible height of 12 feet, with a proportional thickness of 18 feet. With its communications, traverses, and branches, it formed a prospect equally formidable and surprising. It was calculated, that during the seven hours in which this work was erected, 10,000 men must have been employed upon it. Notwithstanding this immense number at work at one time, no extraordinary noise was heard. In the course of the night a carcase was thrown on the west side of the bay, but nothing of their operations was to be seen in that quarter. The Spaniards must have conceived themselves particularly fortunate, as a brisk fire from the garrison, from the number of men employed in their works, must have proved more than commonly destructive.

General Eliott, and general Green, the chief engineer of the garrison, instantly discovered the design of the enemy by this extension of their works, which was to take in reverse the defences to the sea, in order to co-operate with the floating batteries and

bomb-ketches, and thus to place the artillery of the garrison between two fires, when the grand attack should be made.

On the 16th the duc de Bourbon arrived in the enemy's camp; and on the 19th general Eliott received by a flag of truce, the following letter from the duc de Crillon.

"Camp of Buena-Vista, 19th August, 1782.

"Sir,

"His royal highness count d'Artois, who has received permission from the king his brother to assist at the siege, as a volunteer in the combined army, of which their most Christian and Catholic majesties have honoured me with the command, arrived in this camp the 15th instant. This young prince has been pleased, in passing through Madrid, to take charge of some letters which had been sent to that capital from this place, and which are addressed to persons belonging to your garrison. His royal highness has desired that I would transmit them to you, and that to this mark of his goodness and attention, I should add the strongest expressions of esteem for your person and character. I feel the greatest pleasure in giving this mark of condescension in this august prince, as it furnishes me with a pretext, which I have been anxiously looking for these two months that I have been in camp, to assure you of the highest esteem I have conceived for your excellency, of the sincerest desire I feel of deserving yours, and of the pleasure to which I look forward of becoming your friend, after I shall have learned to render myself worthy of the honour, by facing you as an enemy. His highness the duc de Bourbon, who arrived here 24 hours after the count d'Artois, desires also that I should assure you of his particular esteem.

"Permit me, sir, to offer a few trifles for your table, of which I am sure you must stand in need, as I know you live entirely upon vegetables: I should be glad to know what kind you like best. I shall add a few game for the gentlemen of your houshold, and some ice, which I presume will not be disagreeable in the excessive heat of this climate, at this season of the year. I hope you will be obliging enough to accept the small portion which I send with this letter.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"B. B. Duc de Crillon.

"His excellency general Elliot, &c."

On the 20th, the general returned by a flag the following answer.

"Gibralter, August 20th, 1782.

"Sir,

"I find myself highly honoured by your obliging letter of yesterday, in which your excellency was so kind as to inform me of the arrival in your camp of his royal highness the count d'Artois, and the duke de Bourbon, to serve as volunteers at the siege. These princes have shewn their judgment in making choice of a master in the art of war, whose abilities cannot fail to form great warriors. I am overpowered with the condescension of his royal highness, in suffering some letters for persons in this town to be conveyed from Madrid in his carriages. I flatter myself that your excellency will give my most profound respect to his royal highness, and to the duke de Bourbon, for the expressions of esteem with which they have been pleased to honour so insignificant a person as I am.

"I return a thousand thanks to your excellency, for your handsome present of fruits, vegetables, and game. You will excuse me, however, I trust, when I assure you, that in accepting your present I have broken through a resolution, to which I had faithfully adhered since the beginning of the war; and that was, never to receive or procure, by any means whatever, any provisions or other commodity for my own private use; so that, without any preference, every thing is sold publicly here; and the private soldier, if he has money, can become a purchaser, as well as the governor. I confess, I make it a point of honour to partake both of plenty and scarcity in common with the lowest of my brave fellow-soldiers. This furnishes me with an excuse for the liberty I now take, of intreating your excellency not to heap any more favours upon me of this kind, as in future I cannot convert your presents to my own private use. Indeed, to be plain with your excellency, though vegetables at this season are scarce with us, every man has got a quantity proportioned to the labour which he has bestowed in raising them.

The English are naturally fond of gardening and cultivation; and here we find our amusement in it, during the intervals of rest from public duty. The promise which the duke de Crillon makes, of honouring me in proper time and place with his friendship, lays me under infinite obligations. The interest of our sovereigns being once solidly settled, I shall with eagerness embrace the first opportunity to avail myself of so precious a treasure.

"I HAVE the honour to be, &c.

"G. A. ELIOTT.

"His excellency the duc de Crillon, &c."

ON the morning of the 24th, their new work was completed, and unmasked a battery of 64 guns, with eight howitzers on its left extremity. The plan of operations pursued by the enemy now became apparent to the general, who continued to make every arrangement to defeat it, and who now digested the plan of disposition, in case they should effect a practicable breach. At this period additional forges for heating shot were ordered to be constructed, and grates for that purpose were distributed all along the batteries.

IN the Spanish camp, the successful execution of the sap on the night of the 15th, was looked upon as a fortunate and auspicious event, though the plan of this operation, which had been suggested by M. d'Arcon, had not met with very general approbation, from the great apprehension that was entertained of a considerable loss of men in carrying it into effect.

THE land and sea forces of the besiegers flattered themselves with the hope, that in these preparations the term of their long and glorious labours was drawing to a close; and the solidity and equipment of their new warlike machines inspired them with a degree of confidence, which soon increased to enthusiasm. This spirit produced a competition amongst the officers, who emulously aspired to the honour of conducting these formidable engines in the presence of their enemy. The combined army, in short, flattered themselves that nothing was wanting to their success. They had only, they imagined, to present themselves—Gibralter was to be taken in 24 hours—and thus their confidence approached to infatuation.

FROM the time of the duc de Crillon's arrival before Gibralter, however, a disposition had been made, and was given in the standing orders of the field, in order to prevent a sortie from the fortress, which, notwithstanding its small garrison, the enemy still dreaded, after the disaster which had befallen them on the night of the 27th of November, 1781. This disposition of the besiegers consisted of a reserve of infantry and dragoons, who held themselves always in readiness to act during the night. This body of reserve was posted upon the isthmus behind the lines, or upon the right of the escarpments of the mountain, next the Mediterranean, and behind the parallel, or boyau, according to the discretion of the brigadier who had the command for the night. It was ordered, that in case the garrison should attempt a sortie, he should make a brisk march with his right flank towards the north escarpments, and boldly take post before the pallisade at the head of the moat. As, in that situation, the fire of the garrison would be necessarily suspended upon that spot, for fear of hurting their own men, the Spaniards would risk but little by the manœuvre.

IN the beginning of September, the enemy's works on the land side were every hour advancing to perfection; but the duc de Crillon's attention towards completing them seemed so entirely to engage him, as in a great measure to prevent his taking the necessary precautions for their defence against the batteries of the rock. He seemed to conclude, that the garrison, awed by his mighty preparations, would not be in a condition for any offensive attempt; and relying upon this belief, or never taking it into the account at all, the advanced batteries in the parallel, as well as those in the lines, undergoing alterations and repair, were wholly stript of their ordnance. The forts, and a few mortar-batteries, were of course the only defences left to protect these immense works from insult and attack.

THE practicability of an attempt upon them in this state, strongly suggested itself to lieutenant-general Boyd, the lieutenant-governor, and the honour of the consequent success was peculiarly his own. On the morning of the 6th of September, he recommended, by letter to the governor, the immediate use of red-hot shot against the land batteries of the besiegers. General Eliott readily assented, and major

Lewis, the commandant of artillery, was ordered to wait on general Boyd for his instructions. By the morning of the 8th every thing was ready. At seven in the morning of that day, the firing commenced from all the northern batteries which bore upon the parallel, and was supported through the day with admirable vivacity. The effect of the red-hot shot exceeded expectation. In two hours the Mahon battery of six guns, with the battery of two howitzers on its flank, and great part of the adjoining parallel, were on fire; and the flames, notwithstanding the enemy's exertions to extinguish them, burnt with such rapidity, that the whole of those works were consumed before night. The St. Martin's battery was frequently on fire, but which was as frequently extinguished; and though that of St. Carlos escaped the flames, yet they were both so much deranged, by the breaches made to obstruct the effects of the carcases, &c. that the greater part of them were obliged to be taken down.

The enemy did not return the fire till eight o'clock, and that but faintly, from the seven-gun battery in the lines only. About half past nine St. Philip and St. Barbara, and soon after, eight new mortar batteries in the parallel, were opened upon the garrison. Their tardiness in returning the fire, it was conjectured, was owing to the confused state of their batteries, from the repairs they were undergoing, or to their wanting particular orders how to act, as a general officer was seen to enter their lines at the time the cannonade became general. Their batteries at the time too were unprovided with ammunition, and the discharge of red-hot shot rendered it particularly dangerous to carry it down from the lines.

The loss of the enemy, in sight of the garrison, was very great, as their endeavours to stop the progress of the flames very much exposed them to the fire from the rock. The success of this day was attended with the happiest effects, as it provoked the enemy to open their new mortar batteries before they were perfectly completed, and to recommence a fire from their forts and lines, for which they were by no means prepared.

About four o'clock in the afternoon the firing abated on both sides, and by night-fall it had totally ceased. This judicious plan of attack, suggested by the lieutenant-governor, produced very signal advantages. It in a great measure, by precipitating them, deranged the operations of the duc de Crillon; and it convinced the enemy that the garrison, unawed by their formidable preparations, were still in a state for offensive measures.

The duke, however, seemed resolved to retaliate; for on the succeeding morning, at half past five o'clock, upon two rockets being thrown up from forts St. Philip and Barbara, the enemy began with a flight of shells from all the advanced batteries, to bombard and cannonade the garrison. About a hundred and seventy pieces of ordnance were open; but the effect was not proportionate, for though, at times, from ten to twenty shells were in the air at the same moment, they happily did not produce that material damage which there was reason to expect.

On the same day the enemy's squadron, consisting of seven sail of the line Spanish, and two French, with a large frigate and xebec, taking the advantage of a Levant wind, got under sail from the Orange Grove, and one of them passing slowly within random shot, fired several broadsides upon the south bastion and ragged staff, continuing the cannonade until she had got beyond Europa. The squadron then stood to the eastward of the rock, and forming in a line, the admiral leading, came before the batteries of Europa, and under a very slow sail commenced a fire from all their guns, until the last ship had passed. They repeated this manœuvre at two o'clock on the following morning, and again in the forenoon of the same day. By this sea-attack, however, the works of the garrison were not at all affected. Some of the leading ships came pretty near the point of the first attack; but having been frequently struck from the English batteries, they afterwards kept at a greater distance. Two of the Spanish ships went early that morning to Algeziras to repair. All the batteries at Europa were manned by the marine brigade encamped there, with a small proportion of artillerists. The guns were extremely well laid and pointed; the whole under the immediate command of brigadier Curtis.

About five in the afternoon of the same day, sixteen of the enemy's gun-boats went over from Algeziras, formed in a line, and fired

upon the garrison; but in less than an hour were obliged to retire, with very considerable damage.

On the 10th, at morning-gun fire, the discharge from the batteries on the isthmus recommenced. At seven o'clock on that morning, including the expenditure of the 8th, they had discharged 5427 shot, and 2502 shells, exclusive of the fire from the men of war and mortar-boats.

At guard-mounting on the succeeding morning, they re-commenced their cannonade, and in the afternoon of that day detachments of soldiers were seen embarking from the enemy's camp on board their battering-ships. From this it was concluded in the garrison that every thing was ready, and the grand attack about to commence. Land-port and Water-port guards were therefore immediately reinforced; the furnaces and grates for heating shot were lighted, and the batteries ordered to be manned.

While the attention of the garrison was chiefly directed to the sea line, the enemy, immediately after night-fall, attempted to set fire to the pallisades at Bay-side and Forbes's, and in some measure succeeded, as the whole were quickly in flames. The northern guards and piquets were immediately under arms, and a smart discharge of musquetry was directed upon several parties, which by the light of the fire were discovered in the meadows. These parties returned a brisk discharge by platoons upon the Queen's lines, while a greater number of shells than usual were thrown from the enemy's works. Their fire, in the last 24 hours, amounted to 2828 shot, and 1450 shells. On the morning of the 12th, at a quarter past one, when the garrison had scarcely recovered from the alarm on the land side, the enemy's gun and mortar boats appeared off the King's bastion, and Old Mole Head, and began a very warm cannonade on the northern front. As they kept at a considerable distance, the garrison returned their fire very sparingly, and they at length retired.

At seven, A. M. a fleet appeared from the westward, and stood in for the bay. It proved to be the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of 38 large ships of the line, besides a great number of smaller vessels. No less than ten admiral's flags and a broad pendant were displayed on board of them. By the afternoon they were all at anchor between the Orange Grove and Algeziras.

The whole force of the allied crowns seemed to have been concentrated in this spot, and such a naval and military spectacle is scarcely to be equalled in the annals of war. Their naval force consisted of 44 large ships of the line, besides three inferior two-deckers, ten battering ships, five bomb-ketches, several frigates and xebecs, a great number of gun and mortar boats, a large floating battery, many armed vessels, and near 300 boats, purposely constructed for carrying troops.

On the 13th of September, at eight in the morning, all the battering ships were put in motion, and advanced to the several stations it had been previously determined they should occupy. They were ten in number.

The Pastora and the Talha Piedra were the first that received the fire from the fortress. The others did not cast anchor till some time afterwards. The admiral placed himself upon the capital of the King's bastion; the other ships extending, three to the southward of the flag, as far as the Church battery; five to the northward, about the height of the Old Mole; and one a little to the westward of the admiral. Twenty-four bomb-ketches also acted in the wings, in the rear of the attack. M. d'Arcon served as a volunteer in the battery Tallia Piedra. By a quarter before ten they had taken their respective stations, at the distance of 1000 or 1200 yards, when a heavy cannonade commenced from all the ships, supported by the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches, the object of which clearly was, not to leave the garrison a single point of safety in the space behind the front attacked by the floating batteries. The garrison batteries were opened with hot and cold shot from the guns, and shells from the howitzers and mortars. This firing continued on both sides, without intermission, till noon, when that of the enemy from their ships seemed in a small degree to slacken. About two o'clock the admiral's ship was observed to smoke, as if on fire; and a few men seemed busy upon the roof searching for the cause. The fire from the garrison batteries continued powerful and well-directed, while that from the enemy's ships gradually decreased. About seven in

DESTRUCTION OF THE GUN BOATS
BEFORE GIBRALTER.

the evening they fired from a few guns, and that only at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ship was plainly discovered to be on fire, and an hour after, the flames burst forth with unconquerable violence. Eight more of the ships took fire in succession. On the preceding evening, when their fire began to slacken, various signals had been made from the southernmost ships, and as the evening advanced, many rockets were thrown up, to inform their friends of their extreme danger and distress. These signals were immediately answered, and the launches, feluccas, and boats of the whole fleet, began to take out the men from on board the burning ships. Many shot were still fired from those in which the flames had yet made no considerable progress; and the fire from the enemy's batteries on shore did not in the least abate. Brigadier Curtis, who, with his squadron of gun-boats, lay ready to take advantage of any favourable circumstance, left the New Mole at two o'clock in the morning, and about three formed a line upon the enemy's flank, advancing and firing with great order and expedition; which so astonished and disconcerted the enemy, that they fled precipitately with all their boats, abandoning the ships, in which some officers and numbers of their men, including many wounded, were left to perish. This must inevitably have been their wretched fate, had they not been dragged from amidst the flames by the personal intrepidity of brigadier Curtis, at the utmost hazard of his own life, —a life pronounced by general Eliott, to be invaluable to his majesty's service. Whilst the brigadier, with his men, was thus generously employed, the flames reached the magazine of one of the battering ships to the northward, which blew up about five o'clock, with a dreadful explosion. In a quarter of an hour after, another, in the centre of the line, met with a similar fate, the wreck from which spread to a vast extent, and involved the gun-boats in the most imminent danger. One of them was sunk by it, and the boat of brigadier Curtis had a hole made in its bottom, by a large splinter; the cockswain at the same instant was killed, and some others of the men wounded, and they were for a considerable time involved in a thick cloud of smoke. The brigadier's barge was only saved from sinking by stopping the hole with the seamen's jackets, until boats arrived to their relief. After this very fortunate escape, it was deemed prudent to withdraw towards the garrison, to avoid the peril threatened by the blowing up of the remaining ships. The brigadier, however, visited two other ships on his return, and landed nine officers, two priests, and 334 private soldiers and seamen, all Spaniards, which, with one Spanish officer and eleven Frenchmen, who had floated on shore upon a piece of wreck on the preceding evening, made the total number saved amount to 357. Many of the prisoners were severely, and some of them dreadfully wounded. They were conveyed to the hospital, where every attention was paid them which humanity could dictate.

In the course of the day, the remaining eight ships severally blew up with violent explosions; one only escaped the effect of the red-hot shot, which it was thought proper to burn, there being no possibility of saving her. The admiral's flag remained flying on board his ship till she was totally consumed.

The loss sustained by the enemy could never be properly ascertained; but from the information of the prisoners, and the numbers seen dead on board the ships, it was estimated at 2000 men, including the prisoners.

The loss of the garrison, on the other hand, when the duration and quantity of the enemy's fire are considered, was almost incredibly trifling. It consisted in one officer, and fifteen men killed; five officers, and sixty-three men wounded.

On the succeeding day a flag of truce went with a letter from general Eliott to the duc de Crillon, and some letters from the Spanish officers, prisoners, were sent by the same conveyance. The gratitude expressed by all the prisoners, for their deliverance from the complicated horrors with which they were surrounded, was gratifying to humanity. They had been led to expect no quarter from the British garrison, an opinion artfully instilled by their officers, to aid their courage by the suggestions of despair.

After the signal failure of their great attempt, the Spaniards probably gave up the hope of reducing Gibralter by force, but they evidently relinquished that hope with great reluctance, for the combined fleets still remained in the bay, with a view to oppose the relief of the garrison, which was about this time to be attempted by lord Howe.

The combined fleets had been reinforced, by the occasional arrival of ships, both of the line and inferior rates. On the evening of the 10th, a very fresh westerly wind set in, which, as the night advanced, increased to a hurricane. In the course of the night many signal guns of distress were fired from the ships of the combined fleet, and at day-break the St. Michael, a Spanish ship, mounting 72 guns, was discovered in a crippled state, close inshore, off Orange's bastion; she was under close-reefed courses, and had lost her mizen top-mast. After having two men killed and two wounded by the garrison batteries, she fell on shore near to the south bastion, and immediately struck her colours. She was soon afterwards taken possession of by captain Curtis, who expeditiously landed the prisoners, and carried out anchors to prevent her going further on shore. She was commanded by Don Juan Moreno, a chief d'Escadre, and had on board about 650 men. She was afterwards got off without having sustained any damage, and was condemned as a lawful prize to the garrison of Gibralter. The fleet of the enemy had suffered very much by the gale; a ship of the line and a frigate were on shore near the Orange Grove, and a French ship of the line had lost her fore-mast and bowsprit. Two others were forced from their anchors, and ran to the eastward.

At three in the afternoon of the 11th, the signals made by the enemy indicated the approach of the British fleet. About sun-set of that day, the Latona frigate anchored under the walls of the garrison, at which time the van of the British fleet was perceived in the Gut. The Spanish admiral shewed no disposition to oppose the reinforcements being thrown into the garrison, but from a want of timely attention to the circumstances of the navigation, only four or five transports could enter the bay. The rest, with the fleet, were obliged to pass to the eastward into the Mediterranean. The fleet consisted of 34 sail of the line, eleven of which were three-deckers, with 6 frigates, and 31 ordnance transports, conveying a reinforcement of upwards of 1600 men for the garrison.

Early in the morning of the 12th, captain Curtis sailed in the Latona, to apprise lord Howe of the situation of the enemy's fleet. At noon of that day, the British squadron appeared in good order off Estepona, or Marbella, and the transports, with the frigates, were working to windward, to gain the bay. As they approached the isthmus, the enemy saluted them from their mortars, and fired upon them from behind the eastern advanced guard-house.

The combined fleets, meanwhile, were very active in repairing their damages, and in forming a line of battle along the shore. In the evening of the 12th, a number of troops were embarked on board them from the camp. At night the Panther man-of-war, with several of the British transports, reached the bay. The enemy persevered in their cannonade from their land batteries, and made some fruitless attempts with shells to burn the St. Michael. The fire from the garrison was more than commonly brisk, as such a material supply of ammunition had been thrown in, and the effects were very perceptible in the enemy's works.

On the 13th of October, the combined fleets weighed anchor, and stood out evidently with an intention of preventing the transports from reaching the garrison. They amounted to 44 ships of the line, with a vast number of frigates and other smaller vessels. By the superior conduct of the British admiral, however, he was enabled to throw all the supplies into the garrison, and manœuvred his fleet so as not to shun an engagement, even with so marked a superiority of force as the enemy opposed to him. He lay in a close line to leeward of the combined fleets, but they did not think it proper to profit by the advantage of the wind.

On the 18th, the Buffalo man-of-war, with the rest of the transports, got in, and at noon of the same day, four or five ships of the line, under the orders of lord Mulgrave, were detached to the garrison with the 25th and 59th regiments. His lordship disembarked the troops with the greatest expedition, and rejoined the admiral off Tetuan, who, having now accomplished the object of his expedition, resolved to embrace the favourable wind that then prevailed, to carry him out to the westward. On the following morning, therefore, at day-break, lord Howe, under an easy sail, stood with his fleet in close order towards the Straits, the combined fleet, that was to the eastward, and consequently to windward of him, steering the same course. On the preceding evening, captain Curtis had gone off in the Latona, to communicate to the admiral the gover-

nor's confidential dispatches, and no opportunity offering for his return to the garrison, he was obliged to remain on board the fleet.

On the morning of the 20th, the wind shifted to the northward, and lord Howe having got clear of the Straits, he formed his fleet to leeward, to receive the enemy, who still kept the weather-gage. By this circumstance they were left, uninterruptedly, to take the distance at which they should think proper to engage; but in place of confiding in their great superiority, (for they had no less than 46 ships in their line) and aiming at a close and decisive action, they began their cannonade at sun-set on the van and rear of the British fleet, seeming to point their chief attack on the latter, and continued their fire along their whole line, at a considerable distance, and with little effect, until ten at night. The fire was only returned occasionally from different ships of the English fleet, as the nearer approach of the enemy, at times, afforded a more favourable opportunity for making an impression upon them.

As it was not the policy of the British admiral to seek, with so very inferior a force, a renewal of the action, (particularly as he had so successfully relieved the garrison) and as the enemy seemed studiously to shun a closer engagement, the fleets separated in the night, the combined fleets having hauled their wind, and stood on with a great press of sail.

The 2nd of February, 1783, the duc de Crillon informed the governor, by a flag of truce, that the preliminaries of a general peace had been signed at Paris on the 20th of January, between Great Britain, France, and Spain. When the boats met, the Spaniards rose up, in a seeming transport of joy, and cried out, *We are all friends!*—delivering the letters with the greatest apparent satisfaction. Previous to the meeting of the boats, the enemy discharged about thirty rounds, but never after the delivery of the letters fired upon the garrison. In the evening the British artillery likewise ceased. On the following day, the Spaniards advanced from their works, and conversed with the English sentries.

Admiral Graves, sailing from Jamaica, in the month of July, with a fleet of seven ships of the line, among which was the Ville de Paris, and about a hundred sail of merchantmen under convoy, was taken in a storm off Newfoundland, which proved so violent, that five of his line of battle-ships were lost, and among them the valuable French prize, together with a considerable number of the merchant-men.

This was followed by an accident attended with circumstances of a peculiarly melancholy nature. The Royal George of 108 guns was undergoing a careening at Portsmouth; and for that purpose she was laid, in a certain degree, on her side. Admiral Kempenfeldt, who commanded her, was writing in his cabin, and his crew were nearly all between decks, when a sudden squall arose, which threw the ship on her side; her gun-ports being open, she was almost instantly filled with water, and was carried to the bottom; and that gallant and accomplished veteran, with above 900 of his men, was lost.

When we turn our attention towards the East Indies, we find the British forces more successful than in the West. After the defeat of colonel Baillie, the whole Carnatic was evacuated by the British, and Madras itself might be considered as in a state of blockade. The arrival of the indefatigable sir Eyre Coote, in the latter end of 1780, and the vigorous measures which he pursued, effected a sudden and unexpected change; and relieved, almost at a single blow, the Carnatic from the ravages of a dangerous and remorseless enemy. In two days after his arrival he took his seat at the council-board, and produced orders from the supreme government of Bengal, for the suspension of Mr. Whitehill, the president, whose intemperate conduct had been a chief cause of alienating the affections of the Nizam.

Upon the arrival of sir Eyre Coote, the troops were in a wretched state of despondency, the sepoys deserting, the inhabitants treacherous, and all resources cut off. The general, therefore, ordered despatches at the same time to sir Edward Hughes, and to general Goddard, to urge them to be active in distressing the possessions of Hyder on the Malabar coast, and to promote as much as possible a peace with the Mahrattas.

In the beginning of the year 1781, Hyder's force, within the boundaries of the Carnatic alone, was estimated at above 100,000 men; whilst that of sir Eyre Coote did not exceed 7000.

The two armies encountered near Porto Novo, on the 1st of July. At seven in the

morning, the British troops proceeded from that place, and after an hour's march, came in sight of the enemy strongly posted. Hyder's artillery was well served by Europeans, or those instructed by them, and did considerable execution. In this critical situation, a bold movement was necessary; and the British general determined to turn the right of the enemy; fortunately the country accorded to his wishes, and, by this movement, he was enabled to take the enemy obliquely, and avoid the full front and fire of their works and batteries; in this manner the first line only decided the fortune of the day. Though Hyder, with great dexterity and promptness, formed a new front to receive the British general, and detached a large body of infantry to prevent the second line from obtaining possession of some high grounds, yet at length European order and discipline was victorious over the undisciplined rabble of an Eastern camp. Hyder was obliged to retreat, after leaving 3000 of his best troops dead on the field of battle.

In the course of the following month, the British gained a second victory over Hyder, after fighting from nine in the morning till sun-set, within about sixteen miles of the city of Trepassore.

Some gentlemen of the factory at fort Marlborough, in the month of August, undertook an expedition against Sumatra; and all the Dutch settlements on the western coast of that island were reduced without any loss. The town and fortress of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country, (one of the most valuable of the Dutch settlements on the continent of India,) surrendered by capitulation to the English on the 12th of November, after a siege of 22 days.

The expulsion of the rajah Cheit Sing, from the zemindary of Benares, though a domestic concern of the company, is become important from the share it has had in the trial of Mr. Hastings. The rajah Cheit Sing succeeded his father in the year 1770, whose establishment in the succession had been a great object with the English East India company.

On the death of Sujah Ul Dowla in 1775, the country of Benares was ceded to the English; and the rajah continued in the same situation, to the East India company, as he had stood in to the nabob vizier, viz. as a feudal vassal, at a settled rate of tribute, which, it is by some asserted, could not legally be increased without the rajah's consent. The exigencies of the year 1778, however, induced the governor-general, Mr. Hastings, to make some extraordinary requisitions from the vassals of the company; and the rajah, Chiet Sing, was required to contribute an extraordinary subsidy of five lacks of rupees, or £60,000. It was alleged, that the rajah was disaffected to the British interest, and was desirous, as well as others of the native powers, to become independent of the company, by the aid of the French. With great reluctance, the rajah was induced to consent to the payment; and the requisition being repeated during three years, and every year worse paid than before, a demand of 2000 cavalry was at length added to the former, with which the rajah declared himself absolutely unable to comply.

On the 7th of July, 1781, Mr. Hastings proceeded on a political tour, in order to settle the affairs of Benares, and to restore order in the dominion of the nabob vizier; and also to obtain supplies from every quarter, and to conclude a separate peace with Madajee Sceindia, through the intervention of colonel Muir. The governor-general was met by the rajah at Busar, he complained of the exorbitance of the governor's demands, which were the payment of a crore of rupees, or £1,200,000, and the surrender of the fortress of Bidjegur, which he considered as "his family residence, the deposit of his women, and of his honour."

The governor, dissatisfied with the non-compliance of the rajah, laid his person under an arrest soon after his arrival at Benares, and he was committed by Mr. Markham, the resident, to the custody of the military. A large body of people immediately crossed the river from Ramnagur, and surrounded the palace where the rajah was confined; a desperate conflict ensued; and the muskets of the sepoys not being loaded, through a motive of delicacy, it was alleged, lest they should seem to mistrust their noble prisoner, the English lieutenants Stalker, Scot, and Simms, were killed on the spot, and not more than 20 of the whole party escaped with their lives.

Before major Popham could bring up the remainder of his detachment to Benares, the rajah had effected his escape, and took refuge in his fortress of Bidjegur, which he was soon afterwards obliged to relinquish; and, taking

with him all the treasure he could conveniently convey, bid an everlasting adieu to his country. The booty found in the fortress was considerable, and, being divided according to the improper proportion, which custom has sanctioned with respect to prize-money, produced £36,000 for the share of the commander-in-chief, and only £6 for that of the common soldier!

The governor-general concluded a treaty of alliance and amity with Madajee Scindia of Onde, on the 13th of October.

1782. In the present distressful and distracted state of the presidency of Madras, lord Macartney was appointed, in the preceding year, to preside at that board; a nobleman whose integrity and experience well qualified him for the important station, and whose desire of signalizing his administration, by the restoration of good order, overcame the difficulties attending it, and induced him to devote his time and his talents to the business of reform and internal regulation. We find him co-operating in a spirited prosecution of the military and naval enterprises which distinguished the entrance upon his office. The successful expedition against Negapatam had been undertaken by his advice; and under his auspices sir Edward Hughes continued the train of achievements, which had done honour to the commanders, by sea and land, in the late campaign, by the reduction of the valuable Dutch factory of Trincomalé, on the isle of Ceylon, at the opening of the present year.

Exertion was now rendered more necessary by the appearance of a new enemy on the stage, who might be considered as of a very formidable character, even if we contemplate his strength and power of annoying us abstractedly; but he will become more so, if we consider them relatively to the wants of those enemies with whom we had been before contending. Whilst Hyder Ali had been making the greatest efforts for the improvement of his army, it was not in his power to establish such a naval force as was requisite for the defence of his dominions; and the consequence was, that he had the mortification to see them insulted by the English. This want was now to be supplied by France. That crown had prevailed on the Dutch states to join its alliance against Great Britain, and it was above all things desirous to attach its new allies, by convincing them of the good policy of uniting with France in overpowering a nation, which, by its industry, and the protection of a free government, had been enabled to engross a great part of the trade of Europe. With a view to that object, and to the maintenance of the French interests in Hindostan, by the protection of Hyder Ali, admiral de Suffrein, an officer of high repute, was sent to India, with a fleet of ten sail of the line, one 50 gun ship, and several frigates.

When the arrival of this fleet off the Coromandel coast was announced to sir Edward Hughes, he was so far from declining the combat, though he had only eight ships of the line and one 50 gun ship, and several of these out of condition, that he immediately put to sea, and captured six of the store ships under the French admiral's convoy. Under all the disadvantages of a tempestuous sea, and his antagonist's superior force, sir Edward then boldly challenged him to a trial of strength; and, in the battle which ensued, he obtained a complete victory, after a desperate engagement, in which both fleets sustained great damage.

Such despatch was used in refitting the shattered vessels, that within two months the rival fleets were enabled to encounter a second time. In this engagement, the brunt of the battle fell on sir Edward Hughes' ship, the Superbe, the Monmouth, and the Monarcha. Nothing could exceed the fierceness with which de Suffrein led his van to the attack of these, nor the intrepid firmness with which they sustained his reiterated assaults. In the event, nothing appears to have been gained on either side, to balance the heavy loss which their crews had suffered, but the honour which remained to the English, from having fought a superior fleet, so commanded, without having been obliged to quit the scene of action. If we consider the sanguine hopes entertained by all the enemies of Great Britain, from the arrival of the French fleet, and particularly by Hyder Ali, who expected, by its co-operation, to have been enabled to accomplish all his views of conquest in the Carnatic, we cannot but hold these actions of the British admiral in the most important and meritorious light.

Nor was this the only disappointment which Hyder suffered at this time. It had long been a grand object with that prince to gain possession of Tellicherry, a fortress on the Malabar coast, whose value was enhanced by

its situation on the confines of the kingdoms of Mysore and Canara. He had held it in a state of blockade from the commencement of the war. But all his prospects in this quarter were blasted, at this time, by the arrival of a strong reinforcement to the garrison from Bombay; which enabled major Abingdon, the commandant, to take the besieging army by surprise, and to drive them, with great slaughter, from their fortified camp.

These advantages were, however, soon balanced by a heavy loss on the side of the English. Colonel Braithwaite was stationed, with what was called the southern army, consisting of 2000 veteran infantry, 250 cavalry, and thirteen field-pieces, on the Coleroon, which makes the southern frontier of the Tanjore country. In this situation he was attacked by Tippoo Saib, at the head of 20,000 Indians, and 400 French troops under M. Lally. The battle which ensued was continued three days; and never was a victory contested with more resoluteness on both sides. We cannot contemplate, without admiration, the English commander on the third day, when his troops were much reduced and worn down with fatigue, forming the remains of his brave men into a hollow square, with his artillery to guard his several fronts. Thus disposed, he repelled the impetuous assaults of Tippoo Saib's cavalry. But when Lally, as their last effort, led his Europeans to the attack with fixed bayonets, whilst the Indians attacked him, at the same time, in front and flank, he was at last overwhelmed by numbers, and was constrained to yield his enemies the honour of the day, by surrendering himself and the few followers which had not fallen in the last dreadful conflict.

The advantage derived to the enemy from this exploit was increased by the arrival of M. de Bussy, with a reinforcement of French troops to Hyder's army. This he immediately availed himself of by the reduction of Cuddalore and Permacoil; after which the rajah prepared to renew his attempt on the strong fortress of Wandewash.

Not a moment was now to be lost by the English commanders, in providing against the consequences of this reverse of fortune. Disconcerted by it in his views of conquest, sir Eyre Coote now thought only of preventing his enemy from reaping the fruits of his son's victory, by extending his conquests in the Carnatic. Perceiving by the rajah's movements that he had learned caution by defeat, as soon as he had provided for the defence of Wandewash, he adopted the only effectual expedient to bring him to a pitched battle—by threatening Arnee, a fortress which made his chief magazine for the war. This movement had the desired effect. Hyder marching his grand army to its relief, a battle ensued near its walls, in which the British troops behaved with their accustomed valour, and were rewarded with a complete victory; their enemy being routed and driven from the field. In this his last battle, Hyder had the mortification to experience that, after all his labour to form his troops after the European model, he could not give them that firmness which characterizes European troops, and that discipline which enables their commanders to rally and bring them again into action, when they appear to be broken and vanquished.

No military action, deserving of notice, occurred during the remainder of the campaign. Though not victorious, the Mysorean may yet be said to have finished, on the field of Arnee, that memorable career, which had raised him to a height of martial fame, that had never been before reached by any Indian chief. It seemed as if Coote was destined to contend only with this illustrious prince. His strength being exhausted, and his health impaired, by continual fatigue, he retired to a life of repose, during his few remaining days, covered with the honours which he had acquired by his signal services to his country.

The naval campaign, in the mean time, was prosecuted with redoubled energy. De Suffrein, who still retained his superior force, was desirous to bring his rival to an action before the arrival of the reinforcement which was now on its way from England. His challenge was accepted; and, fortunately for sir Edward Hughes, he was enabled to compensate, in some degree, for his inferiority of force, by gaining the wind in the beginning of the engagement. Making every possible advantage of this incident, he commenced the action with such fury, that, in one hour, several of the French ships were much shattered, and their line was thrown into disorder. But at this instant a sudden change of wind afforded the enemy an opportunity to escape, and, at the same time, disabled the English admiral from profiting by his victory.

TRINCOMALE was the grand object in this naval campaign. The French admiral was ardently desirous to recover a fortress so highly prized by their ally. Sir Edward Hughes, on the contrary, neglected no means for its preservation; but all his endeavours were frustrated by the activity of his antagonist, who availed himself of the absence of the English fleet to make himself master of the place.

THERE was now no remedy for the extreme chagrin felt by the English admiral and his crews, at seeing the French flag flying on the citadel, on their return to its relief, but that of a victory over the enemy, who had wrested this valuable acquisition out of their hands. To this, therefore, they had recourse. In defiance of disparity of force, which was now greater than before, they challenged their enemy to a battle. The engagement commenced with a furious attack from five of the enemy's line upon the Exeter and the Isis, the foremost of the van. These ships bore their repeated assaults, though reduced almost to wrecks, without striking; but the Exeter was obliged at last to leave the line. In the mean time, the centre divisions were engaged, the line was soon broken, and the ships of each fleet spent their fury on some rival, which they singled out for the combat. These dreadful conflicts were continued during four hours, without any decisive advantage. At seven o'clock in the evening, the body of the French fleet hauled their wind to the southward, but were exposed to a most severe fire from the ships in the English rear for twenty minutes after, when, getting clear off, the action entirely ceased.

DURING these warlike operations, negotiations for a peace had been carried on with the Mahrattas. A separate treaty having been concluded with Madajee Scindia in the preceding year, that prince became the mediator in these negotiations, which happily terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance, very advantageous to the British interests. Its most material articles were those which stipulated, that all places and countries which had been taken by the English since the treaty concluded by colonel Upton should be restored. That Salsette and the adjoining islands, together with Baroach and its territory, acquisitions of the most valuable nature, should be confirmed to the English. That Ragonant should be allowed four months to determine on his future residence; and that, on condition of his voluntarily repairing to Madajee Scindia, he should be allowed a pension of 25,000 rupees a month, (about £36,000 a-year) but that the English should afford him no protection. With respect to Hyder Ali, the Mahrattas engaged that, within six months after the ratification of the treaty, he should be obliged to relinquish to the English and their allies all places which he had taken from them during the war. But the most material article was that by which the paishwa bound himself, and the subordinate chiefs, not to suffer any other Europeans to establish factories in their dominions; and to hold no intercourse of friendship with any other European nation, except the Portuguese, with respect to their antient settlements in the Mahratta countries.

THE principles which formed the basis of this treaty were at once honourable to the British and to the Mahrattas, and evinced the mutual sincerity of the parties. An event so favourable to Great Britain was soon succeeded by the death of Hyder Ali, which relieved the East India company from a powerful, restless, and able enemy.

CHAPTER XXIX.

GEORGE III.

[1783, 1784.]

Conclusion of the American War—Its Influence in America—Character of Washington—Mr. Pitt's Efforts in favour of Parliamentary Reform—Mr. Fox's India Bill—Dismissal of the Coalition Ministry—Accession of Mr. Pitt—Violent Debates in Parliament—Election for Westminster—Arduous Struggle of Mr. Fox—Debates on that Event—Important Measures proposed and carried by Mr. Pitt.

THE prospect of peace was for a while obscured; but its cheering light at length broke forth. The emperor of Germany, having contracted a partiality for France, saw with pleasure the difficulties in which Great Britain had involved herself, and encouraged other powers to treat her with disrespect; but he thought proper to offer his mediation, as did also the unfriendly czarina. The king accepted their offers, which, however, had little influence on the treaty.

AMONG the French ministers, the chief promoter of peace was the count de Vergennes, who, finding that the war had ceased to be popular, and being satisfied with the emancipation of the Americans, vigorously counteracted in the cabinet the efforts of the advocates of sanguinary hostility. The original repugnance of Lewis to the war may be supposed to have rendered him zealous in the same cause. No prince, indeed, more earnestly wished for peace than this benevolent and unambitious monarch.

WHEN provisional articles had been adjusted with the American commissioners at Paris, preliminaries of peace with France and Spain were signed by Mr. Fitzherbert, (afterwards lord St. Helen's) and were approved by the house of peers, but not by the commons. The definitive treaties, and even the preliminaries, with Holland, were delayed above seven months from that time. The most important stipulations were of the following tenor. The thirteen colonies were declared to be "free, sovereign, and independent states;" and their limits were marked by a line drawn from the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, passing toward one of the heads of the Connecticut river, thence to lake Ontario, through the middle of that great body of water, and of the lakes Erie and Huron, to the lake of the Woods, and thence to the Missisippi, which was to form a boundary as far to the southward as fort Mobile and the borders of Florida. The right of taking fish on the borders of Newfoundland, and in the gulf of St. Lawrence, was conceded to the inhabitants of the new republic; and the Missisippi, from its source to the ocean, was left open to both nations. The loyalists were in a manner abandoned by the court which they had served; for their interests, in point of restitution of property and rights, were merely *recommended* to the provincial assemblies. The French were indulged with a restitution of Pondicherry and their other settlements in the East Indies, of St. Lucia in the West, and of Goree in Africa. Tobago was ceded to them, and, with this exception, they consented to relinquish all the West India islands which they had reduced since the commencement of the war. The Spaniards were not required to restore Minorca; and the whole territory of Florida was again subjected to their sway. They had endeavoured, during the negotiation, to prevail upon the court to resign Gibralter;

but the proposition was rejected with disdain. The treaty with the Dutch left them in possession of all their former territories, except Negapatam.

For some years after the close of the war, the American republic rather declined than advanced in dignity and prosperity. The congress could not maintain national credit, procure due respect from foreign powers, or enforce the submission of the different provinces to its authority. Attentively considering this state of affairs, Mr. Washington, then a private citizen, earnestly recommended a revision of the federal system. A convention was proposed, for an improvement of the confederacy; a plan, which gave greater power to the congress, and rendered the provinces less independent and more connected, was adopted by the well-disposed majority; and Washington was unanimously chosen president of the United States. The influence arising from his character and reputation, added to the power with which he was now invested, elevated him, on this occasion, almost to the rank of a sovereign.

In his journey from Mount-Vernon, in Virginia, to Philadelphia, he was hailed as the guardian of his country, by the spectators who thronged the roads. He was escorted by persons of high character and distinction, praised in the addresses of corporations, honoured with triumphal arches. After a short indulgence in the festivities of the Pennsylvanian capital, he crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, and proceeded to New York, where he was inaugurated and proclaimed president. He formed his cabinet of able men; Mr. Jefferson, general Knox, colonel Hamilton, and Mr. Randolph.

The republic was then at war with the savages; and had disputes with the Spaniards on the subject of boundaries and navigation, and with Great Britain on supposed infractions of the treaty. To put an end to the war, the president sent negotiators; but it was not before the year 1790, that the Creek barbarians would agree to a treaty. As late as the year 1794, hostilities were continued by various tribes; but general Wayne then restored peace. With the British government, it was stipulated in the same year, that the posts occupied by the subjects of our sovereign, within the territories of the United States, should be relinquished, and that compensation should be made for irregular naval captures: but French goods were still seizable in American vessels; a freedom which so exasperated the French (who acrimoniously censured their old allies for submitting to it) that it required all the address of the president to prevent a war with that nation. With the Spanish court a treaty was concluded in 1795, by which the limits of dominion were settled in a satisfactory manner for the Americans, who were, at the same time, gratified with the free navigation of the Mississippi.

The high character of the president entitles him to encomiastic notice. Judgment, fortitude, integrity, and correctness of morals formed the chief features of his portrait. He pursued with undeviating steadiness what he conceived to be right; and, in the grand object of his political life, his perseverance commanded success. As a warrior, he was brave without rashness; as a commander, cautious and vigilant; strict, without inordinate severity; humane, without facility of compliance or weakness of indulgence. As a statesman, he attended to practical advantage, rather than to speculative perfection. If Great Britain had allowed to the Americans the full benefit of her constitution, he would not have renounced her control, nor resisted her authority. But he knew that they had a fair claim to just government; and, for his strenuous efforts in support of that claim, his memory will never be reproached by the manly advocates of honourable freedom.

The manner in which Mr. Fox and his associates gained possession of the cabinet, did not give general satisfaction to the public. It seemed rather to be a factious encroachment on the prerogative of the sovereign, than a fair offer of new counsellors to his unconstrained assent and approbation. It might therefore be supposed, that the king would embrace the earliest opportunity of shaking off a yoke, to which necessity alone had induced him to submit. While he waited for a conjuncture favourable to his views, he acquiesced, with seeming readiness, in the schemes of the new ministers.

A most interesting debate occurred, when Mr. William Pitt renewed his efforts, without success, in recommendation of parliamentary reform, for which many petitions had been presented in the course of the session. He lamented the May 7, 1783.

decline of the genuine spirit of liberty, and the progress of courtly influence and corruption. He wished that the house of commons might become a true organ of the public voice, and that the popular part of the constitution might be restored to its due weight and importance. With this view he proposed an augmentation of the number of representatives for counties, and of members for the metropolis. Mr. Powys, and lords North and Mulgrave, opposed the scheme with all the obstinacy of prejudice; Mr. Thomas Pitt approved it in part; Mr. Fox and Mr. Beaufoy contended for a reform, on the grounds of reason and constitutional expediency; and Mr. Dundas, regardless of the sentiments which he had delivered in a former debate on this subject, supported the propositions of his new friend, whom he expected again to see in the enjoyment of ministerial power.

From the time of the prorogation to the next meeting of parliament, this country, undisturbed by the din of arms, was agitated by the contests of party. In the mean time, commerce, which had suffered greatly during the war, began to recover from its depression; and the arts, which had been neglected, revived with fresh lustre. Though the loss of the American colonies excited reflections degrading to the court, it was scarcely regretted by the people, who hoped to derive from the renewal of the trade with those provinces, benefits as considerable as any which had before accrued from their mutual intercourse.

The French government, at this time, pursued, with apparent zeal, those schemes of internal improvement which the war had interrupted; and when the empress of Russia, availing herself of the weakness of the khan of the Crimea, had taken possession of that peninsula, the count de Vergennes exerted the influence of his court, for the prevention of those hostilities, which so violent a procedure seemed to threaten. The British cabinet, on the contrary, encouraged the Turks to enter into a war with the Russians; but pacific persuasions were more successful, and all claim to the disputed territory was renounced by the porte.

Nov. 11. When the British parliament re-assembled, his majesty recommended two objects to its studious deliberation: the prevention of illicit trade, and the improvement of the state of the East India company. A committee of enquiry was appointed by the commons for the former business, and the members of the cabinet had frequent conferences on the latter subject. From the resolute spirit of Mr. Fox, some strong measure was expected; and the bill prepared by him exhibited traces of his bold and determined character. He introduced it by an able speech, which was admired even by those who decidedly disapproved his plan. He represented the subject of discussion as unusually important, connected with the best interests of the British empire, affecting the honour of the nation, and involving the fate and happiness of thirty millions of persons. The system of 1773, he said, had made a considerable change in the different departments of India administration; but it did not appear to be the result of the most judicious policy, or the most enlightened views; and it had by no means proved successful in the execution. Tyranny and rapacity still prevailed, and abuses of the grossest kind were repeated with connivance and encouragement. To obviate the ill effects of these continued enormities, and also to prevent the bankruptcy of the company, a new plan, comprehending all the energy of rigid reform, was essentially necessary. The authority of the directors, having so long been improperly and injuriously exercised, ought to be suspended, and the power of the company's servants ought to be reduced within the bounds of moderation, instead of being suffered to branch out into the wild luxuriance of licentiousness. The bill by which he hoped to effect this reform, embraced a great variety of objects. It required the strict obedience of the governor-general, and all the officers of the company, to the orders of commissioners named by parliament, who were to be assisted in their new trust by the advice of nine proprietors of India stock. It prohibited the rulers of the provinces from the exchange or acceptance of territory, from unprovoked invasions, the loan of troops to independent princes, and other unjust or unnecessary acts of power. It annulled all grants of monopoly, proscribed presents in general, and checked the assignment of farms to the servants of civil officers. It also provided for the proper treatment of protected princes, as well as for the security of the zeminders and polygars in their possessions, and pointed out a mode of adjusting

the dispute between the rajah of Tanjore and the nabob of Arcot. By the bill which nominated commissioners, all the powers of the former court of directors, and general court of proprietors, were granted to earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Frederick Montagu, and five other gentlemen, for four years; and they were not to be removed at the mere pleasure of the king, but only at the desire of either house of parliament. These, and other parts of his plan, the minister discussed with acuteness and spirit; and his chief partisans supported it with plausibility and animation.

This bold scheme met with strenuous and vehement opposition. Mr. William Pitt declared that he could not think of it without horror, and could not look at its harsh features without extreme disgust. Its tendency, he said, was hostile, both to private property and to public freedom. Its principles were so arbitrary and so violent, that every thing must yield to its influence. If the parliament should suffer it to be enforced, no property or person would be secure from the precedent which it would establish. The alleged necessity for such an invasion of purchased and chartered rights did not exist. The charges of delinquency and deficiency had not been substantiated to such an extent, as to authorize a breach of parliamentary faith, or a deviation from the national honour and probity. In addition to the general atrocity of the measure, the influence which it would create was dreadfully dangerous. It would subject the king to the permanent control of an aspiring faction; and the due balance of our admired constitution would be lost. Mr. Thomas Pitt considered the measure as a direct attack on the liberties of Englishmen; he was shocked at its gross injustice, and alarmed at its pernicious tendency. Mr. Dundas maintained, that all the humane and wise purposes of the framers of the two bills might be effected without a seizure of the property, or a violation of the franchises of the company; and he conjured his hearers not to assent to the creation of an enormous and unexampled influence, which might overbear the prerogative of the crown, and subvert the fabric of the constitution. Mr. William Grenville inveighed against the bill for the appointment of commissioners, as an instrument of influence and corruption, and as a step to the invasion of the most sacred rights. Mr. Powys, and other gentlemen, opposed it on similar grounds in strong and pointed terms.

These attacks were eagerly repelled by Mr. Fox. In a detail of calculation, he controverted those statements by which the directors had exaggerated the financial credit of the company. He ridiculed the dread of a dangerous violation of chartered rights, and contended, that former acts of regulation, which had not excited extraordinary alarm, had infringed existing charters. Grants of privileges might justly be altered, or even revoked, by the governing power of a nation, when they were grossly perverted and abused; and if any case ever called for such interference, the present most imperiously did. Commercial charters, more particularly than others, might be varied or annulled, in consequence of the flagrant misconduct of the society, or the individuals for whose benefit they were granted. They were either destructive, or suspensive of general rights, and therefore peculiarly required a vigilant inspection of the conduct of those who were thus favoured with exclusive grants. The apprehension which some members entertained, that the influence of the crown would be augmented by the scheme, he easily obviated; but he was less successful in dispelling the fears of those, who accused him of an intention of erecting a new power, a fourth estate, in the realm, an *imperium in imperio*. The company itself, he remarked, had long been assailed with similar objections; and no new power would be created in the present instance. The commissioners, undoubtedly, would have considerable influence; but, from their well-known characters, there was no reason to expect that they would make an improper use of it, and if they should be so inclined, the provisions of the two bills would sufficiently check them. The due execution of their trust would be secured by due regulations; they would be responsible for every act, and even for inaction. If they were liable to be dismissed at the will of the crown, there was no hope of rendering their appointment beneficial or salutary. The redress of India grievances could not be accomplished without the adoption of a permanent system; occasional expedients, and desultory measures, would merely palliate the evils which demanded a remedy.

Mr. Burke supported the bills with a

copious effusion of eloquence, of which I can only give a faint sketch. Having traced the history to a distant period, delineated the general character of the people, and noticed their laws and institutions, he examined the conduct and proceedings of the society which had acquired so large a portion of that once flourishing territory. Not content with moderate possessions, the directors, or the officers employed in their service, had devised extravagant projects, and undertaken extraordinary wars, for the extension of dominion and power. They had violated every treaty which they had concluded, and had betrayed every independent prince, with whom they had formed any connexion. They had arbitrarily interfered in the internal government of the princes who were dependent on the company, had exacted enormous aids and tribute, and had perpetrated various acts of injustice and criminality. In the government of the subject provinces, the happiness of the natives had been merely a secondary consideration. They were ruled with a rod of iron, plundered without mercy, oppressed without remorse. The evils which they endured were not alleviated with conciliatory manners, nor did the pride of state, or ostentation of charity, affect to repair the mischiefs which ambition and rapacity had occasioned. Other conquerors had left monuments of art or beneficent utility; but if the English should at this moment be driven out of India, nothing would remain to shew that it had been occupied, during the inglorious period of their dominion, by any thing better than the ouran-outang or the tiger.

Upon the whole, said Mr. Burke, it appeared, from fair and diligent enquiry, that the affairs of the company, from a long course of mismanagement, both political and commercial, were in a most disordered state; that our India territory, instead of being highly useful to Great Britain, was likely to become one of the greatest burdens of this nation; and that the abuses were so complicated and enormous, as to render a temporary transfer of the powers of the directors necessary, for rescuing the British character from disgrace, and preventing the ruin of our Asiatic interests.

Lord North was confident that the most salutary effects would flow from the regulations now proposed. He considered a society of merchants as unfit for the government of an extensive territory; and, as the powers granted to the company had been wantonly abused, he could not think it improper or unjust to suspend the operations of the charter. Mr. Erskine defended the two bills, both in point of policy and of right. Sir Henry Fletcher and sir Grey Cooper contended chiefly for their expediency.

The friends of the scheme prevailed on one occasion by a majority of 109; on another by a plurality of 114 votes. The commissioners' bill at length passed the house of commons; and the ministry confidently hoped to carry it into effect. But when the vessel destined for the relief of India was proceeding full sail, an unforeseen storm arose, by which the adventurous pilot was compelled to desist from his voyage.

Suspecting the ambition of Mr. Fox, the king watched with anxiety the progress of the India bill; but he had not formed any regular plan of action, when earl Temple, having requested an audience, warned him of the danger which menaced his prerogative, and urged him to oppose the erection of a new and dangerous power in his dominions. The consequence of the interview was an intimation circulated among the peers, that whoever should vote for the bill would be considered by his majesty an enemy. The effect of this interference soon appeared; and the views of the ministry were suddenly baffled and confounded.

On the second reading of the bill, the earl of Abingdon pronounced a severe invective against the scheme and its chief author. The bill, he said, contained propositions fatal to the just prerogative of the crown, and to the liberties and property of the people—propositions as pregnant with ambition and mischief as those which had inspired the minds of the antagonists of Charles I. The Cromwel of the day had endeavoured to support his plea of necessity by false statements, and had shewn himself a more daring violator of chartered rights than either the second Charles or James. His lordship then moved, that the judges should be ordered to give their opinions of the tendency of the bill, and advise whether it ought not to be rejected as unconstitutional and dangerous; but the peers exploded the motion, after a short debate. When the India company had been heard by counsel against the bill, the duke of Chandos moved for an

adiournment; and the duke of Portland took this opportunity of animadverting on the improper freedom which had been taken with the name and sentiments of a great personage. Earl Temple acknowledged the interview, and justified the advice which he had given to his sovereign. On a division, the opponents of the bill had a majority of eight votes.

Dec. 17. In the next debate which occurred on this subject, when earl Gower had pourtrayed the bill in the most unfavourable colours, the earl of Carlisle exhibited a very different picture of it. It bore in his eye the vestiges of truth and propriety, the features of wisdom and humanity. It held out a remedy for disorders which had risen to an alarming height, and promised the only security for the preservation of our India empire. These praises were disallowed by the earl of Coventry, but were justified by the earls of Sandwich and Derby. Lord Camden argued against the bill, pronouncing it to be unjust and unconstitutional; and it was also attacked by the eloquence of lord Rawdon. Its rejection was now decided by a majority of 19, the numbers being 95 and 76. The prince of Wales had before given his suffrage for it, but he did not vote on the final question.

This bill seems to have owed its rejection to clamour and faction, rather than to a real sense of its demerit, or a sincere conviction of its unjustifiable violence. It may be argued, that when the public faith is pledged to a charter, by which certain privileges are granted, those who expect to derive benefit from the grant are bound to make a proper use of these favours, and to keep constantly in view the grand object of the institution; and that if they so grossly fail in these respects, as not only to endanger their own association, but even to expose to great injury and disgrace the nation to which they belong, strict justice demands the revocation or suspension of such charter, and the laws of honour sanction the demand; for, the obligation being violated by one party, the promises and stipulations of the other also become void, from the very nature of agreement. On this ground the bill may be said to have been in a great measure justified by the very reprehensible conduct of the East India company. With regard to the allegation, that it menaced the king with imperious control, it may be observed, that the patronage of India, added to other sources of power, might have enabled an ambitious minister to domineer over every branch of the legislature; and the influence of the king might have been more nominal than real. But it ought not to be forgotten, that though the sovereign would not have had the power of discarding the new directors of the affairs of Hindostan, he could at any time dissolve the parliament by which they were supported, and, by thus appealing to the people, might obtain from their loyalty the means of re-establishing his prerogative.

The king's interference did not escape the severity of parliamentary animadversion. Mr. Baker proposed, that the commons should declare it to be highly criminal to report any opinion of the king upon a bill depending in either house, with a view of influencing the votes of the members. Mr. William Pitt urged the house to disregard idle rumours; adding, that if ministers really thought themselves precluded, by the secret influence of others, from the effective pursuit of their own measures, they ought immediately to resign their employments. Lord Nugent applauded the conduct of earl Temple, as an instance of that good old English spirit, which would not be silent in the moment of danger, and of that patriotic virtue, which would check the career of a daring faction. Lord North affirmed, that none but those who, as ministers, were responsible for their proceedings, had a right to offer advice to his majesty on points depending in parliament. Mr. Fox reprobated the royal interference in legislative deliberations as at all times unconstitutional, but as particularly alarming when exercised for the defeat of a bill, which had been demanded by the most urgent necessity, had triumphed over strenuous opposition by the force of argument, and had been honoured with the sanction of a very considerable majority of the most respectable characters in the nation. If such conduct should be tamely endured, the house of commons, he said, would become an organ of despotism, and its voice would degenerate into a mere organ of secret influence. He rallied Mr. Pitt on his eagerness to re-enter into office, and declared himself not unwilling to retire, when the will of his majesty should be announced for that purpose. If a new ministry would be formed, without the confidence of that house or of the people, he had no desire of being a member of such a cabinet.

The motion passed by a majority of 73; and it was also voted, that whoever should advise the king to prevent or interrupt the discharge of the important duty, of providing a remedy for the evils of India, should be considered as an enemy to his country.

These offensive resolutions hastened the explosion of the king's displeasure against the two leaders of the coalition. A message was sent, soon after midnight, to Mr. Fox and lord North, demanding the seals of their offices, without the indulgence or compliment of an interview. Their associates in the ministry were likewise discarded; and the advice of earl Temple and Mr. Pitt supplied the vacancies. The marquis of Carmarthen and Mr. Townshend (who had been created lord Sydney) were constituted secretaries of state; earl Gower became president of the council, in the room of lord Stormont; the great seal was again consigned to lord Thurlow; the privy-seal was transferred from the earl of Carlisle to the duke of Rutland; the removal of lord Townshend from the board of ordnance, made way for the re-appointment of the duke of Richmond; and lord Howe was placed at the head of the admiralty. Mr. Dundas was not forgotten amidst these changes, being appointed treasurer of the navy; nor was Mr. Grenville left without an employment in the service of his country, for he was declared paymaster of the forces, though he was not long permitted to enjoy that post, without the participation of lord Mulgrave. Mr. Pitt secured for himself the command of this new phalanx, and the chief direction of affairs of state, by obtaining the combined offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.

The leaders of the coalition, confiding in their parliamentary strength, resolved to obstruct the career of their rivals, by spirited and vigorous efforts. They procured from the majority of the commons, an address against the prorogation or dissolution of the parliament. The business of the treasury was impeded by restrictive votes; the bill against mutiny was deferred; and strong resolutions were fulminated against the court.

1784.

After a vote which displeased the new lords of the treasury, as it restricted the acceptance of bills from India, the commons adjourned for some weeks. In this interval Mr. Pitt's party gained friends, and rose in popularity. Resolutions calculated to limit the disposal of public money marked the first appearance of Mr. Fox after the recess; and two motions from the earl of Surry followed, one of which stated the indispensable necessity of forming an administration which should enjoy the confidence of that house and of the public; while the other arraigned the late appointments, as being accompanied by new and extraordinary circumstances, not tending to conciliate or engage the confidence of the house. In the course of debate, Mr. Pitt affirmed, that he had entered into office to avert the mischiefs which might be dreaded from the violent schemes of the framers of the India bill, and disclaimed all thoughts of resigning his post, in compliance with the factious wishes of such men. The crown, he said, had an indisputable right to make choice of ministers; and, as he and his colleagues had not yet been found incompetent or unfaithful to their trust, the house could not, without a palpable encroachment on the prerogative, insist on their dismission. Mr. Erskine was surprised at the inconsiderate boldness of the man, who could venture to act as minister in an assembly which he had insulted and reviled, and which held very different principles from his own, particularly in the grand business that ought to be the first object of the attention of government; and he contrasted this behaviour of the young statesman with that of his illustrious father, who had uniformly suffered his political existence to depend on the good opinion of the house of commons. Mr. Fox, while he admitted the royal right of ministerial selection, contended, that if the crown should fix upon individuals whom the commons might deem unable to sustain the weight of public affairs, the house might demand a resignation, without adducing any specific charge, or stating any instance of misconduct; or that there might be circumstances in the appointment itself, so obviously menacing the constitution with danger, as to justify the interposition of the representatives of the people. The house adopted one of the motions without dividing; the other passed by a majority of 54. As a sequel to these resolutions, it was voted, that the continuance of the new ministers in office was repugnant to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of the king and his people.

Jan. 12.

Having prepared a bill for the regulations of the affairs of India, Mr. Pitt recommended it to the house, as one which would be equally efficacious with that of Mr. Fox, in the correction of abuses and disorders, without creating undue influence, invading property, or violating charters. Mr. Fox, however, opposed it, as augmenting the influence of the crown, fostering abuses, and endangering, by absurd provisions, the welfare and preservation of India; and it was rejected, with little debate, though the difference of number was very inconsiderable, the votes being 222 against 214. Mr. Fox then proposed the revival of his plan, with such modifications as might render it more generally acceptable; but he wished to know whether the parliament would be suffered to discuss it without interruption. Mr. Pitt, though repeatedly urged to explain the king's equivocal answer to the late address, long remained silent amidst the clamours of the house; and when some warm expressions from general Conway provoked him to rise and speak, he refused to answer what he deemed irregular interrogatories. A strong address to his majesty was now expected from the irritation of the assembly; but Mr. Fox calmly moved for an adjournment.

To promote an union of parties, many independent members of the house of commons held meetings at the St. Alban's Tavern, and voted an address to Mr. Pitt and the duke of Portland. The former replied, that he would agree to such an union as might be consistent with honour and principle; and the latter professed his anxious desire of an establishment of such an administration as might be entitled to general confidence and support. An interview was proposed by the mediators, and even urged by the king; but his grace required as a preliminary, that Mr. Pitt should comply with the wish of the commons, by a resignation either actual or virtual; and the minister's refusal put an end to the affair.

It was the opinion of some very distinguished characters, that the popularity of Mr. Pitt, and the whole of his colleagues, was of a delusive and unfounded nature, and that its destruction could be at no great distance. This opinion, however, was not fully realized. The memorable contest between ministers and the house of commons continued for a long period, during which the popularity of the former rather increased than diminished; for in two keenly-contested elections, for the boroughs of Hertford and Hull, two distinguished friends of the former administration were rejected. These victories on the part of the new administration, might indeed be regarded as trifling; but this cannot be affirmed respecting the city of York, for which the poll was finally closed on the 6th of April, 1784, when the once venerated lord John Cavendish, a nobleman of unblemished character, and the most amiable manners, together with his fellow-candidate, were completely unsuccessful. Messrs. Foljambe and Weddel likewise declined their contest for the county of York. Mr. Fox himself had one of the severest struggles for the city of Westminster to be met with in the history of electioneering, and was at last with difficulty victorious. The candidates for this city were lord Hood, Mr. Fox, and sir Cecil Wray. For two days Mr. Fox had a majority over the other two candidates; but during the third day's contest, fortune seemed to have deserted him, owing to the powerful opposition of the friends of the crown. After the election had continued near a fortnight, all persons, except Mr. Fox and his friends, would have considered his cause as entirely hopeless; but they were not to be intimidated by the gigantic and formidable opposition of the first lord of the treasury. The mistake of ministers consisted in this, that they did not apprehend the election would be of long duration, and of course they had nearly exhausted the whole of their artillery at the commencement of the poll. Fox and his party perceived that it might be prolonged for several weeks to come, and were convinced, that great numbers of electors had not yet made their appearance. The prodigious opulence of the nobility in favour of Mr. Fox, was at least a counterbalance to ministerial influence. They did not discover any strenuous exertions at the commencement of the poll, in consequence of which their resources were still very great. They possessed one advantage, far beyond any of their opponents, in the beauty, the engaging qualities, the fascinating manners, the intrepidity, industry, and exertion of the duchess of Devonshire. In open defiance of the calumnies which might be raised against her by an exasperated ministry, she was finally victorious: and on the 17th of May, Mr. Fox

had a majority of 235. Every attempt was made, which meanness and corruption could devise, to render the election of Mr. Fox null and void; but they were, as all such endeavours ought to be, finally unsuccessful.

The first trial of strength, in the house of commons, was on the subject of this election. Mr. Lee complained of the disobedience of the high bailiff to the precept of the sheriff, and moved for a vote, declaring that he ought to have returned two members. This mode of proceeding was deemed unjust by Mr. Kenyon, the master of the rolls, who wished that the officer might be first heard; and, on his moving the previous question, a majority of 147 supported the ministerial side. A more ample majority (168) appeared against an amendment proposed by the earl of Surry, who could not agree to that part of the address which thanked his majesty for the late dissolution of parliament.

After pleadings and examinations respecting the disputed election, it was directed that the high bailiff should be directed forthwith to make a return. Mr. Fox, who then sat for the borough of Kirkwall, contended that this officer had not sufficient evidence to warrant his acceding to the demand of a scrutiny; that even if such evidence had existed, he was not justified by law in suffering the inquisition to preclude a seasonable return to the writ; and that he and the ministry had concerted this expedient to deprive an obnoxious candidate of the benefit of Mr. Grenville's bill. Mr. Pitt maintained, that as the high bailiff could not determine the majority of legal votes, in a case of so doubtful a nature, he was excused from an implicit obedience to the precept; and the house rejecting the motion, merely ordered that the scrutiny should be carried on with all practicable despatch.

On the meeting of this parliament, May the 18th, the commons re-chose Mr. Cornwall their speaker. The sense of the two houses respecting the minister, and his majesty's resolution to retain him in office, then appeared in the house of lords, expressing "their satisfaction and gratitude, that in the exercise of the powers vested in his majesty by the constitution, he had been graciously pleased to recur to the sense of his people, at a juncture when the situation of public affairs called loudly for that exertion," and in the great majority by which an amendment to the address in the lower house, proposed by lord Surry, was rejected.

Among the propitious events, with which Mr. Pitt entered upon his administration, was the completion of the treaty of peace and friendship with the Dutch states; which was signed at Paris two days after the meeting of parliament.

The first affair of importance, relative to civil policy, which the minister submitted to the consideration of the legislature, was a proposal, for a commutation of a part of the duty on tea for an additional tax on windows. It appearing, that of twelve million pounds of tea annually consumed in England, not half was sold by the East India company, it was proposed for the improvement of the revenue by preventing smuggling, to lower the duty £4 12*s.* 10*d.* per cent.; and to make good the deficiency of £600,000 to the revenue, by an additional window tax. This measure was strenuously opposed, on the grounds of objections which were afterwards perceived and felt by the nation; but such was now the strength of the ministerial party, that the bill was passed by great majorities in both houses.

The minister's success in this trial of his strength gave him confidence to resume the grand business of the regulating act. That he might conciliate the favour of the company itself, and predispose it to promote his plan, he prepared the way first by the commutation act, which tended to its benefit by increasing the consumption of tea; and afterwards by a bill for its accommodation and relief, which had for its object the respite of duties, the payment of bills, and the ascertainment of dividend. He then brought in his bill for the government of India; which differed but in few points from that which he had proposed in the preceding parliament; and in those it tended to enlarge the powers of the board of control. Yet so different were the sentiments of the present house of commons from those of the preceding, that, after warm debates, it was passed by a majority of 276 votes to 61 in the lower house. It again experienced a strong opposition in the house of peers. But its opponents were more respectable from character than numbers. Being left in a small minority, as their last resource, they entered a protest, expressing their disapprobation of it in very severe terms.

The minister, having concluded this important affair in a manner that equalled his most sanguine expectations, went through the arduous task of providing the supplies necessary to answer the extraordinary expenditure occasioned by the late war.

1784. The business of this session, which had been protracted to an unusual length by the variety and importance of affairs transacted in it, was closed with an act of a very humane nature, for the restoration of the estates forfeited in Scotland by the rebellion of 1745. His majesty then put an end to the session with a speech, in which he expressed his sense of the zeal and attention which the parliament had shewn to the public service, his approbation of what had been done by it for the settlement of affairs in India, the hopes he entertained of the happy effects of this measure, and his acquiescence in the means which the house of commons had adopted to provide for the exigencies of the state, and the support of public credit.

CHAPTER XXX.

GEORGE III.

[1785, 1786.]

Debates on the subject of Parliamentary Reform—Rejection of that Measure—Irish Affairs—The Duke of Richmond's Extraordinary Scheme of National Fortification—Commencement of Proceedings against Mr. Warren Hastings—Measures preparatory to the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Amount of several Voyages of Discovery—Death of Captain Cook—Misfortunes and Miraculous Voyage of Captain Bligh.

THE most important subject of discussion which occupied the wisdom of parliament, during the ensuing session, was the reform of our national representation. The premier had pledged himself to promote that object to the utmost of his power; and he now brought forward a bill to amend the representation of the people of England in parliament. The outline of his plan was to "transfer the right of choosing representatives from thirty-six boroughs, which were decayed, or falling into decay, to the counties, or the chief towns, which were at present unrepresented. That a fund should be provided for the purpose of giving to the holders and owners of the boroughs thus disfranchised, an appreciated compensation for their property; and that the right of voting for knights of the shire should be extended to copy-holders." So strong was the attachment of the house of commons to the present system, and so prevalent the apprehension that the measure, if successful, would facilitate the designs of factious and designing men, that the bill was rejected by a majority of 278 to 174.

Jan. 25, 1785.

After this, Mr. Pitt, in consequence of the report made by the commissioners of accounts, brought in bills for the better auditing and examining the public accounts, and for the reform and regulation of the public offices, which were received with general approbation.

These being passed, a new and efficient commission of examination and control was instituted, and many of the inferior departments of offices were consolidated.

Another matter of great importance, now submitted to the consideration of parliament, was a plan for establishing such a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, as might be beneficial to both countries, and might place the finances of the latter upon a footing that should be more advantageous to the state. This salutary measure was strongly recommended as a means of calming that turbulent spirit, which had long prevailed in Ireland. The removal of commercial restraints, and the recovery of constitutional rights, with which they had been gratified, had been found ineffectual to that purpose. Extreme distress was still felt by the Irish manufacturers, owing chiefly to the disadvantages which they laboured under, with regard to the duties which were respectively paid on goods exported to, and imported from England. This occasioned discontent among the people, and made them proper instruments in the hands of those active senators, who came forward at this time as the zealous advocates of reform. The same persons who had been instrumental in the deliverance of their country from its legislative and judicial dependency, were now exerting themselves to establish a new model of the system of representation. So far back as in the year 1781, a meeting of delegates from the volunteer corps of Ulster had been convened at Dungannon, which declared their object to be, "To restore the constitution to its original purity, and to root corruption and court influence out of the legislative body." After the treaty of peace had rendered the volunteers no longer useful for national defence, they still continued to be embodied. A meeting of their delegates was held at Dungannon in 1783; a plan of reformation was there proposed; and it was agreed, that a national convention of representatives from the volunteer army should assemble at Dublin the same year. A committee was appointed to correspond with the advocates of reform in England and others. On the 10th of November, a convention was held in that city, wherein a plan of reform, analogous to that of Mr. Pitt, was agreed upon; and Mr. Flood, in consequence of it, made a motion for leave to bring in a bill for "a more equal representation of the people in parliament," which was repeatedly rejected. Undaunted by ill success, the citizens of Dublin drew up a petition to his majesty, representing their grievances. At the same time they circulated an address, to stimulate the body of the people to a general and vigorous exertion for the attainment of their objects; and in this, in order to strengthen themselves, and to unite the whole nation in one cause, they proposed to admit the Roman catholics to a participation of the right of voting for representatives.

It is not unfrequently seen, that the ardour of popular assemblies proves ruinous to the cause in which they are engaged. Such was the case in the present instance. Many of those who were desirous of a reform upon *protestant* principles, were alarmed at a proposition which would at once have given the Roman catholics an ascendancy in the kingdom. Disunion was the immediate consequence. The earl of Charlemont, general of the Ulster volunteers, dissented from the proposition; and the example of a nobleman so deservedly respected, had great influence on the whole body.

The measure proposed, of holding a national congress at Dublin, of deputies from each county, city, and town, was another step which led to the ruin of this popular cause. It not only excited apprehensions in many of the advocates of reform, of views in the party leaders inconsistent with the welfare of the state, but afforded government a just occasion to interpose its authority. Accordingly, on information that H. Stephens Reily, sheriff of Dublin, had presided at an assembly, August the 19th 1784, for the purpose of choosing delegates for such a congress, Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, proceeded against him by attachment from the court of King's Bench. The result was, that the sheriff was sentenced by the court to imprisonment for a week, and a fine of five marks. The congress, notwithstanding, was held on the 25th of October. But the numbers being incomplete, the assembly was adjourned to the 2nd day of January ensuing; having passed several resolutions, importing that their proceedings were in conformity to the constitution of Ireland, and exhorting the nation to support them in the measures they were taking for a parliamentary

reform. An adjourned meeting was accordingly held, first on the day appointed, and finally on the 20th of April, and Mr. Flood, in consequence, repeated his motion for his bill of reform, which was again rejected.

In the mean time, loud complaints were made of the ruinous state of the trade and manufactures in Ireland; and the popular tumults, occasioned by it, rose to so formidable a height at Dublin, that the necessity of applying a more effectual remedy to the growing evil became daily more evident. For this end, a number of resolutions were proposed by Mr. Orde, secretary to the lord-lieutenant. These, having received the approbation of a decided majority, were transmitted to England, to serve as the basis of an equitable arrangement of a commercial intercourse between the two countries. On receiving these, Mr. Pitt immediately brought forward his propositions, the general purport of which was, "To afford Ireland a permanent participation of the commercial advantages of Great Britain, when her parliament should permanently secure an aid of the surplus of the hereditary revenue of that kingdom, towards defraying the expence of protecting the general commerce in time of peace." In their passage through the two houses, much obstruction was experienced from the difficulty of reconciling the interests of the Irish with those of the Scotch and English manufacturers. The apprehensions of injury to the former were expressed in petitions from Manchester and other towns. After the merits of the propositions had been elaborately discussed, during the three months, and they had undergone material alterations, to accommodate them to the wishes of the British manufacturers, they received the legislative sanction, and were transmitted to Ireland.

On the introduction of a bill, correspondent to their temper, by Mr. Orde, very animated debates ensued, in which Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood distinguished themselves by their harangues, to dissuade the house from assenting to an arrangement so inadequate to the desired ends. The spirit of jealousy, before prevalent in the legislature and nation, was roused by their popular eloquence, and concurred with it in producing the intended effect. This bill was indeed passed by 127 to 108 votes. But so small a majority not being deemed sufficient to the prosecution of a business of such importance, it was thought advisable to abandon it, till it could be resumed with a fairer prospect of general approbation.

A SCHEME of extended fortification, framed under the auspices of the duke of Richmond, drew the early attention of the house of commons. A board of military and naval officers had been appointed for the examination of the subject; and Mr. Pitt now informed the house, that the opinions of these investigators were favourable to the scheme. He at first declined the production of any part of the report; but, being strongly urged to a compliance, he agreed to the presentation of the greater part, with other papers desired by different members. He afterwards moved, that, to secure the dock-yards of Plymouth and Portsmouth by a permanent system of fortification, conducted on œconomical principles, was a measure intimately connected with the national defence, and necessary to enable the fleet to act in distant services with full vigour and effect. If a plan of this kind had been adopted during the late war, our fleets, he said, would not have been so confined as they were to the vicinity of our ports, but might have been employed more effectually in offensive operations. Mr. Bastard compared the schemes of the duke of Richmond with the romantic absurdities of don Quixote, and declared that he would never consent to the adoption of a system tending to the discouragement of the naval service. He could not concur with those who would tear the ensign of British glory from the mast-head, and fix it on the ramparts of a garrison. He added, that the constitution would be endangered by the multiplication of forts and barracks, in which the confined soldiers would lose the character of citizens, and become ready abettors of the arbitrary schemes of a court. He moved an amendment, denying the expediency of a system of fortification so extensive as that which was recommended by the board of enquiry. Captain Macbride, who was a member of that council of officers, treated the report as the result of the duke's artifices and influence, rather than the unbiassed opinion of the board. Colonel Barré also remarked, that the officers had been deluded by the sophistry of the master-general, and that Mr. Pitt would not have been so zealous in this wild and extravagant project, if his conscience had not been taken by surprise. Lord Mahon

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supported the duke's plan, chiefly because the works might be defended by a very small number of men. Lord Hood and some other naval officers pronounced the system to be expedient and judicious; but Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham opposed it as derogatory from the honour and consequence of the navy.

Mr. Sheridan ridiculed the zeal of the noble engineer; and argued, that, from the manner in which the report was framed, and from various circumstances, it did not sanction or authorise the system. If the officers had been left to their free judgment, and had expressed a decided and unreserved approbation of the plan, he would have acquiesced in their determination; but, as the opinions given by the military officers were founded on hypothetical suggestions, and on the *data* of the master-general, for the truth or propriety of which they refused to become responsible,—as the *data* involved the supposition of events highly improbable,—and as there was reason to believe that the unparticularised minutes of the naval officers were unfavourable to the plan,—he could not give his assent to the report, or to the motion which the minister had drawn from it. The division upon this question exhibited an exact equality of votes. It was therefore the duty of the speaker of the house to decide the point; and he boldly and judiciously voted for the amendment.

This session was remarkable for the commencement of a prosecution against Mr. Hastings, for crimes and misdemeanors committed during his oriental administration. In a studious perusal of the records of the affairs of India, Mr. Burke had discovered what he deemed the most satisfactory proofs of the criminality of the governor-general; and he resolved, whatever might be the consequence, to pursue the delinquent with all the indignation of offended justice. He foresaw that his course would be retarded by difficulties and by opposition; but no considerations of this kind could restrain his ardour. In a meeting of anti-ministerial politicians, when the expediency of the prosecution was discussed, lord North and other members of the party objected to the measure; but Mr. Burke persisted in his determination, and Mr. Fox consented to join his efforts to those of a friend whom he revered. The improved eloquence of Mr. Sheridan was associated in the same cause; and the logical acumen of Mr. Windham aided the confederacy of zeal and talent.

Having deliberated upon the different modes of prosecution which might be adopted, Mr. Burke fixed on that of impeachment at the bar of the house of lords. To substantiate the charges, he moved for a multiplicity of papers, some of which were granted, while others, after warm and able speeches on both sides, were refused. When he had prepared nine articles of charge, he presented them to the house; and others followed, till the number reached twenty-two. Some of the charges were not very important, even if they had been fully proved; but many were of sufficient weight to draw down the severities of censure and punishment, if they had been established by irrefragable testimony.

Mr. Hastings, being allowed to defend himself before witnesses were examined, made pompous boasts of his services, and freely animadverted on the character and conduct of his chief accuser. To the charge respecting the injurious and cruel treatment of the Rohillas, he replied, that he had merely assisted the nabob of Oude, the ally of the company, in punishing the treachery and perfidy of that tribe of adventurers, by compelling them to quit a territory which they had usurped. The article which accused him of stopping the tribute due to the mogul, and depriving that prince of two provinces which had been assigned for his support, was answered by remarks on the impolicy of suffering the Mahrattas to possess them, after he had thrown himself into their hands. The expulsion of Cheit Sing from the zemindary of Benares, was vindicated by assertions of the contumacy of that traitor. The defendant allowed that the jaghirs of the begums of Oude, (the dowries of the mother and grandmother of the nabob vizier,) were guaranteed by the company, and affirmed that the proposal of resumption was accompanied with the promise of an equivalent; but he maintained, that the forcible opposition to that measure, and the treacherous intrigues of those ladies and their partisans, justified him in agreeing to what had been termed their spoliation. The charge concerning Farruckabad was repelled by a denial of all responsibility for the good or bad government of that province; and, instead of having promoted the depopulation and the miseries of Oude, he

declared that he had effectually remedied the disorders of that country. The pretended breach of faith toward the ranah of Gohud, which formed another charge, was merely, he said, the discontinuance of the grant of aid and protection to a base and perfidious ally; and the exercise of force at Sahlone, he thought, deserved praise instead of censure, as it was directed against rebellious banditti. On the heads of revenue, contracts, and increase of establishments, he admitted that rigid œconomy did not prevail in every instance; but he claimed the merit of general attention to the true interests of the company. Being charged with the irregular acceptance of presents, he answered, that he had received them for the benefit of his employers, and had never applied any part of them to his own use without the permission of the court of directors. He contended, that the accusations drawn from the war with the Mahrattas, and from the peace with that state, were ill-founded; for he was not the author of the war, and the pacification had been almost universally considered as honourable and advantageous.

June 1. In the adduction of the first charge, the eloquence of Mr. Burke was diffuse and declamatory, strong and vivid, indignant and pathetic. He asserted the purity of his motives for the prosecution, his freedom from passion, and his regard for public justice. He represented the grand question, not as a mere dispute respecting the character of an individual, or a point of municipal regulation, but as a national and imperial question, decisive of the good or ill government of millions now existing or yet unborn. He lamented the difficulty of bringing forward the charges with full effect, from the exorbitant power and commanding influence which the accused governor had enjoyed, the remoteness of the country in which he had acted, and other discouraging circumstances: yet he confided in the strength of the evidence which he had found means to procure, and trusted to the honour and humanity of the house for the success of his well-meant endeavours. After a general survey of the charges, he detailed that which concerned the Rohillas. He described in flattering terms the state of their country, their simplicity of manners, their zeal for agriculture and commerce. He denied that there was any just or even plausible ground for the violence to which they were subjected. He stigmatised the rapacity and villany of the nabob by whom they were attacked, and the cruelty of the governor who had assisted that prince in the work of ravage and desolation. He did not mean to affirm that the whole nation had been banished or exterminated: he confined the remark to 60,000 men, women and children, who had been driven from their homes by the ministers of remorseless tyranny. For this conduct alone, without regard to the other heads of accusation, Mr. Hastings, he thought, deserved exemplary punishment.

The guaranty of the company for the payment of the money claimed from the Rohillas by the nabob, was represented by Mr. Hardinge as an after-thought, and a weak pretence for gross injustice and cruelty; but lord Mulgrave and Mr. Grenville thought, that the concern of our countrymen in the expedition was sufficiently justified by policy and by prior engagement. Mr. Fox endeavoured to rescue the character of the Rohillas from the odious imputations thrown out by Mr. Hastings, and spoke of the war undertaken against them in pointed terms of censure; and Mr. Francis, with great warmth, supported the accusation. The house, however, by a majority of 52, voted against the validity of the charge.

June 13. The article of crimination, in the affair of Benares, was moved by Mr. Fox, who contended that the governor-general had acted in an arbitrary and oppressive manner towards Cheit Sing, had harassed him by repeated exactions beyond the amount of the stipulated tribute, had insulted him by an ignominious arrest, and had malignantly promoted his ruin. Mr. Pitt did not agree with the mover in every part of the charge; but he admitted the criminality of Mr. Hastings in resolving to exact from the rajah the enormous sum of fifty lacks of rupees (above one half of a million of pounds sterling) for a mere delay in complying with a small and justifiable demand. His assent to the motion gave great joy to the accusing party. The allegations of major Scott, Mr. Grenville, and other speakers who inveighed against the conduct of the rajah, and applauded or excused that of his great adversary, made little impression upon the house; and the charge was allowed, by a majority of 39, to be a fair ground of impeachment.

Few subjects of national or general policy excited greater solicitude in the liberal and humane, than the question of the slave-trade. Mr. Wilberforce, to whom the management of this business was assigned, being disabled from attending the house by illness, Mr. Pitt moved a resolution, importing, that the house, in the ensuing session, take into consideration the circumstances of the slave-trade. The final result of this motion, after much procrastination, will be recorded in the history of 1791. In the mean time, in order to afford relief to the unhappy sufferers, Mr. William Dolben proposed a bill to regulate the transportation of slaves, from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. In the prosecution of this motion, it was delivered in evidence at the bar of the lower house, that five feet six inches in length, and sixteen inches in breadth, was the average space allotted to each slave. The lower deck of the vessel was entirely covered with bodies. The space between the floor of that deck and the roof above, in height about five feet eight inches, was divided by a platform also covered with human bodies. The slaves were chained two and two by their hands and feet, and were, by means of ring-bolts, fastened to the deck. In that sultry climate, their allowance was a pint of water each day; and they were usually fed twice a day with yams and horse-beans. After meals they were compelled by the whip to jump in their irons, which by the slave-dealers was called *dancing*. The motion was opposed, with a zeal disgraceful to humanity, by the merchants of London and Liverpool. The lord-chancellor Thurlow so far forgot the duties and the decorum of his station, as to term the motion, in derision, "a fit of philanthropy;" but the exertions of the premier counteracted the bigotry and selfishness of his colleagues, and the bill was passed in both houses by a respectable majority.

The advancement of art, science, and useful knowledge, was an object of all others the most congenial with the wishes of the sovereign; and the voyages of discovery, by which the reign of George III. was distinguished, will always be regarded as the most decisive evidence of his philanthropy and his wisdom.

Voyages of this description, in the Pacific ocean, had been made, by order of his majesty, by commodore Byron, in the years 1764, 1765, and 1766; and by captains Wallis and Carteret, the former in the Dolphin, and the latter in the Swallow sloop, in the years 1767, 1768, and 1769; and some interesting discoveries had been made by them chiefly on the south of the equator.

But the most memorable, and in their results the most important, voyages, in these and in the north-eastern seas, were performed by captain James Cook. Having recommended himself to the admiralty, by his services as a naval officer, and his skill in the science of navigation, he was appointed in 1768, to conduct an expedition to the South seas, accompanied by Mr. Green as astronomer, and Mr. Solander and sir Joseph Banks as naturalists, for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, which was to take place in the month of June, in the ensuing year. He was instructed, at the same time, to prosecute discoveries in that quarter of the globe. No man could be better qualified for the commission with which he was honoured. His understanding was vigorous, his frame and constitution robust, his disposition enterprising, his temper patient and persevering; and he had that ardent fondness for his profession, which, when united with talents, may not improperly be distinguished by the appellation of genius.

Leaving England in the ship Endeavour, August the 26th, 1768, he took a south-westerly course, and having doubled cape Horn, he steered for Otaheite, where their observations were made. After that he visited the neighbouring islands of Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola, to which he gave the name of *Society Islands*. Then sailing to New Zealand, in the same hemisphere, he made a survey of the two islands, and discovered the straits between them, afterwards called by his name. When he had explored the eastern coast of New Holland, before unknown, he steered for England by the cape of Good Hope, and reached it June the 12th, 1771.

He sailed upon his second voyage in July, 1772, and took a south-westerly course. After visiting Otaheite and the Friendly Islands, he proceeded to latitude 71, where he was stopped by a barrier of ice. In traversing these southern regions, he discovered Palliser Islands, and New Caledonia, the island, which he named Georgia, in honour of his sovereign,

and an unknown coast, called by him Sandwich Land, the Thule of the southern hemisphere. He returned from his voyage in July, 1775; having, among other objects, ascertained the important question of a southern continent; for he had traversed that hemisphere, between the degrees of 40 and 70, in such a manner, as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation.

He sailed the ensuing year on his third and last voyage; the chief object of which was the discovery of a north-east passage. On this voyage, after making some discoveries in the southern hemisphere, he steered for the western coast of America; which he traced till he came to a strait which divides it from Asia. Having made such an accurate survey of the coasts of each, as to demonstrate the impracticability of a northern passage, he sailed to the Sandwich islands, where, unfortunately for his country, he was killed in 1779, in the month of February, in a skirmish with the savages of Owhyhee. Whilst I am relating the enterprises of this celebrated navigator, which were such as added essentially to the science of geography, we ought not to be inattentive to another part of his merit, noticed by his companion and biographer, captain James King, which will give pleasure to every humane person; the method which he discovered, and so successfully pursued, for preserving the health of seamen; which forms a new æra in navigation, and will transmit his name to posterity, among the friends and benefactors of mankind.

That no doubt might be left on the minds of men, respecting the existence of a passage to the East Indies by the north-east, commodore Phipps and captain Lutwick were sent out, before Cook's last voyage, to carry on the discoveries which had been made by the Russians and others, in the seas near the north pole. They sailed in June, 1773; they landed at Spitzbergen; and, having passed Hachyt's Headland, they proceeded so far as the 81st degree of latitude, where they were arrested by the ice, and with difficulty disengaged themselves; the thermometer at that time standing at 37° 46′. The result of this voyage, the journal of which is a narrative of difficulties, hardships, and dangers, corresponded with the subsequent report of Cook; that no passage would ever be found practicable in that direction. Even in these remote regions, nature has bestowed on her works beauties of a peculiar kind, the description of which will be gratifying to those who are disposed to such contemplations. The narrator of this voyage thus describes the country near Smearingburgh harbour, in the 81st degree of latitude:—"The country is stony, and, as far as can be seen, full of mountains, precipices, and rocks. Between these are hills of ice, generated, as it should seem, by the torrents that flow on the melting of the snow on the sides of those towering elevations, which, being once congealed, are continually increased by the snow in winter, and the rain in summer, which often freezes as soon as it falls. By looking on these hills, a stranger may fancy a thousand different shapes of trees, castles, churches, ruins, ships, whales, monsters, and all the various forms that fill the universe. Of the ice-hills, there are seven that more particularly attract the notice of a stranger. These are known by the name of the seven iceburgs, and are thought to be the highest of the kind in that country. When the air is clear, and the sun shines full upon these mountains, the prospect is inconceivably brilliant. They sometimes put on the bright glow of the evening rays of the setting sun, when reflected upon glass, at his going down; sometimes they appear of a bright blue, like sapphire, and sometimes like the variable colours of a prism, exceeding in lustre the richest gems, disposed in the most exquisite forms, glittering with a lustre that dazzles the eye, and fills the air with astonishing brightness.

Among the naval enterprises of the English, the means employed by government for the introduction of the bread-fruit tree, which had been found at Otaheite, into the West India islands, is deserving of notice. Sir Joseph Banks having given it as his opinion, that this tree might be successfully cultivated in them, captain Bligh sailed in the autumn of 1787, with a vessel destined to bring a cargo to the West Indies. The ship being laden with them, the captain took his departure from Otaheite April the 4th, 1789. But twenty-three days after, when the ship was in the midst of the Pacific, steering its course for the Moluccas, the crew mutinied, and put the captain, and eighteen of the crew, who would not join the mutineers, overboard into the ship's boat, with only an hundred and forty

pounds of bread and thirty of meat, to shift for themselves. Fortunately they were provided with a compass and quadrant: with the assistance of these, in forty days, during which there was almost continued rain, they reached the Dutch settlement of Timor, which was calculated to be 4000 miles from the place where they were embarked.

This disaster did not, however, prevent the execution of the design. After several unsuccessful attempts, the introduction of the bread-fruit, says Mr. Edwards, was happily accomplished, in January, 1793, by the arrival at St. Vincent of his majesty's ship Providence, captain W. Bligh, and the Assistant brig, captain N. Portlock, from the South seas, having on board many hundreds of those trees, and a vast number of curious plants, which were properly distributed through the island of St. Vincent, and Jamaica, and have already afforded the pleasing prospect, that his majesty's benevolence will be felt in the most distant periods.

CHAPTER XXXI.

GEORGE III.

[1786 to 1788.]

Attempt on the Life of the King by Margaret Nicholson—Commercial Treaty with France—Establishment of a Settlement for Convicts at Botany Bay—Internal State of France—ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—Character of Lewis XVI., of his Queen, and of the principal Nobles and Courtiers—Review of Continental Affairs—Debates on the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings.

WHILE his Britannic majesty was in danger of being embroiled with France, he adjusted all differences with the court of Spain. Disputes had occurred with respect to the logwood country, and
July 14. a convention was now signed, allotting a new district to his subjects for Musquito shore, which they agreed to evacuate, and in some respects extending their privileges.

1786. This negotiation had not long been concluded, when the king's life was suddenly exposed to danger. As he was alighting from his carriage on the 2nd of August, a woman approached him, on pretence of offering a petition, and aimed at him with a knife; but fortunately he escaped all injury. The bold assailant was named Margaret Nicholson, who, being examined by several medical gentlemen, and also by some members of the privy-council, was declared to be insane, and was therefore confined in Bethlehem hospital, instead of being tried for high treason. A public thanksgiving was ordered, for the safety of so valuable a life; and addresses of congratulation were sent to court from all parts of the kingdom.

The commercial agreement with France was now approaching to completion. It was at length prepared for signature, and received the sanction of both courts. It was stipulated in general terms, that there should be a perfect reciprocity of navigation and commerce, between the subjects of the two kings, in all their European dominions, with a view of

giving fair encouragement to the produce and manufactures of both countries, by a discontinuance of prohibitory duties, and putting an end to illicit trade. A particular tariff was adjusted with regard to a great number of commodities; and all articles which it did not include were to be imported on the terms allowed to the most favoured nations. This treaty, though not universally acceptable in Great Britain, appears to have given satisfaction to a considerable majority of the nation. While the king was reflecting with pleasure on its accomplishment, he sustained a domestic affliction, in the loss of the princess Amelia, who died unmarried, in the seventy-sixth year of her age, on the 31st of October, bequeathing the greater part of her ample property to her nephews, the princes Charles and Frederic of Hesse-Cassel. She lived chiefly in retirement, cultivating the pleasures of social life.

The embarrassments in which the prince of Wales had involved himself, by his want of œconomy, gave rise to some difficulties. Mr. Newnham repeatedly mentioned the case, at the desire of the prince, who had found his royal father unwilling to comply with his wishes. The minister deprecated the agitation of an affair of such delicacy in the house, without authority from the king; and his expostulations delayed the alderman's proposals. In the conversations which occurred, allusions were made to the supposed marriage of his royal highness with Mrs. Fitzherbert. Mr. Fox pronounced this report to be an infamous falsehood; and indeed the prince and that lady were not married according to the forms of the established church. An accommodation at length took place between the king and his son; and the business was regularly brought forward in a message from the crown, stating that the prince had contracted great debts, the discharge of which, out of his annual income, would render it impossible for him to support an establishment suited to his rank and station; that his majesty had therefore ordered the annual payment of £10,000 to the prince out of the civil list, in addition to the former allowance; and that he trusted to the liberality of parliament for the liquidation of the debts, as his son "had given the fullest assurances of his firm determination to confine his future expences within his income." This application was answered by a request, that the king would advance £161,000 for the payment of the debts in question, and also £20,000 for the reparation and improvement of Carlton-house; and the commons, with one voice, promised to indemnify him.

One of the acts of this session provided for the establishment of a court of judicature in New South Wales, a part of the great island, (or continent,) of New Holland. The prisons of the realm being inconveniently crowded, the idea of a distant removal, combined with a hope of colonial advantage, had occasioned the resolution of sending convicts to the country bordering on Botany Bay, of which captain Cook had made favourable mention. About 800 delinquents, of which number three-fourths were males, were sent out under the care of captain Phillips, who was commissioned to act as governor of the future colony. The duration of the voyage was about eleven months; and when the fleet had reached the bay, the scarcity of fresh water rendered it expedient to seek another spot. Port Jackson, being found more eligible, became the primary seat of the criminal exiles. The necessary rigour of the colonial government operated to the repression of crimes, and the preservation of general order; and on many of the convicts a sense of shame had an extraordinary influence.

After long debates on the delinquency of Mr. Hastings, a vote of impeachment followed, and on the 10th of May, Mr. Burke, at the bar of the house of lords, "in the name of the house of commons, and of all the commons of Great Britain," impeached Mr. Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors. Being taken into custody, the prisoner entreated the peers to admit him to bail. His request was granted, and while he was bound in the sum of twenty thousand pounds, two of his friends gave security each for ten thousand pounds. The trial was postponed to another session, and by various delays it was protracted to an extraordinary duration.

Before the singular and momentous revolution in the public opinion, and in the relative measures of the continental states, the changes of domestic policy, and the contentions of domestic parties, fade into insignificance; and the situation of France, at this important period of its history, will peculiarly demand the attention of the historian. 1787.

To the limited eye of man, incapable of pervading futurity, and of removing the darkness which surrounds it, Lewis XVI. presented, at the close of the American war, a very different, and a much more enviable aspect than the sovereign of England. Fortunate in having succeeded to a prince who was sunk in dissolute pleasures, and lost to all public exertion, before his reign expired, he ascended to the throne of Henry IV. under every flattering circumstance of youth and of prosperity. His want of any eminent talents seemed to be amply compensated by œconomy, application, decorum of manners, and, above all, by a selection of wise and able ministers. A successful war, which eclipsed and obliterated the disgraces and defeats sustained by France, in her last rupture with England, endeared him to a loyal and affectionate nation, characterised for ages by its predilection and attachment to its monarchs. A queen distinguished by endowments of mind, of manners, and of person, not less than by her high rank and imperial descent, had formed the bond of connexion between the houses of Bourbon and of Austria; while she rendered Versailles the residence of pleasure, gaiety, and magnificence. France appeared to re-ascend in the scale of Europe, in the same proportion as Great Britain declined; and flattery, if not reason, already predicted the revival of the proud age of Lewis XIV.

But to confound the speculation of policy, and to evince the hasty transitions of human greatness, it was precisely at this very juncture that the seeds were sown, which were afterwards matured, which overturned the very elements of order and government, stained the palace of Versailles with blood, and produced the extinction of property, personal security, and every thing dear to mankind. The troops which were sent as auxiliaries to the rebellious provinces of Great Britain beyond the Atlantic, speedily imbibed the spirit of freedom which they were commanded to defend, and did not relinquish these sentiments, so incompatible with absolute monarchy, when they returned to their native country. On the other hand, the anticipation of the public revenue, necessarily produced by a war, however glorious and successful, added to the immoderate expences of a dissipated and luxurious court, soon reduced the king to adopt a measure, which, though disinterested, and even patriotic, opened the way to shake his throne. Lewis was persuaded to break the royal household, to dismiss about 400 officers, holding posts immediately about his person, and to content himself with a less expensive and splendid establishment. Perhaps no advice more replete with calamity could have been conceived or followed. The pomp and external paraphernalia of majesty being once withdrawn, and the numbers of nobility, attached to the sovereign by interest, vanity, and affection, being once disbanded, the throne was left naked, unprotected, and exposed to insult. Experience has evinced its destructive tendency; and has shewn, that only a limited monarch, who reigns in the affections of his subjects, and whose interests are intimately blended with those of his people, can remain an object of respect and homage, divested of the splendor and protection of a royal court and numerous household.

The empress-queen Maria-Theresa closed, at this period, a reign of forty years, marked by the most striking vicissitudes of prosperous and of adverse fortune. During the existence of the powerful combination, which shook her throne in the commencement of her life, she exhibited the most undaunted magnanimity, the greatest resources of mind, and a courage superior to her sex. Driven from Vienna in 1741, while Bohemia and Austria were overrun by the French and Bavarians, she found protection and succours in the loyalty of her Hungarian subjects, who, at sight of her beauty, youth, and misfortunes, forgot their hereditary jealousy and enmity of the imperial house from which she sprung. The afternoon and evening of her reign, though frequently disturbed by foreign wars, were passed by her in the discharge of every duty demanded from a sovereign to her people. Mild, clement, humane, munificent, and ever extending the proofs of her parental tenderness to her wide extended dominions, she was idolized by the Hungarians, beloved by the Flemings, and dear to every order of citizens. That piety and fortitude which had characterised her life, accompanied and brightened her dying moments.

Her crowns descended to her son Joseph, a prince who had given premature expectations of genius and capacity, and whose emulation of the king of Prussia promised to

render him worthy of so great an antagonist. But Europe was soon undeceived in this favourable anticipation of the talents of Joseph II. Agitated with perpetual and varying schemes of conquest; restless and incapable of repose; planning innovations in religion and manners, which were no sooner executed than revoked; oppressive and despotic, without the art either of concealing these qualities, or of rendering their effects palatable to his subjects; menacing, at the same moment, the just franchises of the Netherlands, and the antient liberties of Hungary; dreaded in the empire, and detested in his own capital; anxious to enlarge the limits of his dominions, even at the expence of faith and justice; rapacious of ecclesiastical property, and profuse only of the blood of his people; Joseph soon alienated the affections of every rank, and closed a tempestuous reign, unregretted and unlamented; leaving the house of Austria in embarrassments, produced by his violence and ambition, scarcely inferior to those, which had so nearly overturned and extinguished it, at the death of his grandfather Charles VI.

Two illustrious and extraordinary princes then filled the thrones of Muscovy and of Prussia. A woman was still destined to sway the sceptre of the czars, and to govern the immense regions extending from the Frozen to the Caspian sea. Unequalled in magnificence, and unconquered in war, Catherine II. had enlarged the limits of her vast dominions, covered the Black sea with Russian fleets, and threatened the entire subversion of the Ottoman power. Protectress of the sciences and liberal arts, she cultivated the friendship of d'Alembert, courted the correspondence and the praises of Voltaire, and, like Lewis XIV., extended her munificence to men of letters throughout every kingdom of Europe. Intoxicated with success, and elevated to the summit of human grandeur and felicity, she forgot the friendly hand which had aided her arms, and taught them the way to victory. While dreaded and admired in every quarter of the globe, she seemed to have chained the inconstancy of fortune, and to defy the changes and clouds which so frequently darken the conclusion of a female reign.

Frederic, covered with laurels, and retired from Berlin to the solitary magnificence of Potsdam, in the bosom of literary repose, and sinking under the pressure of augmenting infirmities, advanced towards the termination of his memorable life and reign. Alienated from, or indifferent to the misfortunes of England, he regarded, with a philosophic and averted eye, her late unequal contest against so many powers; and extended no relief, nor made any exertion in favour of his antient ally.

Portugal alone, among so many neutral or hostile states, ventured at this distressful moment to give some affirmative marks of friendship to the crown of Great Britain.

While Europe exhibited this aspect, so little calculated to awaken hope, fresh losses and defeats awaited the English arms beyond the Atlantic. The capture of the island of St. Eustatius, which, on its first promulgation, had diffused a general joy throughout the nation, produced in the event only obloquy to the captors, and a suspension the most untimely and injurious in our naval and military exertions; while the troops which should have acted with vigour against the enemy, were sunk in inactivity, or occupied in plunder.

At length, however, the genius of Great Britain, for a time obscured and fettered, began to assert its antient energy; and liberated from domestic anarchy, prepared to re-appear on the theatre of Europe, from whence she had been banished by internal calamities and distress. The signature of the "Germanic league" at Berlin, whose object was the preservation of the liberties of the empire against the ambition of Joseph II., was the first symptom exhibited of returning attention to the concerns of the continent; and though this confederation was only acceded to by his Britannic majesty in his capacity of elector of Hanover, yet its effect extended unquestionably beyond its ostensible object, and again recalled the English nation to general view and consideration.

While under a wise and vigorous government, we were thus resuming our antient eminence and dignity among the European states, the clouds of discontent and civil commotion were rapidly collecting over the monarchy of France. The finances, involved, since the cessation of the late war, in augmenting embarrassments and inextricable difficulties, it might have been found beyond the probity of a Sully, or the capacity of a Colbert, to re-establish: in the hands of Calonne, raised to the superintendance, they presented a prospect of public insolvency, as imminent

as unavoidable. Though the court of Versailles was much diminished in majesty and splendor, by the numerous reforms which had successively taken place; yet the ministry had not substituted any judicious system of frugality, nor adopted any measures of energy or wisdom, either for the alleviation of national burdens, and liquidation of the enormous debt, contracted under the late and present king, nor (a measure which seemed to be still more necessary for their personal safety) to guard against the gathering storm of public violence and indignation.

Lewis XVI. had already, in a considerable degree, survived the respect, though he continued to enjoy the affection of his people. The first years of his reign, conducted by Maurepas and Vergennes, had been distinguished by the most brilliant success; which, while it dazzled and flattered the national vanity, had in a great measure concealed from view the ruin which it occasioned in the finances. The king possessed none of those qualities, either corporal or mental, calculated to fascinate, and to supply the place of more solid endowments. His figure was destitute of dignity, and his address awkward and embarrassed. He neither knew how to assume the open and winning manners of Henry IV., nor how to adopt the majestic condescension of Lewis XIV. Attached to the queen from motives rather sensual than intellectual, and restrained by religious scruples from forming any connexions of gallantry with other women, he never in any instance violated his nuptial fidelity, though surrounded by courtiers anxious to anticipate, and eager to administer to his desires on the first intimation. Addicted to the pleasures of the table, and sometimes induced to pass the limits of temperance and sobriety, he yielded, in those moments of facility, to the demands which the profusion of the queen, and of his brother, the count d'Artois, made it necessary for them continually to renew. His own expences were moderate, and his pleasures few. The former were chiefly confined to the construction of the castle of Compiegne, and the repairs of the palace of Versailles. The latter consisted chiefly in the amusement of the chace. Though much neglected in his education during the life of Lewis XV., his mind was not uninformed; and he had attained, since his accession to the throne, a very considerable acquaintance with polite letters, history, and geography, by his own private application and solitary study, unassisted by any aid. In the art of reigning, he had unfortunately made little progress or proficiency. Unambitious and moderate in his character, he formed no views of conquest. He even disapproved, though but passively, of the alliance with America, into which his ministers had led him at the commencement of his reign; and suffered himself, with some degree of aversion and reluctance, to be made an accessary to the independence of the thirteen colonies.

His parts, however sluggish, inert, and limited, yet were not inadequate to the comprehension and discharge of the high duties annexed to his station. He unquestionably loved his people, and passionately desired, at the price of every personal renunciation and sacrifice, to render his reign dear to France. Averse to cruelty, and of a nature accessible to the impressions of pity and humanity, he threw open the gates of the castle of Vincennes, which for ages had been one of the principal prisons of state; and mitigated, in numerous instances, the rigour of arbitrary power, which his grandfather had strengthened and abused. His behaviour on the night of the 5th of October, 1789, has evinced, notwithstanding the doubts which have been entertained on that point, that he did not want *personal* resolution and fortitude. But the quality in which he was eminently deficient, and to the want of which may be principally ascribed all the calamities of his life, was *political* courage and decision. In times of tranquillity and repose, this defect might not have been perceived; or if discovered, might have yet been limited in its effects: in tempestuous periods, and popular insurrections, it convulsed the monarchy, and menaced the existence of the throne itself.

The character of the queen, though strongly contrasted with that of Lewis XVI., was perhaps still more calculated to alienate the affections, and excite the clamours of the nation. Of a figure favoured by nature, and adorned with gracious and insinuating manners, she was formed to attach mankind. The short period which elapsed, subsequent to her marriage with the dauphin in 1770, and previous to her ascending the throne, was marked with the most general partiality, and by all the flattering prognostics of poetry and genius,

who anticipated the future glories and felicity of her reign. Her education at the court of Vienna, under the severe inspection of Maria-Theresa, a princess eminent for her chastity and piety, seemed in some measure to guarantee the existence of these qualities in her daughter. But Maria-Antoinette appears to have inherited scarcely any of the characteristic virtues and vices of the Austrian family, except her attachment to the house from whence she sprung. The fond predictions of adulation, offered to the dauphiness, were not realised by the queen. Her levity of manners; her expensive prodigality; her dissipations; her attachments; her retirements; perhaps, more than all these defects, her supposed abuse of the ascendant, which she had acquired and preserved over her husband, gradually estranged every order of the people; and eventually, as the public embarrassments augmented, rendered her generally odious. Her actions were examined with the most severe and unjust spirit of national enquiry. Her political connexions with the imperial ambassador were as loudly arraigned on the one hand, as her personal intimacy with the count d'Artois, was strongly censured on the other. Imputations the most injurious to her fame, as a woman and a wife, were added to accusations of her disposition to sacrifice the interest and squander the treasures of the kingdom over which she reigned, in order to aggrandise her brother the emperor. She was accused of ministering to the weaknesses, and even stimulating the appetites of the king, with a view to avail herself of his fondness, or temporary privation of reflection.

The continual visits, and long interviews, which she accorded to Mademoiselle Bertin, excited sentiments of disapprobation in those, who thought the leisure of the first queen in Europe indecently thrown away, in disquisitions upon a cap, or consultations upon a handkerchief. Her purchase of the palace of St. Cloud, in the midst of general pecuniary distress, was taxed with equal imprudence and profusion. Her frequent retirements to Trianon were stigmatised, as exhibiting scenes unfit for the public eye. The mysterious and inexplicable transaction, relative to the famous necklace, asserted to have been purchased by her; although the cardinal de Roan, and the comtesse de la Motte, were the victims of it, yet had left impressions disadvantageous to her honour in the minds of a nation, disposed to see all her actions through an unfavourable medium. Her predilection for, and her attachment to the duchess de Polignac, suffered the most malignant comments of satirical prejudice; and the liberal donations, or high employments, with which that family was distinguished, necessarily added to the load of public execration. The accumulated topics of popular invective and animadversion, were circulated with rapidity, and received with equal avidity, by an ignorant and credulous multitude, who filled the arcades of the "Palais Royal," and who imbibed the most inveterate detestation of their queen, as conceiving her the author of the public distress. They had already in some degree marked her out as a victim to the general indignation; and anxiously awaited for the favourable occasion, which should liberate the sovereign and the nation from the pretended evils of her influence, and leave Lewis XVI. to the impulse of his natural beneficence and affection for his people.

The count de Provence, the eldest of the king's two brothers, acted a very inferior and subordinate part upon this great theatre. Either destitute of talents to excite public attention, or repressing them from motives of prudence and situation, he appeared only in the back ground; and formed a contrast to the imposing qualities which distinguished the count d'Artois. Of a figure much more graceful and elegant than either of his brothers, this latter prince was likewise adorned with more dignified, if not more courteous manners. Attached to the queen, from similarity of taste and character, he even exceeded her in profusion, expence, and dissipation. After having passed the morning on the "Plaine de Sablons," in the dress and occupation of a jockey, he only retired from these fatigues to repose in the arms of Mademoiselle Contat. His little palace of "Bagatelle," in the "Bois de Boulogne," was at once the scene of the most refined and voluptuous debauch, and of the most profligate pleasures, which luxury could devise or assemble. Two sons already advancing towards manhood, and whose constitutions promised vigorous health, attracted the eyes of the nation; and gave him a manifest superiority to the count de Provence, whose marriage had not been

fruitful. The feeble and debilitated state of the dauphin, whose infirmities already appeared to menace a premature end, left only the duke de Normandie between him and the eventual succession to the crown. Though not endowed with any eminent talents, yet, as being of a character more decided and affirmative than either the king or the count de Provence, he came more forward to public view; and, by his adherence to the queen, influenced very considerably the affairs of state.

At a greater distance from the throne, but decorated with the title of *First Prince of the Blood*, was seen the duke of Orleans. Possessed of an immense revenue, and having in reversion all the domains of his father-in-law, the duke de Penthieure, he might be esteemed the richest subject in Europe. His reputation for generosity and munificence bore, however, no proportion to his ample possessions: on the contrary, though profuse in the gratification of his appetites, he was accused by the popular voice of an attention to œconomy unworthy of his high birth and splendid fortune. Emulous of being thought to resemble Henry IV. and the regent duke of Orleans, from both of which princes he derived his descent, he had no similarity to either, except in the foibles which shaded the character of the former, and in the vices which disgraced the conduct of the latter. The beneficence, the heroic valour, and clemency of mind, which characterised the king of Navarre, were not to be traced in his degenerate grandson. The sublime talents, the military genius, and the various endowments of a statesman and a general, which were combined in the regent, were as vainly sought in the duke of Orleans.

Abandoned to pleasures of every description, yet had he no elevation nor refinement in his amusements. His personal courage, which had sustained some injury, and excited some sarcastic comments, from his behaviour under Orvilliers in 1778, had not been retrieved by his unpropitious attempt to signalize himself, when he accompanied Charles and Robert in their balloon. The malignant reflections formerly thrown out upon his intrepidity as a naval officer, were followed by pasquinades upon his supposed apprehensions in the balloon; and he was said to have been as unfortunate in the park of Meudon, where he alighted from his aerial excursion, as he had been at an earlier period of life, in the vicinity of the islands of Ushant. Notwithstanding these aspersions and defects, he yet possessed qualities which, if conducted by judgment, might have redeemed him from the load of obloquy under which he was oppressed. His talents were certainly above mediocrity, his mind enlarged, his manners condescending and popular, his understanding cultivated by letters, and an extensive acquaintance with mankind.

He was the only prince of the house of Bourbon, who had ever visited England in person; the duke d'Alençon, brother to Henry III. of France, having been the last, who, in the prosecution of his design to marry Elizabeth, had passed over into these kingdoms. The disorders in the finances, and the desperate or arbitrary measures to which the court was compelled perpetually to have recourse, in order to raise new loans, and obtain supplies, had given the duke of Orleans an occasion, of which he gladly availed himself, to regain his long-lost popularity. To this public and ostensible cause of his alienation from the court, were added some private misunderstandings, which had their origin in the interference of the queen, to prevent an alliance which was projected, between the eldest son of the count d'Artois, and the daughter of the duke of Orleans; a marriage which, it was more than possible, might elevate the young princess to the throne of France. Animated and stimulated by these motives, he seemed to awake from the dissolute pleasures in which he had been plunged, and to assume the more dignified and ingratiating character of an opposer of despotism, and a protector of the people. This change of conduct soon produced its full effect; and he passed, with the most rapid transition, from the contempt and reprobation of the inhabitants of Paris, to the height of favour and general attachment.

Such was the aspect which the court of Versailles presented at the commencement of the year 1787, and such were the principal characters and personages of which it was composed. The sources of discontent, and even of revolt and insurrection, were numerous and augmenting. The ordinary channels of revenue were either dried up, or had become inadequate to the exigencies of government. Recourse was therefore reluctantly had to other modes of

obtaining supplies; and the convocation of the "Notables" was proposed by Calonne to the king, and adopted immediately as the only remaining expedient.

In these critical circumstances of perplexity and distress, Vergennes, whose high reputation and superior talents had hitherto diffused a lustre over all the councils of France, and alone sustained the tottering load of public credit and grandeur,—this celebrated minister, the successor of Maurepas, and who since his death had, during eight years, held the first place in the administration, was removed by death from a scene to which all his abilities perhaps would have been found unequal. Fortunate in his alliances, in his wars, in his negotiations, in his acquisition of fame, in the enjoyment of the royal favour and the popular opinion; he was yet more happy in not surviving these frail and uncertain possessions. Unlike to Louvois and to Fleury, he neither forfeited the affection of his sovereign, nor outlived his own talents and capacity. Admired, regretted, and lamented, his death seemed to be the signal which unloosed the jarring elements of civil commotion, and which marked the æra of the extinction of tranquillity and obedience.

The dismission of Calonne followed in a few weeks; and the elevation of an ecclesiastic, the archbishop of Toulouse, to the supreme control of the finances, whatever expectations it might at first awaken of alleviation and redress, only tended in the event to aggravate the national calamities, and to increase the popular discontent. New systems, equally unproductive as the preceding, and only calculated for temporary relief, afforded neither a remedy to the pressing necessities of the court, nor to the clamorous grievances of the people. The "Notables" were found to be equally incompetent and averse to adduce any cure for these multiplied distempers of the state. They were therefore dissolved; and the nation already began to demand an assembly of the "States-general," as the last and only measure, competent to extricate and retrieve them from the danger of impending bankruptcy and ruin.

But the troubles and internal feuds of the Dutch commonwealth, which had been long nourished and fed by the political liberality of the cabinet of Versailles, which had grown up under the fostering hand of Vergennes, and which a series of deep and artful negotiations had inflamed and augmented, now approached rapidly to their crisis. Never could they have attained to their maturity at a more inauspicious moment for France; and never was the triumph of fortune, over the machinations of policy, more conspicuously exemplified.

William V., prince of Orange, possessed the stadtholderate of the United Provinces. Allied by name, rather than by blood, to the great house of Nassau, so fertile in heroes and in legislators, few traces of the sublime qualities, which have rendered that family immortal, were to be discovered in their successor. But in the princess, his wife, sprung from the houses of Brandenburg and Nassau united, the characteristic energy of both was visible. Driven out of the province of Holland, by the indignities and insults with which the republican faction had treated the prince, whom they had compelled to retire to Nimeguen, she had the courage to set out for the Hague, and, unattended by any guards, to traverse a hostile country, in the hope of adjusting, by her presence, address, and flexibility, the points in dispute between her husband and the states. In this arduous and delicate attempt she was frustrated, and even her person laid under an arrest, by the brutality of one of the military officers, in the service of the republic. Obliged to abandon her project, and to return to Nimeguen, she invoked the protection and assistance of the king of Prussia, to reinstate the exiled stadtholder in the hereditary dignities and offices, of which he had been so unjustly deprived. It was not to her uncle that she addressed these entreaties. The great Frederic was no more: he had paid the common tribute to mortality, and had expired at Potsdam, in August 1786, under the accumulated weight of age and diseases. But though he no longer animated in person the councils of Berlin, the vigour of his genius survived; it seemed even to have attained new force in the hands of a sovereign, whose more active period of life led him to adopt measures of decision, and whose near relationship to the princess of Orange stimulated him to warmer exertions in her behalf.

The juncture was favourable to the Prussian interposition; and England, under the auspices of a minister, prompt to seize the

occasion of again re-appearing, with dignity and effect, on the continent, avowedly joined and aided the attack upon the enemies of the house of Orange. An army of about 15,000 men, commanded by the first military genius in Europe, the duke of Brunswick, entered the territories of the states-general, in September 1787, and overran, with the same rapidity that Lewis XIV. had done in the last century, the province of Holland. Amsterdam itself, the centre of disaffection, and the last asylum of the French and republican factions, after a short and ineffectual struggle, capitulated, and received the conqueror. A complete but almost bloodless revolution was effected; and the Hague, so long a prey to discord and to animosity, saw the stadtholder return, and occupy his high station with every expression of loyalty and attachment.

France, embarrassed and incapable, from her domestic misfortunes, of interfering, either with honour to herself, or efficacy to her friends, though she appeared to make a feeble effort in their favour, yet ultimately gave way to the storm, and consented to disarm; nay more, publicly to deny her having ever intended to injure that party, in whose support she had expended her treasures, and for whom, in more auspicious æras, she would have involved Europe in blood and hostility. The high reputation which so signal a success reflected on the councils of Great Britain, was contrasted and rendered more splendid by a comparison with the fallen state of her antient rival, who, only a few years preceding these events, in conjunction with America, had seemed to give laws in every quarter of the globe. The energy and wise precaution of the minister did not, however, remit its vigilance, or content itself with having liberated the Dutch republic, and reinstated the stadtholder. Attentive to profit by this fortunate and propitious moment, and to avail himself of the gratitude, with which the assistance extended to Holland had equally impressed the government and the people, he cemented those sentiments, by immediately framing, and eventually concluding, a defensive treaty with the United Provinces. It was signed in April 1788, and was evidently built on the model of that which had been terminated, under the auspices of Vergennes, between France and Holland, towards the close of the year 1785. Reciprocal succours, naval and military, were stipulated; and the bands of political union were drawn as close as human wisdom and mutual interest could devise.

This alliance, so much approved, and so highly beneficial to England, was succeeded by a second, similar in its tenor, nature, and tendency, between the courts of St. James's and Berlin, which was ratified in the month of August, in the same year. They had been preceded by a subsidiary treaty between England and the landgrave of Hesse, which enabled the former power, on the payment of a certain annual sum, to demand from the latter, at a very short notice, a body of twelve thousand troops.

Thus, in the space of only four years, which might be said to have elapsed since the complete triumph of the sovereign and the nation over the "Coalition," had Great Britain, under the conduct of a minister who had not yet attained his thirtieth year, risen from a state of unexampled depression to her antient superiority among the European kingdoms. The finances had been re-established by a system of unremitting and severe œconomy. Commerce, aided and emancipated by the wise regulations of an enlarged policy, opened new sources, and navigated seas hitherto unknown or unexplored, in the prosecution of its objects. Public credit attained a point of elevation and permanence, unparalleled since the commencement of the unfortunate war with America. The councils of England, conducted on principles, not of a crooked duplicity, but of rectitude and magnanimity, excited respect and approbation in the surrounding states, while they diffused prosperity and felicity over every part of the island.

Political alliances, and connexions on the continent, added the prospect of stability to every measure, which was calculated for internal security or commercial advantage. The calamities of lord North's administration, and the anarchy which succeeded that unfortunate period; the defalcation of thirteen provinces, and of both the Floridas, from the empire; the disgraces of Saratoga, and of the Chesapeak; the tumults and conflagration of London; in a word, the varied and accumulated misfortunes, which, in a long series of years, had oppressed and almost overwhelmed the commonwealth, were already erased from the recollection. A mild and happy calm had

smoothed these troubled waves. The sovereign was deservedly dear to every rank and order of his subjects, who united in regarding him as their father and benefactor. The government, beloved at home, was respected abroad; and the people, happy beyond the example of former times, looked up with equal affection and veneration towards the source of these multiplied benefits.

But amidst the present flattering aspect of affairs, an unexpected and disastrous change was preparing to manifest itself, which no human prudence could have foreseen, or precautions delayed. We were destined to experience, in its fullest extent, the mutability of fortune, and frangibility of greatness; to hold out a memorable lesson to our own and to future times, that the splendor and felicity of man, however solid the foundations on which they may seem to repose, are in the hands of a superior Being, who confers or withdraws them in an instant. I am arrived at that awful and affecting period, when the feelings of all those, who shall peruse these sheets, will anticipate my own; and which, from a variety of motives, I should wish to cover under a veil of oblivion, if the publicity of the great leading facts, and, still more, if the instruction conveyed by the narration itself, as one of the most interesting portions of modern annals, did not supersede my personal inclinations. It is not, however, either in my plan or my intention, to relate the *private* history of that extraordinary period; or to drag into day-light facts and anecdotes, which, curious and entertaining as they must appear to posterity, are in every sense unfit for the perusal of the present age. Sentiments of duty, delicacy, and respect towards a prince inexpressibly dear to his people; towards a queen, who, for a long series of years, and in every relation of domestic life, has been blameless and exemplary; towards those illustrious persons, on whom the sceptre of George III. must, in the ordinary progress of events, devolve; even motives of prudence, propriety, and decorum arrest my pen, and prevent me from shading a picture, the outline only of which, it is either wise or necessary to hold up to the public eye, placed as we are so near the object. Previous, however, to entering into a detail of the proceedings on the regency, it will be necessary to return to less important subjects.

The frequent consideration of the affairs of India had led to the accusation of sir Elijah Impey. The charges adduced against him were of the following tenor; that he had acted as the instrument of Mr. Hastings in the unprincipled attack on the life of the rajah Nunducomar, whom he unjustly condemned to death; that he had betrayed great partiality and injustice in the Patna cause; that he had systematically extended his jurisdiction; that he had behaved improperly in the Cossijurah cause, had accepted an additional office in defiance of an act of parliament, and was an abettor of the schemes of the governor-general against the begums of Oude and Cheit Sing. When he had made his defence at the bar, it was moved that the first charge should be declared to be a ground of impeachment, after a long speech from sir Gilbert Elliot, who contended, that the authority of the court by which the rajah was tried did not extend over all the inhabitants of British India; that, if it had, the act which rendered forgery a capital crime was not intended to be operative in that country; and that sir Elijah appeared, throughout the business, as the agent and solicitor for the prosecution, rather than an impartial administrator of justice. Mr. Fox reinforced the arguments of sir Gilbert; but Mr. Pitt vindicated the conduct of the judge, and maintained the applicability of the law to the inhabitants of Calcutta, as one of whom the rajah was tried; and, by a majority of 18, the charge was rejected. The house postponed the investigation of the other articles; and no impeachment resulted from the whole inquiry. 1788.

The friend of the judge who so easily escaped judicial cognisance, was subjected to a long trial before the high court of peers in Westminster-hall.* When the articles of accusation and the answers had been read, the lord-chancellor asked who appeared to substantiate the charges. "I stand forth," said Mr. Burke, "at the command of the commons of Great Britain, as the accuser of Warren Hastings." He then commenced a wonderful display of eloquence, which occupied the attention of the court, and a numerous assemblage of admiring auditors, during four days of trial. After an interesting appeal to the justice of the tribunal, he detailed the history of Hindostan from early times, and

* The first day of the trial was the 13th of February.

exhibited a luminous view of the successive governments, the institutions civil and religious, the arts, customs, and manners, of the various tribes of inhabitants. He traced the progress of English intrusion, and minutely described the establishments made by our countrymen. He lamented that, instead of acting as friends or instructors of the natives, they had marked their way by treachery and rapine, and had taught vice rather than virtue. He expatiated on their unjust proceedings, their usurpations of power, and their frequent enormities. He particularised the acts of Mr. Hastings, developed his system of policy, exposed his arbitrary and rapacious views, and endeavoured to hold him up to universal execration, as a monster of tyranny. The governor-general had attempted to justify some of his oppressions by alleging, that, as he found the people in a state of slavery, he had a right to exercise a despotic authority over them. From what source, the orator asked, could he derive such a right? Not from the India company; not from his sovereign, or from either house of parliament; not from the Koran, the institutes of Timour, or the Gentoo code; for by none of these could it be said that despotism was sanctioned. The claim only arose from his own depraved mind and distorted conceptions. He seemed to have adopted a geographical species of morality, and to have formed his ideas of the rights of men, and the principles of government, by the degrees of latitude and longitude, without considering that the immutable principles of justice were suited to every clime, and requisite for every plan of administration. He did not scruple to employ the most infamous villains as his agents, and was therefore answerable for the enormous cruelties perpetrated by those ruffians—cruelties which the accuser depicted with such warmth of colouring, that some of his female hearers were convulsed with horror.

Mr. Burke concluded his speech, or rather his course of orations, by impeaching Mr. Hastings, in the names of insulted and oppressed millions; in the name of that religion which he had disgraced, of that constitution from which he had wantonly deviated, of that system of eternal justice which he had basely violated, which was paramount to all civil ordinances, and coeval with the law of nature.

The committee appointed to manage the impeachment proposed, that, after the adduction of one charge, Mr. Hastings should be required to defend himself particularly against that article, before another should be brought forward; but, though this proposal was justified by reason and precedent, it was pronounced by the lord-chancellor to be contrary to the general practice of courts of law; and a majority of the peers ordered, that all the charges should be heard before the defence should be demanded. The managers acquiesced in this dictation, though Mr. Fox declared that it was the right of the commons to pursue any mode which they might deem most conducive to public justice, and to follow the constitutional law of parliament in preference to the rules of inferior courts.

Feb. 22. This speaker then asserted the pride which he felt in being thus employed. He boasted of the deliberate and dispassionate manner in which the impeachment had been brought forward, not by the men who had the chief sway in the house of commons, but by a party that had little weight or influence, and whose endeavours could only be successful from being exerted in the cause of truth and justice. Proceeding to the Benares charge, he observed, that when the supposed sovereignty of this district had been transferred by the nabob of Oude to the company, Mr. Hastings assumed a greater power over Cheit Sing than his former lord-paramount had ventured to exercise; that he violated his compact with the rajah by demands of extraordinary supplies in three successive years; that he seemed to be actuated on these occasions by personal animosity, not less than by a spirit of rapine; that he converted what had been a mere recommendation from the council of Calcutta into an authoritative demand, by requiring from the rajah a body of cavalry; and accepted (for the use of the company, as he afterwards alleged) a sum of money apparently intended to purchase a rescue from future tyranny. Not content with these exactions, the governor undertook a journey to Benares, to extort a very exorbitant fine, for what he termed the contumacy of the rajah; refused to admit him to an audience; and commanded the seizure of his person. For the sanguinary attack upon the soldiers who executed this order, by the enraged dependants of Cheit Sing, Mr. Hastings was certainly accountable.

On the next day of trial, Mr. Grey closed

the charge with spirit and elegance. He animadverted on the allegations of misgovernment, of a concealment of great treasures, of an insubmissive and rebellious spirit—imputations which were by no means proved against Cheit Sing. He noticed the rajah's behaviour under the disgrace of an arrest, in which he had acquiesced with humiliation, not without mildly remonstrating against such treatment. He remarked that, under the sway of a Mohammedan prince, this vassal had found protection, but that, under British sovereignty, his portion was misery. He reprobated the orders given for plundering the fort, in which the mother and the wife of Cheit Sing resided, and contrasted the subsequent condition of the country with its prosperous state under the rajah.

Witnesses were then examined with a view of substantiating this charge, and many papers were read for the same purpose. Mr. Anstruther summed up the evidence with ability, but was less animated than the three preceding speakers.

The next charge was opened by Mr. Adam, who entered into geographical and historical details relative to Oude, treated of the lineage and quality of the begums, invalidated the pretences for depriving them of their property, and execrated the inhumanities to which they and their friends had been exposed. Mr. Pelham enlarged on the same subject; and, after a series of evidence, the talents of Mr. Sheridan illustrated the same charge. Having offered some remarks on the peculiar sanctity of the female character in the East, he detailed the injurious treatment which had been offered to the begums, instead of that protection which was due to their persons and property. Their treasures, he said, had been guaranteed to them by treaty; but no agreements could bind Mr. Hastings when he thought it his interest to infringe them; and, in the prosecution of his rapacious aims, he had even armed the son against the mother. He had repaired to the capital of Oude, and, regardless of the distress of the nabob, had drawn from him £100,000, for the benefit of the company, or rather for his own advantage. He had even propagated the report of a rebellion in that province, that he might have a pretence for a renewal of rapine. Of the rebellion no proof appeared, even in the affidavits upon which so much stress had been laid by the governor-general. Far from giving any encouragement to refractory spirits, or to the enemies of the British government, the begums had shown a sincere regard for our interests; and, at a time when Mr. Hastings was in very perilous circumstances, they were ready to assist him, rather than promote his ruin. The commotions of Oude arose from the rapacity and violence of the English, not from the intrigues or the machinations of secluded females. The charge of rebellion was not devised by the governor before he had determined on the ruin of the begums; it was an after-thought, suggested as a medium of justification. The idea of seizing their treasures originated with him, not with the nabob, by whom it was subserviently adopted, on pretence of a right derived from the Koran; and, though that prince was very unwilling to concur in the resumption of their jaghirs, the governor insisted on the execution of both measures. He ordered Mr. Middleton to prosecute both services with the most active zeal, till the begums should be entirely at the mercy of the nabob; but, for the consequent cruelties perpetrated at Fyzabad, he did not hold himself responsible, because he was not present on the occasion. He sent an Impey to invigorate the flagging conscience of a Middleton, while an Ali Khan was encouraged by the more determined villany of a Hyder Beg.

When Mr. Sheridan had expatiated on these points, had embellished his harangue with elegant effusions of morality and sentiment, he concluded with a forcible appeal to the justice of his noble auditors. His speech was universally admired; and, if he had given no other specimen of his abilities, the record of this alone would transmit his name to posterity with distinguished lustre. But, with all the applause which it obtained, it did not make such an impression on the peers as to convince the majority of the guilt of the impeached governor: in that point of view, its effect was trivial and transitory.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GEORGE III.

[1788 to 1789.]

Tranquil Situation of England—Alarming Indisposition of his Majesty—Grief and Loyalty of the Nation—Debates, on the proposal of a Regency, between the Ministerial Party and that of the Prince of Wales—Recovery of his Majesty—National Exultation—Parliamentary Acts—Bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters—Changes in the Ministry.

IT is not easy to imagine or to parallel, in the history of the eighteenth century, a period of more perfect serenity, than that which England presented in the autumn of 1788. The king, accompanied by the queen, and surrounded by his family, after having tried the effects of a relaxation from public business, and of the medicinal waters of Cheltenham, had returned to Windsor, not indeed in a state of vigorous health, but by no means in any such declining state of indisposition, as to excite alarm among his subjects. The prince of Wales, as usual, passed the summer at his marine pavilion at Brighthelmstone. Mr. Pitt, occupied in the functions of his station, was detained in the vicinity of the capital; while Mr. Fox, whose faculties of body and mind had been not a little exercised and exhausted, by a toilsome attendance in Covent Garden, during the extreme heats of August, which was thought requisite to secure the election of lord John Townshend, as member for Westminster, indulged a degree of necessary repose, and withdrew for a short time from the hurry of political life. He quitted England, and repaired to Switzerland and Italy, as a scene calculated to amuse and entertain, while it restored and invigorated a constitution, impaired by constant exertion. The great leaders of ministry and opposition, having laid aside their political animosities, were dispersed, in peaceful inactivity, over every part of the kingdom. From this state of public recreation and felicity the nation was suddenly and rudely awoke, by the reports of his majesty being attacked by an unexpected and dangerous illness. The precise nature of it was for several days unascertained and unexplained, even to those, whose residence near the court should have enabled them to obtain early and authentic information. Meanwhile, fame augmented the evil; and the death of the sovereign was believed either to have already taken place, or to be imminent or inevitable.

THE grief and distraction which were manifested in every part of the island, on the publication of this calamitous event, can only be compared with that of the Roman people, on the news of Germanicus being seized with mortal symptoms at Antioch; as the distressful situation of the queen bore some resemblance to that of Agrippina. *Passim silentia et genitus, nihil compositum in ostentationem, et quanquam neque insignibus lugentium abstinerent, altius animis mœrebant.* Time, however, gradually divulged the truth, and changed the apprehensions of the nation for the situation of the king. His disorder was understood to have fallen upon the brain, and to have produced (as might be expected) a temporary privation of reason. As the cause of this alienation of mind was extraneous and violent, it might be hoped that it could only be of short duration; but the issue was uncertain, while the suspension of all government, and of every function attached to the kingly dignity, was immediate and indisputa-

ble. A species of inter-regnum in fact took place; though unaccompanied by any of those circumstances, which usually characterize and attend that unfortunate state. The kingdom, anxious, and with eyes directed towards their sovereign, betrayed no symptoms of confusion, anarchy, or civil commotion. The first minister continued to exercise, by a general submission and consent, the powers delegated to him before the king's indisposition; and the political machine, well constructed and properly organized, sustained no derangement or injury from this shock, except those inseparably connected with delay in the transactions, or negotiations, pending with foreign courts.

1788. Meanwhile, the heir to the monarchy had quitted Brighthelmstone, on the first information of his father's malady, and repaired to Windsor, whither he was followed by the duke of York. Physicians were called in, though ineffectually; and as the nature of the distemper, and of its final termination, opened a wide field to conjecture, change, and alteration, an express was sent to overtake Mr. Fox, in whatever part of the continent he might be found, and to entreat that he would return without delay to England.

The two houses of parliament, in consequence of the preceding prorogation, met in a few days subsequent to these extraordinary events. The general agitation and curiosity, even if they had not been aided by other emotions, of hope and fear, of ambition and of public duty, would alone have produced a numerous attendance. Mr. Pitt opened the subject of their meeting in a very concise and pathetic manner; lamented the occasion, expressed his hope that the cause would speedily be removed, and, in pursuance of that idea, advised an immediate adjournment for a fortnight. The proposition was received in deep silence by the opposite side of the house, and assented to in mute acquiescence. Their leader was not yet arrived; and consequently time was wanted to adjust and determine on their plan of action, under circumstances so delicate and unprecedented. In the interval which took place, his majesty was removed to the palace of Kew. The prince of Wales returned to Carlton-house; and Mr. Fox, impatiently expected, after a journey, which he performed with incredible expedition, from Bologna, in a very infirm and disordered state of health, arrived in London, and assumed his just pre-eminence in the councils of his party.

Those councils evinced their nature and object as soon as their late adjournment was at an end; and Mr. Fox, generously, though perhaps injudiciously, stepping forward in the senate, rather laid claim to the vacant sceptre, in the name and on the behalf of the heir-apparent, as belonging and devolving on him of right, than preferred his pretensions with modesty and submission, at the bar of the assembled nation. Perhaps a step, more injurious to the great personage whom it was intended to serve, or more pregnant with consequences to be deprecated, of every kind, could not have been devised or executed. Perhaps too, when time shall have withdrawn that curtain, which is still stretched across these interesting events, we may discover, that in advancing so unqualified a demand of the regency, he did not precisely follow the dictates of his own elevated mind and illuminated judgment. It awakened a jealous spirit of enquiry into the supposed origin and foundation of that asserted right, in the breasts even of the most liberal and unprejudiced. It compelled administration to probe that problematical and obscure part of the British constitution. It reminded those, to whom the writings of Shakspeare were familiar, of that affecting and pathetic scene, in which Henry IV., under a temporary privation of his faculties, finds, on his recovery, that his eldest son has carried away the insignia of royal dignity, which, had he only waited a few hours, would have been his by devolution.

The discernment of Mr. Pitt saw, and instantly enabled him to profit by, this error in his antagonist. He demanded the discussion and decision of so great and leading a principle, which led to conclusions unlimited and undefined, as well as subversive of the tenure on which a king of England had originally received his crown; previous to any ulterior disposition and distribution of offices. He was joined by a majority of the house in this requisition, and thus commenced his resistance under auspices and circumstances peculiarly favourable. It was in vain that the prince of Wales, already rendered sensible of the injury which his cause had sustained in parliament, and among the people, by Mr. Fox's unqualified claim of right, endeavoured to

wave and prevent all further discussion of so invidious a subject. It was in vain that the duke of York, in his brother's name, and by his authority, renounced any such assumption of power, and made this public declaration in the house of lords. Nor was Mr. Fox's attempt to qualify his first assertion, and to give it a more mitigated sense, received with better success in the other house.

The assertion of the right of the heir apparent to the regency, induced the minister to propose the discussion of that point, before any steps were taken to supply the deficiency in the government. Mr. Sheridan deprecated the agitation of this topic as inflammatory; but Mr. Pitt thought that less mischief would result from the consideration of it, than from leaving it undecided. Before it was investigated, a warm debate arose in the upper house, in which, after earl Fitzwilliam had recommended a forbearance of dispute upon this point, the dukes of York and Glocester also opposed the discussion, particularly as their royal relative had no idea of assuming or exercising any power (whatever might be his claim) but that which should be derived from the authority of the lords and commons. It was on this occasion that the lord-chancellor, while he wished the question to be postponed, expressed his grateful sense of the kindness of his sovereign, by saying, *If I ever forget him, may God forget me.*

Mr. Pitt did not consider the question of right as a point of abstract speculation; it was, he said, a question of fact and of precedent rather than of theory. He referred to the reign of Henry VI. for the most analogous cases. In the minority of that prince, the parliament had appointed a regent, or protector, and had subjected him to the control of a council. A similar course had been pursued when the same monarch, indisposed in body and in mind, was incapable of governing. He instanced other cases, in which an appointment had taken place, proving the sense of our ancestors to have been adverse to a claim of right on the part of the heir apparent. As precedent thus favoured his opinion, reason also led to the same conclusion; for on the incapacitation of the royal branch of the legislature, the right of providing for the security of the realm seemed properly to belong to the hereditary counsellors of the king and the representatives of the people. He moved three resolutions; one asserting the incapacity of the sovereign, another declaring it to be the right and duty of the lords and commons to adjust the mode of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the king's authority, and the third stating the necessity of their devising the means of giving the royal assent to such a bill as they might frame for the regulation of the powers and authorities adapted to the present exigency. The master of the rolls denied the prince's right; but his claim was asserted by lord North, who would not allow that any former case could justify the proposed interference of the two houses. Mr. Fox spoke diffusely on the same topics; argued that the usage which rendered the crown hereditary, was also applicable to the regency; and said, that the peers and commons had no other concern in the supply of the vacancy of the executive power, than merely to adjudge the regent office to the princely claimant. On a division, Mr. Pitt was supported by 268 voices, while 204 disapproved of his suggestions.

The debate was renewed when the three resolutions were reported. Dec. 1788. Sir Grey Cooper opposed the second and third as unnecessary and unjustifiable; Mr. Windham professed the same sentiments; and Mr. Anstruther cautioned the house against the danger of misapplying the great seal. Mr. Dempster moved without effect, that the prince should be requested to act as regent, and give the royal assent to the proposed bill. Mr. Burke particularly inveighed against the third resolution, which, he said, was pregnant with peril and alarm. The scheme of creating a puppet or pageant, to supply the place of a king, by first putting the great seal to a commission for opening the parliament, and afterwards to another for passing a bill, was palpably unconstitutional; and it might be carried by ambitious men to an unwarrantable extreme. Such an apprehension, the solicitor-general observed, was ill-founded; for the necessity which created the right would also limit that right. Lord North reprobated that extraordinary assumption of power, which would create a phantom for ministerial purposes, and extinguish for the time the executive branch of the constitution. Mr. Fox affirmed that such a legislature as was now proposed, was more dangerous than even a direct usurpation of the two

houses; for a conduct of the latter kind would not be endured by the people, whereas the former, being apparently sanctified by the exteriors of the constitution, however destitute of its spirit, might insidiously lead to the greatest mischiefs. That this monster of a legislature was intended to limit the power of the regent, was, he added, a very alarming consideration, derogatory from the honour of the crown, and repugnant to the national welfare. Mr. Pitt defended the intention of using the king's name without his consent, when that use was directed by the wisdom of the parliament; and vindicated the restriction of regent power, that no injury might arise from eventual misconduct to the authority of the sovereign.

The proceedings of the commons were delayed for a week by the indisposition and death of Mr. Cornwall, the speaker, and the election of Mr. Grenville to the vacant office. The re-examination of the physicians, proposed by Mr. Loveden, formed another cause of delay; and even after the committee had reported the result, the house made a slow progress. Mr. Pitt, naming the heir of the crown for the regent, brought forward a plan of restriction, which, he said, would still leave sufficient power in the hands of the prince to provide for the public security and welfare. One of the limitations had reference to the creation of peers; another tended to prevent the grant of pensions or places for life; he also proposed, that the officers of the household should not be controlled by the regent, but should be subject to the directions of the queen; and that her majesty, assisted by a council, should have the care of the king's person. Mr. Powys was disgusted with these invidious restrictions, these mutilations of the constitutional authority of the crown, which were inconsistent with the spirit of the late vote for the renovation of the executive power; and he moved for the investment of the prince with the undivided royal authority. Lord North dreaded very serious evils from the adoption of the minister's plan, repugnant as it was to the constitution, and promotive of jealousy, animosity, and contest. The new speaker of the house plausibly defended the limitations, as barriers against the ill advice which might be given to the prince. Mr. Sheridan was lively and sarcastic; and he did not scruple to impute malignant and factious motives to the framers of this dangerous scheme. Colonel Fullarton ably combated the restrictions, which, he thought, were not only hostile to the constitution, but threatened the realm with all the mischiefs of imbecility and distraction. He therefore trusted, that every man who had a regard for the welfare of his country would concur in the rejection of the plan. Mr. Fox inveighed against the illiberality of fettering a prince, of whose abuse of power no just suspicions could be entertained, and condemned the impolicy of creating such a weak and disjointed government. By a difference of 73 votes, a negative was put on the motion of Mr. Powys.

The grant of unusual power to the queen was opposed by lord Maitland, who hinted that her majesty might be induced or advised to conceal the king's recovery; and Mr. Bouverie, though he wished her to be the guardian of the royal person, moved that she should have no power over the household. Mr. Grey was apprehensive that such power might, by sinister councils, be rendered mischievous. Mr. Fox did not think that any ill effects could arise from the free creation of peers by the regent, to whose proper authority this branch of the prerogative was necessary; but he had strong grounds for disapproving the allowance of power to the queen, because wholly needless, and might be exercised to the great detriment of the state. After several divisions, the popositions were voted according to the wishes of the ministry.

In the house of peers, the restrictive resolutions were enforced by the weighty recommendation of earl Camden, who pronounced them to be justifiable, expedient, and politic, and ridiculed the objections of those who apprehended counteractive influence from the lords of the bedchamber, as if the patronage of the navy, of the army, the church, the law, and other departments, would not be sufficient for the purposes of government, without a supplementary authority over the officers of the household. The bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Watson) conceived that the only proper mode of supplying the present deficiency would be, to declare the prince of Wales regent; after which step any limitations that seemed to be necessary might be discussed. The restriction relative to the peerage was censured by the earl of Sandwich, lord Stormont, and other noblemen, who thought that occasions

of rewarding merit by such a grant might arise, and that this appendage of royalty might be usefully exercised against a factious confederacy. That part of the scheme which tended to deprive the regent of all power over the personal estate of the king, was attacked by lord Loughborough, who said, that the subsisting law of the land secured this property from encroachment, and that the resolution would convey unjust suspicions of the prince's honour. These and other objections were fruitless; the resolutions were adopted by the peers; and a joint address was presented to the prince, requesting him to accept the limited regency. Mr. Pitt had before communicated to him an outline of the intended plan, and had received an answer of strong disapprobation; but he consented to undertake the office, that no danger might arise from a longer suspension of the exercise of the royal authority.

1789.

Recourse was now had to the great seal, that the parliament might be opened in form, though Mr. Burke stigmatised this procedure by the appellation of a robbery, and accused the ministers of committing a forgery and fraud to support violence, and prosecute the climax of villany. The meeting being thus legitimated, the bill of regency was introduced. It was assailed by Mr. Burke with his usual intemperance. The princes of the royal blood being excluded from the care of the king's person, and the queen's council and the household being likely to be factious, he said that the whole house of Brunswick was by this attainted, outlawed, excommunicated, and that it would render the prince a mere cipher, a clerk to the officers of state. He made other hyperbolical remarks, to which the house paid no regard. A new point warmly debated was, whether the restoration of the king's health should be determined by the two houses, or his authority should be resumed on the mere declaration of his competence by the queen's counsellors, and some members of the privy-council. The latter mode was recommended with success by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas; while Mr. Marsham and Mr. Powys thought that constitutional maxims required the former. In this discussion, Mr. Burke gave offence by remarking, with feelings (as some of his hearers supposed) of joy and exultation, that the king had been smitten by the hand of the Almighty, hurled from the throne, and reduced to the condition of the meanest peasant.

The month of December elapsed in these contests, and the year 1789 commenced under the most gloomy presages. Mutual asperity and reproach embittered every debate. No appearances of convalescence or recovery, so ardently anticipated by the nation, had yet manifested themselves in the malady of the king. In addition to the keenest sensations of private distress, as a mother and a wife, the queen saw herself on the point of being placed in the most painful, though indispensably necessary situation; that of being entrusted with the care of the royal person, and of standing in a sort of rivalry and competition to her eldest son. The prince, who aspired to a regency unfettered by any restrictions, betrayed, in his reply to a letter which the first minister addressed to him, and in which the great features of that intended delegation of the royal power were delineated, his warm resentment and dissatisfaction at many of those restrictions. He concluded, however, by reluctantly and coldly consenting to receive it, curtailed and degraded as it might be by ministerial or parliamentary distrust.

A second examination of the physicians who had attended his majesty, during the course of his disorder, which took place before a committee of the house of commons, and which was certainly not conducted, on the part of opposition, with either delicacy or judgment, tended to throw very little light on the great object of public enquiry; the probable duration and period of this affecting malady. Mr. Pitt constantly and warmly maintained the probability of its happy termination; and regarding it as neither distant nor hopeless, made the resumption of the royal power by the sovereign with facility and celerity, as soon as he should be enabled to wield the sceptre, the first and leading principle of all his measures and propositions.

The adherents of the prince of Wales saw the prospect of his father's recovery through a very different medium, and conceived it not only improbable, but to be hourly augmenting in that improbability. They were sustained in this opinion by Warren, as the minister was confirmed in his opposite sentiments by Willis; two physicians, on whose contradictory prognostics and apprehensions each party

implicitly relied. The former, at the summit of his profession, and unquestionably possessed of great medical skill, was yet accused by the public voice of leaning in his inclination towards the party of the prince. The latter, brought from a distant province, to attend the sovereign under his severe disorder, and having been peculiarly conversant in that species of disease, boldly and early asserted, that he entertained scarcely any doubts of the king's perfect re-establishment at no remote period. The event fully justified his prediction.

Meanwhile, the introduction of the propositions, upon which the regency bill was meant to be founded, and the restrictions intended to be imposed upon the power of the future regent, which were brought forward by the first minister in the house of commons, carried the rage and virulence of party to the utmost height. The negation of the power of creating peers; the nomination of a council to assist the queen; and the complete reservation of the royal household; were all arraigned and condemned in the warmest terms by Mr. Fox, as dictated only by ambition, and not arising from state necessity, or even from regard to the situation of the monarch. The history of France, under the unhappy reign of Charles VI., was cited as bearing a manifest resemblance to the present disastrous period; and a queen, equally venerated and beloved by the nation, was compared to the unnatural Isabella of Bavaria; as her son the dauphin's abandoned and persecuted state, was asserted to be similar to that of the prince of Wales.

Unmoved by these invectives, and sustained by conscious rectitude of intention, the minister steadily pursued his way; nor was he, in this critical and distressing moment, deserted by either house of parliament. The chancellor, Thurlow, who, at the commencement of the king's illness, had been supposed to have listened to proposals for forming a part of a new administration; anxious to evince the falsehood of so unjust an aspersion, and to give the most unequivocal proofs of loyalty and of adherence to his sovereign, under the present circumstances, collected all the energy of his mind, in the various appeals which he successfully made to the honour and patriotism of the house of lords.

In this stage of the public business, at a moment when the king's situation appeared most to exclude hope, and while the house of commons were fully occupied, in framing the principal component parts of the act which was to establish the regency, Mr. Fox withdrew from the scene; and quitting London, retired to Bath. His disordered state of health was assigned as a pretext for this secession, at so extraordinary and critical a juncture; but the public conceived the motives of it to originate in very different causes. Dissension and jealousy had already pervaded the councils of Carlton-house. The distribution of offices, under the approaching regency, had produced alienation among the chiefs. An interior cabinet, different in its views, and opposite in its objects, to the great ostensible leaders of the party attached to the prince of Wales, had set up a separate standard, and formed a distinct interest. Difference of opinion had manifested itself, upon some very delicate and personal points. Cabal and intrigue had penetrated into the closet. His royal highness was generally supposed to have experienced difficulties, if not peremptory refusals of gratifying his wishes, on the part of the duke of Portland; and *that*, in relation to persons and things, peculiarly near his heart.

These numerous sources of disunion were still, however, in some measure concealed from view by their very nature, and the mutual interest and honour of the parties themselves. The great acts of parliamentary legislation proceeded, and were nearly approaching to their termination. A very short period, probably not exceeding three days, must have completed the bill, which was to declare the incapacity of the sovereign to conduct the national affairs, and to transfer the sceptre, though with diminished influence, to his son. The members of administration were on the point of resigning their charges, and the new ministry, already settled, prepared to enter on office; while the English people, fondly attached, by every sentiment of loyalty and affection, to their monarch, as well as from gratitude and esteem for the first minister, in dejection and silence looked on, and saw the government transferred to others, who, whatever abilities they might collectively possess, certainly neither merited nor enjoyed the general approbation and confidence.

But the term of inter-regnum and misfortune was now arrived; and the impending calamity

which had menaced England with all the evils of a regency, far more to be deprecated and dreaded than those from which the country had escaped in 1784, was suddenly and unexpectedly dissipated. The disorder, under which the king had suffered during three months, and of which the violence had hitherto appeared to baffle all medical skill and exertion, gradually but rapidly subsided. Sanity of mind and reason resumed their seat, and left no trace of their temporary subversion. Time confirmed the cure, and restored to his subjects a prince, rendered supremely and peculiarly dear to them by the recent prospect and apprehension of his loss. The vision of a regency faded and disappeared, as the sovereign came forward to public view, and was totally extinguished by the resumption of all the regal functions.

The demonstrations of national joy far exceeded any recorded in the English annals, and were probably more real and unfeigned than ever were offered on similar occasions. It was not only that a king beloved and respected was recovered from the most afflicting of all situations incident to humanity, and enabled to reascend the throne. Sentiments of disapprobation, of general condemnation, affixed to the measures and conduct of the opposite party, heightened the emotions of pleasure, by a comparison with that state from which the kingdom had been so fortunately delivered. No efforts of despotism, or mandates of absolute power, could have produced the illuminations, which the capital exhibited in testimony of its loyalty; and these proofs of attachment were renewed and even augmented, on the occasion of his majesty's first appearance in public, and his solemn procession to St. Paul's, to return thanks to heaven for his recovery. Serenity and tranquillity, so long banished, resumed their place, and soon effaced the recollection of a calamity, not more awful and alarming in its appearance and progress, than speedily and happily extinguished.

Among the most interesting matters which were brought before parliament this session, was the repeal of the corporation and test acts, as far as related to protestant dissenters. The application was made by a motion of Mr. Beaufoy, which Mr. Fox supported with great force of eloquence and argument; resting chiefly on the reasonableness and natural justice of restoring to persons of this description the privileges enjoyed by members of the English church, and a full power, according to their talents, of rendering themselves useful to the state. His reasonings were combated by the premier, on the principles of expediency and civil utility: government, he asserted, had a right to prevent any civil inconvenience which such opinions might produce; without waiting till, by their being carried into action, the inconvenience should actually arise. He considered the established church as a part of the constitution of the country, and the acts in question as justifiable on the principle of self-defence. They had now existed for above a century, and had ever been looked upon as one of the bulwarks of the constitution. He was supported by lord North, and the motion was rejected by a majority of 122 to 102. The same fate attended a bill introduced by earl Stanhope into the house of peers, for relieving members of the church of England from sundry penalties and disabilities, for absenting themselves from service, and other things made punishable by law, and for extending freedom in matters of religion to all persons, papists only excepted. By this bill it was intended, not only to repeal the penal statutes relative to such offences, but to give freedom of discussion, by speaking, writing, and printing, on all religious subjects; a freedom which, it was feared, would be highly prejudicial to the peace and welfare of the community, by loosening the bands of society, and opening a door to licentiousness and civil disorder as well as to irreligion.

Before the close of the session, two bills were passed, which are deserving our notice, as of material importance to the commercial world: one of these was introduced by a motion, which Mr. Fox now repeated, for a repeal of the shop-tax, which proved successful; the minister making no opposition to it. The other was a bill, brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer, for repealing the existing duties on tobacco, and substituting duties of excise. The odium which had ever attended the excise taxes in England, afforded the friends of the manufacturers, who petitioned against the measure, strong grounds for opposition, of which they availed themselves. But the great addition which it promised to the revenue, without any additional burden to the community, was a circumstance that

outweighed the objections made to it, and gave the plan the approbation of a great majority in both houses.

Such were the principal transactions of this session, which was not closed till the beginning of the month of August. In the mean time, Mr. Grenville had been appointed secretary of state, in the room of lord Sidney, and Mr. Henry Addington was raised to the vacant chair of the speaker. He was elected, in opposition to sir Gilbert Elliot, by a majority of 215 to 142 votes; and his subsequent demeanor, in the discharge of all the duties of his office, did honour to the patronage of his friends, and to the judgment of the house of commons.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GEORGE III.

[1789.]

An historical Sketch (continued) of the Rise and infant Progress of the French Revolution; including Anecdotes of the principal Individuals connected with that important Event, and developing the Causes by which it was occasioned and matured—Affairs of the Netherlands and of Turkey.

The attention of Europe, which had been so powerfully attracted towards England, during the continuance of the severe indisposition of George III., was now to be directed to another object, scarcely less productive of change, and pregnant with the most important consequences. France, so long inured to servitude, and only tracing the existence of her liberties in the page of forgotten historians or antiquaries; whose fetters, originally imposed by Richlieu, and strengthened by Mazarin, had been rivetted by the lapse of nearly two centuries, by the proud tyranny of Lewis XIV., and by the profligate despotism of his successor: France, stimulated by the writings of genius and philosophy, which, in defiance of arbitrary power, have illuminated and dignified the present age, aspired to freedom. The weakness of the sovereign; the incapacity or timidity of his ministers; the exhausted state of the treasury and finances; the unexampled and pertinacious opposition of the parliament of Paris, to register or sanction the royal edicts for the imposition of new taxes; the failure of the harvests, and consequent augmentation in the price of bread; all these concurring circumstances contributed to produce and accelerate a revolution.

The various parliaments of the kingdom, in terms of energy and firmness, to which they had been long disused, clamorously demanded the immediate convocation of the states-general, as the only constitutional or adequate remedy to the distempers of the state. They adhered to this requisition, not only in defiance of the displeasure of the crown, which was manifested by the banishment of the parliament of Paris to Troyes, in Champagne, but in opposition to their own essential interests, and even eventual existence. The nobility, attached by so many ties to the

sovereign, and the natural supporters of his prerogative, irritated at the attempt made by Calonne, and persisted in by the archbishop of Toulouse, to deprive them of their exemption from the projected land-tax, or *impot territorial*, joined the courts of judicature in their refusal to register the measures proposed, and forsook their hereditary maxims of policy, to adopt the popular party. The irresolute conduct of the first minister, under these delicate and trying circumstances, invigorated and emboldened the enemies of government; and the spirit of remonstrance, complaint, and menace, disseminated with industry, became daily more general and alarming.

The archbishop, after many inefficient and unsuccessful plans for the re-establishment of the finances, and some ill-conceived exertions of severity and power against his opponents, felt himself unequal to combat the gathering storm of national indignation; and, retiring from a situation of danger and eminence, abandoned his master to the mercy of events. He even quitted France, and passed the Alps into Italy; as Calonne, under similar expressions of general resentment, had done in the preceding year; when, finding the royal protection withdrawn, and already impeached by the parliament of Paris, he retreated first into Holland, and thence crossed the sea to England. In this perplexed situation, Lewis XVI., compelled to dismiss one minister, and forsaken by the other; surrounded with embarrassments, and having only a choice of evils; conscious that the very foundations of his throne and monarchy were crumbling under his feet; endowed with no talents or great qualities, which might enable him to sustain his own dignity, coerce his subjects, or restore order and energy in the public affairs; alarmed and terrified at the demonstrations of discontent which appeared in the capital and the provinces; under the pressure of these various considerations and apprehensions, he embraced the resolution of meeting the wishes of the nation, and of laying the distresses of the crown before the representatives of the people.

1789. Necker, who had conducted the finances during the prosecution of the late war with England, and who had attained a very unmerited degree of popularity since his dismission from office, was reinstated in his employment of comptroller-general. The avowed enemy of Calonne, whom he accused of peculation and malversation, he appeared to the public in various controversial writings, defamatory of that minister, and tending to criminate him, as a defaulter, in the eyes of France and of Europe. The famous *Compte rendu au Roi*, in 1781, in which he laid open to his own sovereign, and to all mankind, the expenditure, revenue, and resources of his country, may be regarded not only as an unprecedented disclosure of the hitherto sacred and unrevealed arcana of the French monarchy; but as having operated much beyond the immediate and ostensible pretext of his own justification, by awakening and directing the reflections of every class of men, towards the profuse distribution of the public treasure.

Simple in his exterior, and decent in his manners, Necker attained the fame of disinterestedness and probity. Equally republican in birth and in principles, he flattered by these circumstances the prevailing spirit and genius of the times. Avowedly odious to the party of the queen, and of the count d'Artois, he could hardly be supposed to possess the real confidence or attachment of the king, who had only been driven, by his own distress, and the current of popular favour, to have recourse to his assistance and services. Deficient in all the essential qualities of a great minister, and ignorant of those enlarged principles of taxation and revenue, which were alone competent to the extrication of so vast a monarchy as France, he supplied these defects by little arts and narrow projects, adapted to the exigencies of the day. In the canton of Bern, his talents might have entitled him to respect, and they would have been in their proper sphere. An able arithmetician, but a feeble statesman, he only appeared in the first station of finance, to evince how inadequate were his abilities to that dangerous elevation; and, after vainly attempting to sustain an ill-founded reputation, he at length retired to oblivion, unlamented, and almost unnoticed by that nation, among whom he was so lately idolized.

Although the recal and nomination of Necker appeared to give general satisfaction, and awakened the hopes of his numerous and sanguine admirers, yet these symptoms of approbation gradually subsided. The temporary effect of his name, in raising the public

credit, produced no permanent or beneficial consequence. Languor and debility characterised every operation of finance; and government became less competent to resist the encroachments of the people, in proportion as its embarrassments multiplied. The Parisians, rendered clamorous by the high price of grain, and attributing this scarcity more to the arts of monopoly, than even to the indirect interference of the court, in permitting the exportation of corn, than to any deficiency in the productions of the earth, proceeded to acts of violence bordering on insurrection. The introduction of a body of military forces into the capital, repelled, not without a considerable effusion of blood, these first symptoms of revolt, and restored a degree of tranquillity and submission.

NOTWITHSTANDING this apparent check to the spirit of popular innovation, every circumstance tended to evince that the numerous subjects of complaint, on the side of the people, could not be extinguished by any expedient short of unconditional submission on the part of the crown; or of an appeal to the sword, if the former measure should be thought too degrading for a prince born in the purple, and accustomed to regard his power as unlimited and irresistible. The naked and unprotected majesty of the throne, no longer environed, as under Lewis XIV., by a splendid household, and the pomp of royalty, formed a very inefficient barrier against a nation, enthusiastic in their demands of a constitution, and who seemed to be determined to seize the favourable moment, for curtailing the odious prerogative, of issuing *letters de cachet*, and of raising supplies by arbitrary mandate. The levities and profusion of the queen; the haughty tone which was assumed by the count d'Artois on several occasions; and the supposed subservience of the king to his wife and brother, increased the frenzy for reformation, and added to the general effervescence. Yielding with ungracious reluctance to these manifestations of the approaching storm, the king consented to adopt the humiliating and unwelcome advice, offered by his minister, of convoking the states-general at Versailles; but, at the same time, stimulated to resistance by his own feelings, as well as by the exhortations of those who were continually near his person, he began to prepare for extremities, and to assemble forces.

THE duke of Orleans, who at an early period of the present troubles had been ordered to retire to his seat at Reinsy, on account of the active part which he had taken in opposition to government, had obtained from the lenity or indulgence of the court, permission to revisit Paris. Less sensible of this act of favour, than irritated by the act of severity which preceded it, he determined on revenge, and embraced with ardour the popular cause. His high quality, and near alliance to the sovereign; his immense revenues; his central situation at the Palais Royal, in the heart of the metropolis; his numerous connexions and extensive influence; this combination of circumstances enabled him to become a very dangerous and formidable opponent to the crown, in its present fallen and debilitated state. He probably did not apprehend the extremities, to which his own intrigues might conduct a tumultuous assembly; or he might fallaciously conceive, that he would always be able to direct its operations, and to superintend its movements. It is even possible, as his enemies assert, that the flattering prospect of the regency, which always opened itself to his ambition, as neither a remote nor improbable event, conduced to determine his line of action, and to prevent him from seeing the precipices, with which such a pursuit was surrounded. He was elected a member of the states general, for Crepy in Valois, and took his seat in the assembly.

THIS extraordinary convocation of all the orders in the kingdom, which had not been summoned since the regency of Mary of Medicis, and whose very existence seemed to have been annihilated by three long reigns of arbitrary power, was opened, with the utmost solemnity, by Lewis XVI., assisted by the princes of the blood, and accompanied by all the external splendor becoming so august a ceremony. Many sources of internal discord and confusion, almost inevitable from the competition, and opposite pretensions or interest, of the nobility, clergy, and third estate; the facility of introducing corruption among so vast and mixed a body of men; above all, the loyalty and adherence naturally to be expected from the two first classes of the state; these inherent vices in their formation inspired the court with a confidence, that no unanimity or vigorous exertion would ever

characterize so heterogeneous a mass. The first proceedings of the assembly justified these expectations. Much time elapsed in disputes, arising from the incompatibility of the respective demands of the different orders; and though these were at last happily terminated, by the nobility and clergy renouncing, or acquiescing in the claims of the delegates of the people, yet the sovereign still possessed great resources, and various means of protracting or averting any act, militating virtually against his prerogatives.

Had Lewis XVI. been left to the impulse and direction of his own character, it is probable that he would have continued to yield to the encroachments of the democratical spirit, which had already produced so many involuntary concessions, on the part of the crown; and which, increasing in vigour as it proceeded, avowedly aimed at giving birth to a free constitution, and a limited monarchy. He wanted, however, the energy, elevation, and courage, requisite to sustain him in a struggle against his people, and to enable him to repress their attempts at emancipation. But in the queen and the count d'Artois, resentment at the inroads of a nation, whom they had long regarded as only formed for servitude, and the habitual exercise of arbitrary power, warmly impelled to every exertion for its preservation, while it dictated the most decided measures for repressing and chastising a mutinous and discontented capital.

They united their efforts to sustain the irresolution of the king, and succeeded. It was determined, in the cabinet of Versailles, to adopt the most vigorous principles; to dissolve the national assembly, to dismiss the comptroller-general, and to punish the insolence of the metropolis. Prudence and address were, however, requisite to mature these counsels, and to facilitate their execution. A great body of forces, principally consisting of the Swiss and German regiments in the service of France, was gradually collected from different provinces. The mareschal de Broglio, an officer of high military reputation, and of known attachment to the crown, was named to the supreme command. Every preparation for maintaining the royal authority, if necessary, by the most spirited and severe acts of punishment, was made, without even the affectation of disguise or concealment. The capital, incapable of resistance, and unconscious even of its own capacities of defence; destitute of leaders, of arms, and of troops, waited patiently the chastisement which impended.

Paris, involved in circumstances even more distressful than those in which it stood when invested by Henry III. in 1589, and under an equal necessity of submitting to the conditions which an incensed monarch might have dictated, was snatched from pillage by a revolution, not less sudden and unexpected than that which, two centuries preceding, had deprived Henry III. of his life. The frantic and sanguinary zeal of a monk effected this deliverance in one instance; in the other, the Parisians were indebted to the timidity, delays, and want of decision in the court. During the first days of July, the metropolis, though turbulent and riotous, made no exertions to oppose the army, by which it was encircled and surrounded. The partisans and supporters of the royal power were numerous, and ready to evince their zeal and loyalty. The *prevot des marchands*, who is the first principal magistrate, was in the interests of the crown. The Bastile awed one part of the capital, as the *Hotel des Invalides* did the other. Paris, taken in the toils of arbitrary power, might have been disarmed and deprived of the means to excite future commotion. The imprudence, pusillanimity, and impatience of the court, rendered these advantages of no avail, and precipitated the unfortunate prince upon measures, which terminated in irremediable disgrace and ruin.

Mistaking or neglecting the most obvious principles of policy and wise precaution, which dictated to commence the plan of operations by subjecting Paris, whence alone any danger was to be apprehended, the king was induced to dismiss Necker with expressions of indignation, which were accompanied by menaces and insult on the part of his brother, the count d'Artois. This step, which evinced a total change of resolutions, and which, from the popularity of the minister, was likely to produce a violent fermentation in every order of men, was followed by others equally injudicious. The states-general were driven into the *Salle des Etats*, where they held their meetings, by detachments of the guards; who surrounded them, and who waited only the orders of the court, to proceed to greater extremities against the obnoxious representatives of the nation.

Had these manifestations of vigour been only sustained, by instantly attacking and entering Paris, it is not to be doubted, that, unprepared as it still was, and unwilling to expose to the licence of an incensed soldiery the lives and properties of its citizens, the capital would have been without difficulty reduced to obedience. But an ill-timed and fatal delay, equally injurious with the preceding precipitation, gave the inhabitants time to recover from their first emotions of surprise and apprehension. They saw the timidity and imbecility of the government, who, having sounded the charge, dared not advance to the attack. They profited by this want of exertion; and passing from one extreme rapidly to another, they almost unanimously took up arms against their rulers and oppressors. Joined by the French guards, who, from a long residence in the capital, had been peculiarly exposed to seduction, and who at this decisive moment abandoned their sovereign, the Parisians broke through every obstacle by which they had hitherto been restrained. The supplies of arms and ammunition, which had been provided for their subjugation, were turned against the crown; and the *Hotel des Invalides*, the great repository of military stores, after a faint resistance, surrendered.

The prince de Lambesc, who alone, of all the officers commanding the royal troops in the vicinity of Paris, attempted to carry into execution the plan for disarming the capital, was repulsed in a premature and injudicious attack which he made, at the head of his dragoons, near the entrance of the garden of the Thuilleries. Already the *prevot des marchands*, Monsieur de Flasselles, convicted of entertaining a correspondence with the court, and detected in sending private intelligence to de Launay, governor of the Bastile, had been seized by the people, and had fallen the first victim to the general indignation. His head, borne on a lance, exhibited an alarming example of the danger, to which adherence to the sovereign must expose the individual, in time of anarchy and insurrection.

1789. The Bastile alone remained; and while it continued in the power of the crown, Paris could not be regarded as free, or even as secure from the severest chastisement. It was invested (July the 14th) by a mixed multitude, composed of citizens and soldiers who had joined the popular banner. De Launay, who commanded in the castle, by an act of perfidy, unjustifiable in any circumstances, and which rendered his fate less regretted, rather accelerated than delayed the capture of this important fortress. He displayed a flag of truce, and demanded a parley; but abusing the confidence which these signals inspired, he discharged a heavy fire from the cannon and musquetry of the place, upon the besiegers, and made a considerable carnage. Far from intimidating, he only augmented, by so treacherous a breach of faith, the rage of an incensed populace. They renewed their exertions, with a valour raised to frenzy, and were crowned with success. The Bastile, that awful engine of despotism, whose name alone diffused terror, and which, for many ages, had been sacred to silence and despair, was entered by the victorious assailants. De Launay, seized and dragged to the *Place de Greve*, was instantly despatched, and his head carried in triumph through the streets of Paris.

Few captives, either of inferior or of eminent rank, were found in the apartments of the Bastile. The count de Lorges, at a very advanced period of life, discovered in one of the dungeons of the *Tour de la Berlandiere*, was liberated, and exhibited to the public curiosity in the *Palais Royal*. His squalid appearance, his beard, which descended to his waist, and, above all, his imbecility, resulting probably from the effect of an imprisonment of thirty-two years, were objects highly calculated to operate upon the senses and passions of every beholder. It is indeed impossible, however we may lament or condemn the ferocious spirit which has characterized and disgraced the French revolution, not to participate in the exultation, which a capital and a country, so highly illuminated, and so long oppressed, must have experienced at the extinction of this detestable and justly-dreaded prison of state. Nor does the rapidity with which it was captured excite less admiration, when its powers of resistance are considered, and the speedy relief which might have been afforded to it, by the numerous bodies of regular forces, with which Paris was surrounded on every side.

With the Bastile expired the royal authority and consideration. The despotism of the French princes, which long prescription, submission, and military strength seemed to

render equally sacred and unassailable; which neither the calamities at the close of Lewis XIV.'s reign, the profligacy and enormities of the succeeding regency, nor the state of degradation into which the monarchy sunk under Lewis XV., had ever shaken; that power, which appeared to derive its support almost as much from the loyalty and veneration, as from the dread and terrors of the subject, fell prostrate in the dust, and never betrayed any symptom of returning life.

Paris, liberated from all restraint, or even wholesome police, appeared to riot in the intoxication of freedom; and stained its acquisition by scenes of violence and blood, unworthy of the first capital in Europe. Every trace of obedience disappeared; and even the promoters of the late insurrection were not secure from the capricious fury of a frantic and savage populace, who filled the *Place de Greve* with clamours, and frequently tore the victim, whom their indignation had selected, from the hands of justice.

But at Versailles, consternation and alarm filled the court, on the arrival of this extraordinary intelligence. Yielding at once to the united impulse of his terrors and his natural inclinations, the king, without even preserving the forms of majesty, however fallen, repaired to the national assembly rather as a suppliant than a monarch. Disordered in his dress, and unaccompanied by his guards or usual attendants, he betrayed his agitation in the speech which he addressed to the states. Only two days preceding this melancholy exhibition of degraded dignity, he had replied to a remonstrance which they presented to him, in terms of determination mixed with menace. He now adopted the language of distress, invoked their assistance, disowned his intention to employ force for the subjection of the capital, assured them that he had already sent orders to withdraw the troops which had invested Paris and Versailles, and professed his desire to give the most unequivocal proof of his deference to the wishes of his subjects. He concluded by imploring them to make known these his paternal dispositions, to the inhabitants of the distracted metropolis.

The assembly, which trembled a few hours before for its own safety, and had expected to be offered up as victims to the vengeance of an irritated sovereign, replied with expressions of loyalty and affection to these gracious declarations, though evidently extorted by fear. It was, however, far otherwise at Paris; where the populace, deeming their triumph incomplete while the king remained tranquil in his palace, not only exacted his personal and immediate presence among them, to sanction their outrages on his authority, but accompanied this demand with menaces, if refused, of setting fire to Versailles, and at once extinguishing the obnoxious princes of the house of Bourbon in the flames. A monarch endowed with qualities such as Lewis XIV. possessed, would perhaps have refused compliance with this humiliating requisition; and while his army was yet entire, and the royal dignity not totally degraded, have embraced the generous resolution of meeting the storm, of trying the fortune of war, and at least devolving to his successor the prerogatives which, as his successor, he pre-received and exercised. But Lewis XVI. possessed no abilities competent to so magnanimous and unequal a struggle. He had already abandoned his attempt to maintain the royal power in its original vigour; and he had now scarcely any option between the loss of his throne, and a complete submission to the arbitrary pleasure of a populace, thirsting for blood, inflamed by success, and daily offering up victims to its revenge.

Under these melancholy circumstances, he did not hesitate to yield obedience to the mandate, which it was no longer safe to refuse. After such a night as Charles I. may be supposed to have passed, previous to his attending the scaffold, but unaccompanied by that serenity and fortitude, which eminently distinguished the English monarch in the last act of his life, he set out for Paris. Conscious, however, of the perils attendant on his appearance in the metropolis of his dominions, and doubtful of escaping from the rage of the multitude, to whom he was to be presented he prepared for death, as at least a possible event. He received the sacrament, made some private dispositions of his affairs, and gave various orders in consequence. Though desirous to see and embrace his son and daughter before his departure, he had yet firmness sufficient to refuse himself this indulgence, fearing it might affect him too deeply, and disqualify him for the part which he was to perform. *J'en aurai plus de plaisir*, said he, *si je reviens*. A gentleman who was

near his person on this occasion encouraging him, and venturing to answer for his safety, the king replied, *Henry Quatre valoit mieux qui moi; et cependant on l'assassiné.*

Though he quitted Versailles at an early hour, it was late before he entered Paris, from the delay occasioned by the immense multitudes, who assembled to see him pass, and who testified no sentiments of loyalty in their acclamations. When arrived at the *Place de Greve*, and conducted to the *Hotel de Ville*, the new mayor, M. Bailli, who had been elected to supply the late unfortunate first magistrate, insulted the fallen prince by a mock surrender of the keys of his capital; which he accompanied with a sarcastic and insolent reflection, on the different situation in which Henry IV. stood, when he received a similar testimony of its submission and allegiance. The cries of the people, who insisted that the king should shew himself on the balcony; compelled him to give this last proof of his deference to their wishes; and to add to the condescension, he accepted from the hands of the mayor the national cockade, which he first carried to his lips, and then placed in his hat. After having been detained and exhibited as a captive to his own subjects, during the greater part of the day, without sustenance or refreshment of any kind, he was at length permitted to return to Versailles, and conceal his emotions in the privacy of his own apartments.

While this humiliating scene was acted before the eyes of all France, which were turned towards so unusual and attractive a sight, the adherents to the late measures, terrified at the menaces thrown out against them, and dreading the most fatal consequences of popular fury, profited of the king's absence and visit to his capital, to effect their own escape.

The count d'Artois, regarding himself as peculiarly marked out for proscription and impeachment, and apprehensive that even his proximity of blood to the sovereign might prove an insufficient protection to his life, fled among the first, carrying with him his sons, the dukes d'Angouleme and de Berri; two youths, who were successively presumptive heirs to the crown, in case of the demise of the dauphin. In the hurry of a precipitate retreat, it was found extremely difficult to furnish a few hundred *louis d'ors* to a prince, for whose expensive gratifications, only some days before, the treasures of the monarchy were insufficient. He took the road to Flanders; and was already far advanced towards the frontiers, before his departure was known or suspected at Paris.

When so distinguished a personage, and one so nearly allied to the throne, deemed himself no longer safe, even in the royal residence; it cannot excite wonder, that those of a less elevated condition, and who were equally obnoxious to an enraged populace, should consult their safety by instant flight. The principal roads were covered with illustrious fugitives, under every possible disguise and concealment. The prince of Condé quitted Chantilly, followed by his son and grandson, the dukes of Bourbon and Enghien. The prince of Conti, the last in succession of the blood-royal, after undergoing many extremities of hunger and fatigue, arrived at Luxembourg; to which place likewise the mareschal de Broglio, abandoning his army, repaired without delay.

The duchess of Polignac, so long unrivalled in the affections of the queen, and round whom all the pleasures of the court of Versailles were used to assemble, tearing herself from this scene of dissipation, attained with difficulty the town of Basle in Switzerland; after having encountered numerous dangers, and been preserved from the last degree of violence, when she passed through Sens, by the happy presence of mind, which distinguished an abbé by whom she was accompanied. At Basle, by one of those singular accidents which evince the power of fortune, she found in the inn, at which she alighted, the late minister, Necker, who, having passed through Swabia after his dismission, on his way to Geneva, here first received from his enemies the intelligence of the revolution. The baron de Bretenil, pursued by the most marked detestation of his countrymen, evaded, as well as the prince de Lambese, the snares prepared to intercept them; the former reaching Bern in safety, as the latter did Turin. Monsieur de Besenval, less fortunate, was seized at Brie Comte Robert; and even the solicitations of Necker himself, who endeavoured to interpose in his behalf, were insufficient to obtain his enlargement.

In this general consternation, the queen, abandoned by all her dearest connexions,

remained with her two children, friendless, and almost alone in the palace of Versailles. No prince of the royal family ventured to abide the storm, except the count de Provence, who, during the continuance of all these disorders, had enjoyed a distinguished share of, at least, negative approbation; and whose conduct, throughout the critical circumstance which preceded the sedition of Paris, had been such as to conciliate, in some degree, the popular favour.

The duke of Orleans, to whose intrigues or opposition to the crown may be greatly ascribed the rapid progress of the general discontent, and the excesses of the people, viewed from the *Palais Royal*, with secret pleasure, the effects of his machinations, and enjoyed his triumph over the vanquished court. The military command of the national troops, and of the capital, was conferred by almost unanimous delegation on the marquis de la Fayette; as the supreme civil and municipal jurisdiction devolved on Bailli, mayor of Paris. The union of both these powers was, however, frequently found unequal to imposing proper restraints on the ungoverned passions and savage violence of a populace, new to freedom, and who stained its acquisition by daily acts of vengeance and cruelty. The heads of Foulon and Berthier, one of whom had occupied a high situation in the late ministry, and the other had been intendant of Paris, were carried through the streets; and the circumstances with which the death of these eminent persons was accompanied, are only to be compared, in horror and atrocity, with those attendant on the massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the assassination of the mareschal d'Ancre, under Lewis XIII.

Meanwhile, at the instigation and request of the national assembly, Necker was recalled and invited, by letters of the most flattering, and even penitential tenor, from the king himself, to resume the superintendance of the finances. He yielded, though with apparent reluctance, to these entreaties, and repaired to court, loaded with expressions of general attachment and veneration, in every place through which he passed; while the credulous and deluded multitude expected from his presence a speedy redress of all their grievances, the revival of public credit, and a remedy to the scarcity of grain, which had excited the clamours of the capital and the kingdom. To the admiration and astonishment of mankind, in an absolute monarchy, so strongly cemented as that of France appeared to have been, and in which loyalty was antiently esteemed to be characteristic of every class of citizens, no efforts were made to support the royal power. An enthusiastic passion for liberty pervaded all the provinces; and the revolution commenced on the banks of the Seine, spread with equal rapidity and unanimity to the foot of the Alps and Pyrenees, to the Rhine and the Mediterranean.

No permanent calm succeeded to this storm of popular indignation. Elated with the possession of freedom, and exercising, in many instances, a tyranny more oppressive and severe than that from which they had just escaped, the people meditated new and greater invasions upon the dignity, as well as upon the prerogatives of the crown. The press, freed even from that wholesome and necessary restriction, which governments the most relaxed impose upon the publication of opinions, compensated for the fetters which it had so long worn, by giving birth to every species of licentious production, and insolent attack upon persons of the highest rank. The queen was peculiarly the object of these libellous invectives; and every accusation, private or political, which malignity could invent, to alienate the affections, and irritate the passions of mankind against her, was circulated and publicly exposed to sale.

Although all the pomp and majesty, which in better times had surrounded and concealed the sovereign, was now entirely withdrawn; though only guarded by the burgesses of Versailles, and destitute of any military protection against insult and outrage, Lewis XVI. stood exposed to every enterprise, which a mutinous capital might undertake to execute; yet some vestiges of personal liberty he still retained. He was free to enjoy the diversion of the chace; and the national assembly, convoked at Versailles, continued to hold its meetings there, under his immediate superintendance and inspection. It was even thought decent and necessary, on the part of the new tribunes of the people, to march some regiments, in the month of September, on whose adherence they conceived that they could safely rely, to perform the ordinary functions of state; at the same time that they prevented any escape, if such was intended by the king.

But where so many inflammable materials were collected, it was not possible that any considerable time could elapse, before they burst into a conflagration. After one or two attempts, which the vigilance and activity of la Fayette prevented from being carried into execution, the populace of Paris, excited by various arts, and incensed at the queen for having brought the dauphin, and presented him to the officers of the regular troops after a public entertainment, rose as by universal consent, and determined to march to Versailles. By what motives, or with what intentions, the conductors of this armed mob were actuated, it is perhaps impossible positively to assert. The deepest and blackest designs have, by popular malignity, been attributed to the duke of Orleans; no less than the attainment of the regency, at whatever price, and by every mode, however treasonable and flagitious. Many of the circumstances which distinguished that extraordinary scene, unquestionably evince a plan not more artful than nefarious; and which seemed calculated, by operating on the fears of the sovereign, to induce him to abandon the throne and seek his safety in flight; while the queen, who was more an object of national obloquy and aversion, might be instantly offered up as a victim to the frantic multitude.

Oct. 6. 1789. It is difficult to do justice to the horrors of a night, similar only to those which are furnished by the annals of Charles IX., and which remind us of the times of Catherine of Medicis. Posterity will scarcely credit that, at the conclusion of the eighteenth century, and in a country eminently distinguished by all the softer virtues of humanity, acts of blood and ferocity, more savage than the janizaries of Constantinople usually exercise against their despots, were performed with impunity. The singularity and incredibility of the recital will be augmented by recollecting, that many of the most violent among these ruffians were women, or, at least, habited in a female dress. Armed with every destructive weapon, they assaulted the guards who were stationed at the door of the queen's apartments, burst into them, murdered those who opposed their progress, and penetrated to the chamber in which she slept. The efforts which were made to retard their fury, and the cries of *Sauvez la Reine*, which echoed through the palace, gave her an instant in which to escape. The first queen in Europe was saved from a death the most ignominious, by the interval of almost a single moment. Undressed and nearly naked, she gained a private staircase which conveyed her to the king, who received her in his arms, where she fell senseless with terror. The materials of the bed from which she had just risen, after undergoing the strictest search in hopes of discovering the unhappy object of their pursuit, were scattered over the room, as some gratification to their disappointed vengeance.

Lewis XVI. himself, appearing on the balcony of his apartment, in the language and attitude of supplication, vainly implored the populace to spare his guards, whom he saw massacred at his feet; without the power of extending to them any relief. He as vainly besought the queen to yield to the necessity of the time, and to retire to Rambouilliet, where her person would at least be secure. Exerting a courage superior to her sex, and elevated above a sense of the danger to which she was so conspicuously exposed, she firmly persisted in her refusal to fly; and declared her determination to accompany the king, and at least to expire as she had lived, a queen of France. Yet, conscious of the probability of her falling a sacrifice to the popular rage, she armed herself with a poinard, as a last resource against the degradation of plebeian violence and brutality.

It is impossible, how much soever we may condemn certain parts of her conduct and character, not to admire the heroism and magnanimity of this deportment, in which we seem to recognise the blood of so many emperors, from whom she was descended. The weakness of the woman was, notwithstanding, mingled with the fortitude of the sovereign; and when she entered the coach, which was to convey herself and the captive king from Versailles to Paris, terrified at the cries of a furious multitude, who seemed to demand her forfeit life, she threw herself into the arms of la Fayette, who offered her his hand at the door of the carriage, and whose protection she invoked, to preserve her from outrage and death. Placing the dauphin in her lap, and seated by her husband, the cavalcade moved slowly towards the capital, while the heads of murdered *gardes du corps*, borne on poles, and held up to her view, presented a melancholy prospect of her own probable destiny.

They at length reached the palace of the Thuilleries, thus accompanied, and took possession of that part of it destined for their reception and residence; while cannon, mounted at the principal avenues, under pretence of safety and defence, secured them from rescue, and rendered escape impracticable.

Perhaps no day so ignominious to the royal dignity had been beheld, since the elevation of the Capetian princes to the throne of France. The capture and imprisonment of Lewis IX. at Damietta, of king John at Poictiers, and of Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, however unfortunate and humiliating, yet were at least softened by many considerations. Those monarchs were all taken in arms, after exerting the most heroic acts of valour against their conquerors, and owed their misfortune only to the chance of war. Even Henry III., when he fled from his capital, pursued by the Guises, yet retained his personal independence, and soon returned to besiege and to chastise his rebellious subjects. Lewis XVI. sunk below esteem or commiseration, and not having exerted either ability or courage in the defence of his invaded prerogatives, only held a precarious life, at the mercy of a seditious and insolent populace, who, having already imprisoned, might, in any moment of resentment, terminate the reign of their fallen and degraded king. The palace in which he was confined, having been in a great measure neglected for more than a century, during which time Paris had rarely seen any sovereign resident in the metropolis, was totally unfit for the reception of a court; and even the apartments which were occupied by the king himself, were in so ruinous or decayed a condition, as not altogether to exclude the inclemency of the weather. To this situation was a monarch reduced, who, only a few months before, might be regarded as at the summit of human greatness; and the foundations of whose throne, strengthened by a long possession and by habits of obedience, seemed to bid defiance to all the ordinary convulsions which overturn empires, and destroy the firmest fabrics of human power and wisdom.

The late event, which is a memorable epoch in the revolution, was ascribed to the machinations of two factions, having different views in effecting it. The republicans, whose design was, either to abolish monarchy, or to render the sovereign a mere insignificant pageant, were desirous of the king's removal to Paris, that they might have him completely in their power. The duke of Orleans' cabal, whose grand object it was to invest that prince with sovereign power, wished to preserve the monarchy entire; and these hoped to open a way to the execution of their plot by filling the king's mind with terrors, and frightening him out of the kingdom.—The democrats succeeded. A vote was passed, "that the national assembly was inseparable from the king." And that they might give every possible security to their own persons, when surrounded by the Parisian mob, strong resolutions were passed respecting their inviolability. The president, Mounier, one of the most disinterested patriots in the assembly, then, foreseeing that from that moment the assembly must lose its independency, and become the instrument of a tumultuous populace, actuated by a desperate faction, and that the liberty for which he had been struggling would be sacrificed to democratic tyranny, immediately seceded, and was accompanied by Tolendal and other partisans of free monarchy.

The two factions had hitherto co-operated, from their common desire to subvert the present system. Their peculiar views now became obvious to each other; and they were seen divided by rivalship of power. The republicans, having the populace devoted to them, and having no farther occasion for the duke of Orleans' purse, were desirous to free themselves of a prince, whose views clashed with their own. La Fayette had supplanted Mirabeau in his popularity; but, notwithstanding, he had an ascendant with the Parisians, and was the idol worshipped by them for the moment, yet he rejoiced to be the agent in destroying the duke's power, which involved in it a partial destruction of that of his cabal, and especially of his rival, Mirabeau. Instantly availing himself of his present favourable circumstances, therefore, he insolently told the duke, "that his name was made the pretext for disturbances, the signal of all the disorders; and that he must leave the kingdom." Philip, who was as pusillanimous as he was base, being furnished with an ostensible mission for England, immediately repaired to that country. Mirabeau, despising a prince who had the villany of an usurper without

courage to usurp, and who thus tamely deserted his own cause, when the schemes which he had planned for him were ripe for execution, expressed his contempt in very pointed language; telling him, that "he was not deserving that trouble which he had taken for his sake." The ambitious leader, then despairing of ever governing the state, as the minister of that flagitious and despicable prince, made overtures to the court, that he might be introduced into the administration. But the republican party, fearing the effects of his intrigues, voted a resolution, that "no member of the national assembly should accept a place in the ministry." Finding himself foiled in his attempt by this self-denying ordinance, he, as his last resource, once more devoted himself to the people.

Such was the state of parties after the removal of the national assembly to Paris, an attention to which is essential to a proper understanding of the subsequent events. The assembly signalised the re-commencement of their proceedings by several very important measures. Having provided for their own security, they now attended to that of the public, by a decree to authorise magistrates to require military aid in case of riots. This was occasioned by the summary and outrageous execution of a baker by the mob, under a false charge of being a monopolizer of bread. At this time, *lettres de cachet* were abolished; the parliaments were suspended from their functions; the remains of aristocratic power were annihilated by destroying all distinction of orders; and a new bank was established under the auspices of the assembly, by the name of *caisse d'extraordinaire*, for the purpose of reviving public credit, and restoring trade. Moreover, that they might establish an entire new system of things, a fresh division of the kingdom was ordered, into eighty-three departments, to be subdivided into districts and cantons, each having its assembly for the purpose of administrative government; and into electoral assemblies of the departments, and primary assemblies of the cantons, for that of electing representatives of the people in the national assembly. But the most memorable measure of this period, was the decree by which the clergy and monasteries were despoiled of their estates, estimated at 150,000,000 livres; which were decreed to be national property. Of this revenue, it was resolved that 80,000,000 livres should be appropriated to public uses; pensions were settled on the clergy, which were not to be less than 8200 livres, or about £60 a year, besides the glebe. These arrangements, which were not completed till the ensuing year, occasioned warm debates; and notwithstanding the measure was strongly recommended by the expediency of it, particularly as affording a property, on the security of which the state was enabled to issue its assignats, yet the opposition made by the partisans of the ecclesiastics, called forth the eloquence of Mirabeau and the strenuous revolutionists to bear it down. Nor was the resistance of it confined to the assembly. Commotions took place in different provinces, when this decree was known; which was thought an act of extreme ingratitude, as well as injustice, towards the clergy, who had recently given the nobles an example of willingness to join the *tiers etat* in one chamber, and to unite with them in their plans of reform. There have been ages, when such a violation of the property of the church, and the rights of corporate bodies, would have brought on a religious war; but in the present, temporal considerations were seen to preponderate against the interests of the church and reverence for the priesthood.

Among the memorable events of this year must be noticed the death of the dauphin, who was kindly taken by fate from the miseries which befel the other branches of his family, at the age of eight years, a few days before the king's removal to Paris.

From the disorders of France I pass to those of the Netherlands. The emperor, being of a restless impatient disposition, and fond of any innovations which tended to gratify his arbitrary spirit, had made such regulations in the government of those provinces, as infringed the privileges of the nobles, the clergy, and the people. Their remonstrances and their opposition were disregarded; and he insisted on their full submission to his will. The severities exercised by his order drove many from the country; the emigrants were protected by the Dutch, encouraged by the court of Berlin, and not unfavoured by Great Britain; an insurrection followed, in which the opposers of the court were so successful as to intimidate the emperor, who endeavoured to disarm them by conciliatory proposals.

His offers were treated with contempt; the insurgents dislodged his troops from Brussels; and the greater part of the Netherlands renounced his authority.

Dec. 20.

Great Britain and her allies, from a desire of preventing the aggrandisement of the Russian empress, laboured to draw off her Danish auxiliaries; and she at length waved the demand of their aid, on condition that the interposing states should observe a strict neutrality in the affairs of the north. But though no longer opposed by the Danes, the Swedes were very unfortunate in this campaign. The porte, which subsidied Gustavus, likewise suffered considerably from the valour and perseverance of its enemies.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

GEORGE III.

[1790, 1791.]

Disturbances in France—Celebration of the Anniversary of the Bastile—Conduct of France towards Foreign States—Affairs in Germany and the Netherlands—Dispute respecting Nootka Sound—Motion for a repeal of the Test Act—Transactions in India—Conduct of Russia and Prussia—The Second Session of Parliament—Debates on the Measures adopted against Russia, the Canadian Bill, &c.—Quarrel between Messrs. Burke and Fox on the Subject of the French Revolution—Philanthropic Establishment at Sierra Leone.

The French were, perhaps, of all European nations, except the Turks, the least capable of profiting by a revolution. Of warm and impetuous dispositions, they were ready to rush into violent changes. Having little patience, and less judgment, they did not give a fair trial to their innovations, or reflect with coolness on the nature of their capricious schemes. Instead of a deliberate correction of abuses, and a gradual reform, they blindly and precipitately destroyed old establishments, rooted up the wheat with the tares, and annulled at once both good and bad institutions. By absurd and inconsistent regulations, they weakened the effect of those parts of the new government which were unquestionable, and introduced such confusion, as paved the way for the appeal of artful men to the passions of the rabble, and for the rise of arbitrary power in an altered form.

The labours of the convention were not accompanied with national tranquillity. Commotions arose in various parts of the country; rapacity and malice occasioned the destruction of many of the seats of the nobility, and 67 mansions were burnt to the ground within the narrow compass between the Maconnois and Beaugolois. On a charge of combining with the king against the cause of liberty, the marquis de Favras, the count de Puysegur, marshal Broglio, and others, were tried by the judges of the Chatelet; and if the first of these had not been condemned and executed, the ferocious rabble would doubtless have hanged him *a la lanterne*.

These commotions deeply affected Lewis. Influenced by his accustomed timidity, he

repaired to the hall of the assembly, and addressed the members in a long speech, in which he took a review of the state of affairs, feelingly lamented the distractions of the realm, hoped that effectual reform and improvement might be prosecuted without further confusion or disturbance, and made many important concessions to the views of his democratical enemies. In return for this complaisance, a new oath was adopted, importing that every representative would be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and would maintain the constitution to the utmost of his power. These demonstrations were succeeded by applausive addresses from the different municipalities. By the oratorical plausibility of Necker, the means of supplying the deficiency of the revenue were magnified; and the king, at the request of the assembly, agreed to establish the civil list on a basis, which might combine œconomy of expence with the reputability of his throne. But while the royal dignity was thus maintained, the annulment of titles, and the extinction of the hereditary nobility, moved by Lambal, and carried in the assembly by a large majority, contributed to undo these beneficial regulations.

As the anniversary of the revolution, which was reckoned from the destruction of the Bastile, approached, great preparations were made for the celebration of a national confederation, or constitutional league. A spacious amphitheatre was erected in the *Champ de Mars*, mass was solemnly performed, and, when the king had taken an oath of fidelity to the constitution, the assembly, the delegates who had been invited from the provinces, the regular troops, the militia, and the spectators, bound themselves by a similar sanction.

1790. After an interval of comparative tranquillity, new disturbances arose, which were chiefly imputable to the arts of a democratic society, notorious for the profligacy, villany, and cruelty of the members, of whom it was ultimately composed. It was the offspring of a club, instituted in the year 1789, by the Breton deputies; and as its place of meeting was the hall of an edifice lately occupied by *Jacobin* monks, this designation was assumed by the society. Societies under a similar denomination, corresponding with that of Paris, were established in the provinces, and became the grand focus of every seditious intrigue. The soldier and the seaman, the tradesman and the mechanic, were seduced from their allegiance; and the members of the liberal professions were courted to assist in the great work of reforming and perfecting political institutions.

The garrison of Nanci mutinied against the officers, extorted, on pretence of a lawful claim, considerable sums of money, and seized the chests of the regiments. Complaint was made of these proceedings to the assembly, and orders were given for the enforcement of a new decree against military treason or rebellion. On the approach of the marquis de Bouillé, with a small army, the officers were liberated, the garrison seemed ready to leave the town, and an accommodation was confidently expected. The imprudence of two bodies of Swiss rendered these expectations fallacious; but M. Bouillé was finally successful, and reinstated the municipality, which had lost its authority during the mutiny. The scarcity of bread excited the discontent of the inhabitants of Angers, and a body of workmen fired ineffectually on the soldiers. The troops returned the fire, and killed 61 persons. The departure of Necker immediately succeeded this event. The moderation of his principles had deprived him of the good opinion of the Jacobin council, and finding his situation as dangerous as it was unpleasing, he relinquished all concern in the administration, and retired to his native country. An insurrection at Brest hastened the retreat of the naval minister, M. de Luzerne, who was succeeded by Fleurieu; M. Lambert regulated the finances, and then gave way to M. de Lauzert. After these charges, a decree was proposed, commanding the clergy, who had exhibited many indications of resentment at the injustice and privations to which they had been subjected, to take the new oath without delay, upon pain of losing their stipends, and being subjected to further penalties. The king, with his usual irresolution, first refused, and then vouchsafed his sanction; and it was declined by a great majority of the clerical body sitting in the assembly. Two months were allowed for re-consideration, and the decree was then enforced by the appointment of constitutional bishops and priests.

Our attention is now called to the conduct of the French government towards foreign nations. We at this time find it addressing a

manifesto to other states, in which they declared, that the French nation, proud of having regained the rights of nature, would never outrage them in other men. That they would present to the world the new spectacle of a nation, truly free, submissive to the laws of justice amid the storms of war, and respecting every where, and on every occasion, towards all men, the rights which are the same to all. "Peace," said they, "which imposture, intrigue, and treason have banished, will never cease to be the object of our wishes." Those persons who are led by a consciousness of integrity in themselves to rely on the faith of a great nation, could not but congratulate themselves on the arrival of this harbinger of peace, and the prospect of those happy days, when other nations would be induced, by the example of France, to adopt these pacific principles; and when, of course, the world would exhibit an universal scene of justice, benevolence, and tranquillity. Fortunately those who, from their stations in society, were most interested in knowing the maxims of this state, knew that expediency, and a regard to the peculiar interests of the existing government, were the standard of their conduct. This was so clearly manifested in their contemporary transactions, that the delusion could take place only among such as did not attend to them. The national assembly, we have seen, had violated the laws of justice, stripping the church of the greater part of its revenues, without even making the present proprietors, who had given up the profit they might have derived from other pursuits, an adequate compensation. That they might give them a further proof of their sincerity in the paternal embrace, with which they had been received by the *tiers etat*, when they needed their support, they now passed a decree, that such of them as should neglect to take the oath to the nation, the law, and the king, enjoined by a former decree, should be deemed virtually ejected from their benefices. This oath was intended to free the existing government of the danger it apprehended from the intrigues of the clergy, who were disaffected to it, and may, therefore, be justified on the principle of expediency. But if we consider, that the decree called on them virtually to retract the oath of allegiance which they had taken to the old government; and that they conceived this could not be conscientiously done, and that the greater part of them had discovered no seditious disposition, it cannot but be deemed an act of injustice and oppression. The only compensation to the suffering clergy was the opportunity afforded them of shewing their integrity; and a more eminent example of virtue was, perhaps, never exhibited. For, of 131 bishops, three only chose to sacrifice their principles to their temporal interests.

ANOTHER example of the maxims by which the French government regulated its conduct, and the arbitrary manner in which it determined points relative to foreign as well as domestic policy, was the affair between it and the pope respecting the comtat of Avignon. This country, which had been the property of the counts of Provence, was given to the see of Rome, in the fourteenth century, by the heiress of it, Joanna, queen of Naples, and countess of Provence. This year a powerful party in the comtat and the Vendissin, which also belonged to the ecclesiastical state, revolted against the papal government, and desired to be incorporated in the state of France. A contest ensued between them and the pope's partisans, which was attended with some bloodshed. And the result was that, after some deliberations in the assembly, it was resolved, that the territory of Avignon, and the county of Venaissin, should henceforth be considered as a part of the French dominions, and that a compensation should be offered to his holiness. In consequence of this agreement, a body of troops was sent to support the French partisans, and to take possession of the city and territories.

THAT the national assembly did not carry their professed submission to the laws of justice, to every branch of the human race, was seen in another transaction which occurred at this time. In the autumn of 1789, the ministry had received the alarming intelligence of a violent contest in the island of St. Domingo, between the mulattoes and the planters, supported by the white inhabitants, occasioned by a petition from the former to the assembly of the island, that they might be admitted to the common rights of citizens. This privilege was not granted them; on the contrary, they were insulted and abused for their presumption in asking it. A representation of what had passed was laid before the national assembly this year. But instead of

conferring on the mulattoes the rights which they had declared to be due to all mankind, and which they had themselves asserted by the subversion of the antient monarchy, they thought it expedient to temporise, and passed a decree which pleased neither party, and left a source of discord and enmity among them, which soon after broke out in a tremendous civil war.

Among the occurrences of this year, the appearance of an extraordinary character, bearing the name of Anacharsis Clootz, before the national assembly, deserves to be noticed, as it shews, though in a trifling incident, the effect of those sentiments, which the French government were endeavouring to impress on the minds of men. This man, who was a malcontent Prussian, introduced himself to the assembly at the head of a motley tribe, who called themselves the *virtual ambassadors* of all those enslaved nations who wished to be free, and were therefore disposed to enter into fraternity with France, for the glorious purpose of establishing liberty throughout the world. What the origin of this farce was, whether created in the brain of the enthusiast himself, or suggested to him by persons who had some political purposes to answer, does not appear to have been known. The ambassadors were seen in too ridiculous a light to claim any further notice from the assembly, than what the bombast harangue of their chief demanded. But it was immediately followed by a decree for a removal of those figures of chained slaves, intended to represent prostrate and conquered nations, surrounding the statue of Lewis XIV, in the *Place de Victoires*.

In the Netherlands, faction and animosity attended the revolt of the provinces from the Austrian yoke. The nobles were too selfish and ambitious to unite cordially with the clerical body, or to consult the general welfare of their country. The clergy, equally aspiring, were anxious to retain the people in that state of subservience, to which they had been long accustomed. The middle class sought an improvement in their condition, in point of political and civil liberty. In this state of affairs the death of Joseph occurred, and the three protestant allied powers, sensible of the difficulty of framing an independent republic from such ill-assorted materials, negotiated, in December, an accommodation with the revolters and Leopold, the new head of the Austrian family, on terms advantageous to the former. Before this event, Frederic-William had formed a confederacy with Selim, who had recently obtained the Ottoman diadem, and menaced the Austrians with the vigour of his arms, should they persist in harassing his Turkish friends. Leopold, unwilling to embroil his subjects with the Prussian monarch, consented to the terms of peace adjusted at Reichenbach, under the mediation and guarantee of Great Britain and Holland. He engaged to restore all the fortresses, towns, and districts, which he had obtained during the war, and to settle all his disputes with the Turks, without any regard to his alliance with Russia. While the empress thus lost a friend, she freed herself from the hostilities of a prince, who had repeatedly filled her capital with alarm. She obtained, at the same time, a separate pacification from the king of Sweden, who defied the indignation of the Turkish potentate, in concert with whom he was bound to treat; and disregarded the remonstrances of the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, whom, since they declaimed against him, as the betrayer of the cause in which he had taken arms, he accused in return, of having dishonourably neglected his interests. 1790.

While many of the European states were rent by civil dissension, oppressed by despotism, or burdened or distressed by wars, for which they were indebted to the ambition of their sovereigns, Great Britain now enjoyed the fair fruits of liberty and peace. Notwithstanding the late war had left the kingdom burdened with an enormous debt, yet, such had been the rapid improvement made in agriculture, such the advancement of manufactures and trade, in consequence of the commercial arrangements with the American colonies, and the late treaty with France, that industry received its due reward, and the nation wore an aspect of affluence and prosperity. The customs, at the same time, had received such an increase from the extension of trade, that the minister was enabled, in his statement of revenue and expenditure, to communicate the satisfactory intelligence, that the duties had exceeded those of the preceding year, in the sum of half a million sterling; that the exports of the last year amounted to £18,513,000, surpassing, by three millions, the average of six years before the American

war. The affairs of India also, which may now be considered as intimately connected with those of the state, in a political as well as a commercial view, were in so prosperous a condition under the wise, just, and humane administration of the earl of Cornwallis, that, according to Mr. Dundas's annual statement of the revenue of Bengal, it had exceeded the charges by a sum of £2,136,711, which excess was £178,000 above the estimate of the last year.

In the mean time, the important revolutions which were taking place in France, where the old government was completely thrown from its base, and not a wreck of the former feudal system was suffered to remain, that might remind the people of its existence, could not but be viewed with anxiety by this and other neighbouring nations.

The contrast of sentiment on the subject of this momentous revolution, was manifested on the meeting of parliament, in the speeches of several members of the lower house. In a debate on the army-estimates, Mr. Burke contrasted the prosperity and security enjoyed in this country with the fallen and disordered state of France; and painted, in glowing colours, the disastrous consequences of the revolution. "In the last age," said he, "we were in danger of being entangled, by the example of France, in the net of a relentless despotism; a despotism indeed proudly arrayed in manners, gallantry, splendor, magnificence, and even covered over with the imposing robes of science and literature. Our present danger, from the example of a people whose character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from licentious violence; a danger of being led, from admiration, to imitate the excesses of an unbridled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy, of a people whose government is anarchy, and whose religion is atheism." Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan agreed with Mr. Burke in deploring the miseries of France, and execrating the acts of barbarous outrage perpetrated in that country; but these they imputed to the old despotic government, and not to the efforts with which the people had violently relieved themselves from it. Mr. Pitt, and other members, expressed their warm approbation of Mr. Burke's sentiments; and the estimates of the army were then voted by the house.

One of the first objects that engaged the attention of parliament was the repeal of the test act. The dissenters, who were much disappointed by the issue of Mr. Beaufoy's motion, encouraged by the smallness of the majority against it, had been indefatigable in their labours to strengthen their party, and were still sanguine in their hopes of success. Their cause was now espoused by an abler patron; Mr. Fox, moving the repeal, recommended the measure, as a means of promoting peace. "Persecution," said he, "is a bond of union; remove the barriers which separate the dissenters from the body of the citizens, and, in their collective capacity, they would be no longer known. Men unite to resist oppression; but cease to oppress, and the union is dissolved." The premier opposed the motion, upon the grounds of the propriety of investing the executive power with a right of judging of the fitness or unfitness of the persons who are to occupy stations. He insisted on the expediency of a church establishment; that toleration, not equality, should be enjoyed by the dissenters. And he enforced his sentiments by adverting to the present conduct of the dissenters; who, at the moment when they were reprobating a test, had discovered an intention of forming associations throughout the country, for the purpose of putting the members of that house to a test, and of resolving to judge of their fitness to fill their seats by their votes on this single question. He was followed by Mr. Burke, who proved the justness of the premier's remarks by citations from the writings of some dissenting divines upon the subject of ecclesiastical establishments, of a tendency dangerous to the constitution. The motion was rejected by a majority of 294 to 105 votes.

A few days after this decision, a matter of great importance was submitted to the consideration of the house, in which our welfare and repute, as well as the national good, were much interested, by a motion made by Mr. Flood, for a more equal representation of the people in parliament. The grounds upon which he went were these; "that as by the general law of the constitution, the majority is to decide for the whole, the representatives of the nation ought to be chosen by a body of constituents, whereof the elective franchise may extend to a majority of the people." To

supply the defect of our constitution in this respect, Mr. Flood proposed, "that 100 members should be added, and that they should be chosen by the resident householders in every county." And he supported his motion in an elaborate speech, to demonstrate the necessity of such a measure, for the preservation of that balance, among the constituent parts of the state, which is essential to its welfare. It was opposed by Mr. Windham, as dangerous in the present ferment of the public mind. And the premier, agreeing with him in his sentiments, declared himself still an advocate for reform; but said, were the motion before them the same proposition he had himself formerly offered, he should now vote against it, from a conviction of its *actual* impropriety; but that, at a more seasonable opportunity, he would certainly again submit his ideas upon the subject to the consideration of the house. Mr. Flood, perceiving the prevalence of the premier's sentiments, thought it advisable to withdraw his motion.

WHILST the government thus carefully avoided whatever might afford the spirit of innovation an opportunity to effect its mischievous purpose, of disturbing the domestic tranquillity of the kingdom, the nation was threatened with an interruption of that external peace, on which it founded its hopes of a continuance and increase of its prosperity, by a dispute with the court of Madrid, upon a subject in itself of small importance. An association of British merchants had, in 1786, opened a trade for furs on the north-west coast of America, the profits of which induced them, two years after, to form a permanent settlement at Nootka Sound. The Spaniards, who claimed the whole of this coast, by virtue of prior discovery, and by the treaty of 1763, which made the Mississippi the boundary of the British dominions, maintained their right by capturing two vessels employed in this trade, in the late year. The Spanish ambassador justified the capture by requiring of the British government, that its subjects should no longer frequent those coasts. This the legislative bodies were now made acquainted with, by a message from his majesty, informing them of the event, of his application to the court of Madrid for satisfaction, of the claims made by Spain to an exclusive right of navigation in those seas, and its hostile preparations. The British government, having received the sanction of parliament, and a vote of credit for one million, prepared to justify the claim which it had made, in a memorial to the Spanish court, and by an immediate armament for the purpose of maintaining it. Happily for his Britannic majesty, he was relieved from the embarrassment into which this ill-advised affair had brought him, by the weakness of his adversary. The catholic king being unprepared for war, the result of these transactions was a convention, signed in the autumn, by which it engaged, that reparation should be made the English merchants; that the coast on the north of the Spanish settlements should be considered free; and that the right of fishing should be secured to England, under certain restrictions.

A FEW days after the delivery of his majesty's message, the parliament was prorogued, and afterwards dissolved.

THE new parliament, which met in the month of November, re-elected Mr. Addington speaker of the house of commons. His majesty had the satisfaction to inform the legislature of the happy termination of the affair with Spain. This was followed by the consideration of ways and means for defraying the expence of the armament, amounting to about three millions sterling. Supplies having been provided for that purpose, the parliament was soon after prorogued.

DURING this political warfare, the miseries of actual hostility prevailed in India. The origin of the war may be thus stated. The rajah of Travancore, having purchased of the Dutch the ports of Cranganour and Jacottah, refused to comply with the demand of the sultan Tippoo, who, alleging that he was the feudal sovereign of that part of the coast, insisted on the renunciation of the agreement. To enforce submission, this prince assaulted the lines of Travancore; but his troops were repelled with loss and disgrace. In the following year he renewed the attack, and dispossessed the rajah of his capital and other parts of his territories.

AFFECTING to foresee the aims of Tippoo, the English had previously sent a body of soldiers to the aid of their ally, the rajah; and they seem to have wished for these hostilities on the part of the sultan, that they might have a pretext for waging war against one who was known to be a determined enemy to the possessors of British India, and had courted

an alliance with France for the subversion of their ill-acquired power. War was now declared against Tippoo; and general Medows, invading the country of Combatone, took several forts with ease, while that of Dindigul was reduced with difficulty by one of his detachments. Colonel Floyd was surprised by a considerable part of the sultan's grand army; but he firmly maintained his ground in a sharp engagement. In another conflict with a numerous host, he displayed the superiority of skill and well-disciplined valour, in a small body, over the efforts of desultory courage in a multitude; and ably secured his retreat to Velladi.

Having in vain endeavoured to prevent the junction of general Medows with colonel Maxwell, Tippoo entered the Carnatic, in the hope of diverting his adversaries from the immediate invasion of Mysore. He marked his progress with inhuman ravages, and escaped the pursuit of Medows, who returned in disappointment to Madras.

1791. In the same campaign, the exertions of lieutenant-colonel Hartley retrieved the affairs of the rajah of Travancore. He afterwards defeated a strong body of the Mysoreans, and reduced Trincalour and other forts; while major-general Robert Abercrombie met with success in a battle near Cananour, and gained possession of some important posts. The Mahrattas and the nizam, whose jealousy of Tippoo had led them into an alliance with a power, of which they should have been equally jealous, did not perform, in this stage of the war, any memorable act.

During these transactions abroad, a message was delivered, from his Britannic majesty to both houses of parliament, on the 29th of March 1791, purporting, that his majesty deemed it incumbent upon him to inform them, that the endeavours he had employed to accomplish a reconciliation between Russia and the porte having proved abortive, he had judged it necessary, in order to give weight to his negotiations, to make some fresh additions to his naval force, relying on the zeal and affection of parliament, for defraying such expences as might be incurred by these preparations.

The king of Prussia, who succeeded Frederic the Great, discovered a prudent jealousy of the designs of Catharine; and, by forming an intimate alliance with Poland, as well as by the adoption of other measures, no less political, endeavoured to frustrate her designs of aggrandisement. Great Britain, in concert with Prussia and Holland, offered to mediate a peace in the east of Europe, soon after the surrender of Oczakow, in the year 1788. She prevented Denmark from uniting with Prussia, in order to assist the Swedes, with the avowed resolution of supporting the balance of power in the north. In the summer of 1790, Britain made a fresh treaty with Prussia, of more than defensive alliance, of strict and lasting union, to protect the interest of the contracting parties, as well as the security and tranquillity of Europe. We had now in vain pressed our mediation on Russia a second time; and while she refused to renew any commercial treaty with us, she made one with France, and another with Spain, entering into a quadruple alliance with those two kingdoms, which was obviously pointed against Great Britain. In fine, the empress of Russia assumed a threatening attitude, and frowning aspect; flushed as she was with success, and fortified by treaties of alliance, which naturally produced a counter confederation, and excited a spirit of jealousy, vigilance, and hostile opposition, through a large portion of Europe.

On the meeting of parliament, after the usual forms, an address to his majesty was moved by the minister, who supported the measures recommended with regard to Russia, declaring that we had a very important interest in the war between that power and the Ottoman porte. As defensive alliances were allowed to be both wise and political, and having once entered into these it was our duty to adhere to them; since Prussia was our ally, she ought to be supported, while the progress of the Russians against the porte was truly alarming. Should the power of the Turks be still farther humbled by their haughty and ambitious rival, it would be instantly felt by Prussia, and even by the whole of Europe, of which the political system might be shaken to its very basis.

In the opinion of Mr. Fox, no danger could happen to Prussia from the progress of the Russian arms in the Turkish dominions. The empress offered to cede all her conquests between the Neister and the Danube, wishing to retain those only which lay between the Neister and the Don; while we insisted that

she should abandon all her conquests, without even a single exception. It followed of course, that our only ground of quarrel with the empress was, her backwardness to resign the country already mentioned, which was an object of importance to her, as it contained the town of Oczakow, although, in general, it was barren and unprofitable. Oczakow, he observed, was captured in 1768, after which period, his majesty had informed us from the throne, that there was every reason to expect the continuance of peace. He would ask, therefore, Why did not ministers follow up, with some degree of consistency, their system of defensive alliance? They should have embraced the opportunity of securing the empress by the same means and arguments, when, in the negotiations at Reichenbach, they found the emperor disposed for peace. We could not form a more natural or advantageous alliance, than one with Russia.

It was maintained by Mr. Pitt, that the aggrandisement of Russia, and the depression of the Turks, would affect both our political and commercial interests in a very material degree. The accusation brought against ministers, that they had not endeavoured to comprehend the empress in the negotiations at Reichenbach, was considered by him as trifling; for when a favourable disposition was evinced by the emperor, it was deemed imprudent to suspend the negotiations with him, at the risk of their being totally broken off, in order to wait for the concurrence of the empress. After a few observations from Mr. Burke, the address was carried by a majority of no more than 93, there being 228 to 135.

In consequence of this numerous minority, Mr. Grey was encouraged to move a number of resolutions, on the 12th of April, declarative of some general positions not to be denied, respecting the interest which Great Britain had in the preservation of peace, and iniquitous pretexts for war; facts which had appeared during the hostilities between Russia and the sublime porte, which did not immediately appear to involve the interests of Great Britain, or threaten an attack on her possessions, or those of her allies; and concluding, "that the expence of an armament must be burdensome to the country, and is under the present circumstances, as far as the house is informed, inexpedient and unnecessary.

It was urged, among other arguments in support of Mr. Grey's motion, that Russia, so far from deriving any substantial benefit from her southern conquests, only became weaker in consequence of these victories; and, of course, to permit her to pursue her present schemes, would be the only effectual method of preventing her from disturbing the repose of Europe. But if the empress should be fully gratified in obtaining possession of Constantinople, and driving the Turks from Europe, it would be of advantage to mankind, so far from being injurious. Administration opposed Mr. Grey by observing, that the possession of Oczakow by the empress of Russia, would render easy the conquest of Constantinople, and even of all Lower Egypt, which would give the Russians the supremacy of the Mediterranean, rendering them, both in a commercial and naval point of view, a powerful rival to Great Britain. The empress, however, was not only charged with hostile designs against the porte, but against the liberties and independence of all the northern nations. The obstinate silence of ministers was severely censured, during the course of this debate, especially respecting those points, concerning which it was of the utmost importance for the house to obtain accurate information. When they changed their principles and mode of conduct, Mr. Courtney said they took shelter in *existing circumstances*. When questions were put respecting the measures they pursued, they made answer, that the country had confidence in his majesty's ministers. These two phrases, *existing circumstances*, and *confidence in his majesty's ministers*, were frequently the hinges on which turned many long and elaborate speeches

To these observations Mr. Dundas replied, that so long as a negotiation was pending, in respect to any particular points, his majesty's ministers did not apprehend that it was a duty incumbent upon them, to make these the topic of public discussion. The motions of Mr. Grey were negatived by a majority of only 80, the numbers being 172 and 252.

Lord Grenville, on the 29th of March, moved an address to his majesty, in answer to his message, which was carried by a majority of 97 to 34. Three motions were successively made by earl Fitzwilliam against a war with Russia; the first on the 1st of April, the second on the 9th of May, and the third on the 8th of June; but all of which were

negatived. The last of these was for an address to his majesty, not to prorogue parliament while a negotiation with Russia was depending. The chief supporters of earl Fitzwilliam's motion were lords Stormont, Porchester, Rawdon, Carlisle, Loughborough, and the marquis of Landsdown; and the chief speakers on the opposite side were lords Grenville and Hawkesbury, the dukes of Leeds and Richmond, and lord-chancellor Thurlow. The arguments urged for earl Fitzwilliam's motion, were analogous to those advanced in the house of commons;—the injustice and bad policy of an attack on Russia, which was far from being expedient, and might be attended with dangerous consequences. Administration urged the necessity of confidence in the executive government during a negotiation, and the silence of ministers was regarded as a duty which they owed to their country. The importance of our trade with Russia was not denied; but the present measure of preparation was not admitted as necessarily inferring its interruption; and on general principles it was maintained, that the preservation of our national commerce, as well as every other advantage, depended on maintaining our political importance in Europe, which must unavoidably be impaired by the immoderate aggrandisement of any single power.

From the commencement till the termination of the debates respecting the Russian armament, the majority of the nation was clearly against the minister; who being, as was generally supposed, in the habit of giving way to counsels, and of executing measures, which had not his own approbation, did not endeavour to acquire the confidence of the public by persevering in his own designs; but abandoned the affairs of the north of Europe to their fate, while he still retained his office, and was gradually drawn into an opposite conduct. Poland was dismembered; the Turkish empire was exposed to future attacks; and the period of contention between Great Britain and Russia, for commercial and naval greatness, rapidly approached.

It is a melancholy fact, that the mass of the people are not in the habit of looking forward to remote consequences, having neither inclination nor capacity to balance present inconveniences with future advantages, nor present advantage with future losses and dangers. All wars are execrated as unnecessary and wanton interruptions of tranquillity, prosperity, and private happiness. The conduct of the minister, in yielding to popular clamour against a war, and even the preparations for a war with Russia, became a subject of considerable animadversion. It was allowed, that no British minister ought to regard with contempt the opinion of the public; but that a minister, who believes his measures to be right, and the popular opinion against them absolutely wrong, possessed, at the same time, of a majority in both houses of parliament, ought by no means whatever to abandon his views, from the apprehension of being deprived of his place, in consequence of the people's discontent. Truth is permanent, while error and delusion are temporary and transient. It is not sufficient that a minister be honest, diligent, and capable of protecting himself by the arts of management. He should possess a genius both inventive and sublime, able to penetrate into subjects which it would be neither prudent nor, perhaps, possible to explain to the nation. His views ought to be profound; his conduct firm and magnanimous; possessing such confidence in the wisdom of his measures, as may qualify him to foresee and predict the consequences of his conduct, and appeal to his judgment from the rash decisions of a deluded multitude. In opposition to these sentiments, it was observed, that it is the incumbent duty of the minister to do all the good he can, if he be not able to do all the good he could wish; and in order to be enabled to do some good, he ought at times to side with the court, and at times to sail with the popular breeze.

On the acquisition of Canada by the peace of Paris, (1763) his majesty issued a proclamation, that measures should be adopted for extending the benefits of the British constitution to that country, in order to encourage such British subjects as might afterwards be inclined to make it their abode. The province of Canada, in the mean time, underwent such changes, as could not fail to take place after it was ceded to Great Britain, whose subjects were invited by the proclamation to acquire property in Canada, while numerous loyalists, by virtue of the American revolution, emigrated to a country so contiguous, and so analogous to their own in various respects.

These fellow-subjects carried with them a strong predilection in favour of British laws and the British constitution, and they frequently reminded government of the promise made to them in the proclamation of his majesty, of extending the benefits of the constitution to the territories of Canada; while, on the other hand, the natives were prevailed upon to oppose such an extension in a variety of particulars, as well from jealousy as attachment to antient customs, though willing to allow the excellence of our constitution, as, on the whole, favourable to liberty and the rights of the subject. The Canadian nobility, in a particular manner, who enjoyed many distinctions under the French government, were tenacious of those rights and immunities, which might be abolished by a new system of government.

Lower Canada was made to extend, by virtue of the present bill, along the bank of the river St. Lawrence, to the lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Illinois and Superior, of which the last is 1500 miles in circuit, and none of the rest less than 600, constituting the greatest inland navigation, and the largest pieces of fresh water, on the terraqueous globe. The river St. Lawrence, which is fed by these, runs a meandering course of 750 miles, and with little or no difficulty, may be made navigable to its source. This country, if we except the banks of the river, its numerous isles, and some spots on the lakes, still continues as it came from the hand of nature, covered with forests of prodigious extent, abounding with trees of a most enormous height and thickness, almost the exclusive habitation of wild beasts. The vestige of a man can scarcely be discovered for a thousand miles on the sides of the lakes, and the numerous streams by which the river St. Lawrence is swelled from north to south. So shy are the few naked savages that are occasionally to be found, and so fierce and barbarous is their aspect, that they add horror to the gloom of the wilderness.

Mr. Fox did not oppose the principles of the Canadian bill, on its first introduction, nor on its first or second reading, yet he afterwards stated several objections to it. He hoped that, in promulgating the scheme of a new constitution, the house would never lose sight of those enlightened principles of freedom, which had already proceeded with such rapidity over a large portion of the globe, and promised every day to become more and more universal. He reprobated the proposed method of representation, as being too circumscribed; to the division of the country into two provinces, which would retard the coalition of France and Britain, and the adoption of British laws and customs; to the establishment of the clergy, which was most enormous; and to the mode of electing the councils, which, he was of opinion, should be chosen by the assembly. He said, there was not in the province either sufficient property or respectability to support a hereditary noblesse. He did not mean to discuss the general proposition, of what use hereditary power and possessions might be, abstractedly considered; but he allowed that he perceived something in them so good, as to make him wish for the introduction of them among a people, to which they were formerly unknown. He did not think it prudent to destroy them in kingdoms where they already formed a part of the constitution; but he thought it impolitic and unwise to give them birth in countries where they had no previous existence. Such a conduct was, in his opinion, unaccountable, unless on the supposition, that an opportunity would be early embraced, of reviving in Canada, formerly a province of France, those honours and titles, the extinction of which was so much lamented by gentlemen, and of awakening that spirit of chivalry in the west, which had so completely fallen into disgrace in a neighbouring kingdom. He maintained, that the constitution of Canada should be as free as possible, that the people might see nothing to be envied in the surrounding states. The governments established in the United States of North America would have afforded much better patterns for imitation than that which had been followed. As the love of liberty was gaining ground, by virtue of the diffusion of literature throughout the world, he was of opinion, that a constitution should be formed for Canada, as consistent as possible with the true principles of liberty. The shadow only, and not the substance, was granted by the present bill; and this was his chief reason for opposing it.

Mr. Pitt agreed readily to the commitment of the bill, which he earnestly wished to have fully discussed; but, in the mean time, he replied to the objections of Mr. Fox, that an

elective council, independent of the crown, would render the whole system democratical, and might soon detach the colony from the British empire. Since an aristocratical principle was a constituent part of a mixed government, which he supposed to be best both for our colonies and ourselves, it was requisite that there should be such a council in Canada as the bill provided, and which might, in some measure, correspond with our house of peers. The division of the country into two provinces he considered as the most likely method to produce the coalition of French and British parties, which he allowed with Mr. Fox to be extremely desirable. If there were only to be one house of assembly, and the two parties, as might be sometimes expected, prove equal, or almost upon a par in point of numbers, a constant scene of altercation would succeed, and the breach become factious. On the other hand, by the establishment of two distinct assemblies, all cause of complaint would be removed; while the subjects of France, being left to their own choice, and not actuated by the pride of party, would most probably adopt the laws of Great Britain, from an unprejudiced observation of their superior advantage, as to the number of which the assembly would consist. This, according to the present population of Canada, could not be increased with propriety; but when the population should in reality be augmented, no objection would be made to any reasonable addition.

This was the sum of what was brought forward in the house of commons, for and against the Canadian bill, which was framed with so much judgment, with so much respect for the prejudices, the customs, and manners of the people for whom it was designed, and on principles so much resembling the British constitution, that very little of importance or plausibility could be said against it. The debates in the house of commons, in which these arguments were more amply illustrated, became chiefly interesting from the speeches of Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox, on a great and collateral subject, which put a period to the intimate friendship which had long subsisted between these celebrated men.

Mr. Burke, when the discussion of the Canada bill was brought forward, on the 6th of May, gave his decided opinion respecting the French revolution, and the doctrines maintained by its advocates. He most emphatically and seriously declared, that he wished above all things to warn the house of the danger which threatened the country, in consequence of a faction fully resolved to subvert the constitution; but it was argued by those on the same side of the house, that if such a faction really existed, it was surely of sufficient magnitude to justify its being brought forward, especially as Mr. Burke was so perfectly persuaded of its actual existence. Lord Sheffield moved, that such observations were irrelevant to the subject before the house; and Mr. Fox, in seconding the motion, took occasion to observe, that he could not pass over the melancholy task of refuting certain charges, which had been wantonly and unprovokedly adduced against him. He declared, at the same time, that if, after 25 years, he was to forfeit the friendship of one, from whom he had learned more than from all books and all men; from whose writings, speeches, and conversation, he had drawn the whole of his political knowledge; and for whom his friendship and regard were unabated; his regret would hasten the termination of a weary existence, and would accompany him to the grave. If his principles or opinions were dangerous, he had learned them of his friend.

Mr. Burke replied in the following language. "Mr. Fox has treated me with harshness and indignity: after having harassed with his light troops in the skirmishes of order, he brought the heavy artillery of his own great abilities to bear upon me." He said, Mr. Fox and he had often differed, and there had been no loss of friendship between them, "but there is something in the accursed French constitution, which embitters every thing." Fox whispered, *There is no loss of friendship between us.* Burke answered, *I know the price of my conduct, our friendship is at an end.* With great emotion, Mr. Fox deprecated the renunciation of Mr. Burke's friendship, and tears for several minutes interrupted his utterance. When the first ebullition of sensibility had subsided, he again expressed the highest esteem, affection, and gratitude for one whom, notwithstanding his harshness, he must still continue to love. Proceeding for some time in a strain of plaintive tenderness, he gradually recovered his usual firmness, and afterwards displayed considerable asperity.

Mr. Pitt differed in opinion from those who apprehended that the constitution was in any immediate danger. He conceived, however, that Mr. Burke had a claim upon the gratitude of his country, for having so eloquently and ably expressed his sense of the danger already existing; and assured him of his hearty support, should any reasonable ground of apprehension be hereafter discovered. After various desultory remarks on the same subject, the Canadian bill passed the commons on the 18th of May, after undergoing a few immaterial alterations. On this occasion, the British legislature conducted itself with appropriate equity and wisdom. The constitution of Great Britain was extended to Canada, subject to such modifications and improvements as future circumstances might evince to be necessary; and that country received as much independence as was requisite to the freedom and happiness of its people, preserving, at the same time, that degree of connection with Great Britain, which might mutually contribute to the prosperity of the mother-country and the province.

A society of philanthropists formed the design of establishing a colony at Sierra Leone, on the African coast, where the soil is excellent, producing cotton, coffee, and sugar, almost without culture. The professed design of this society was to cultivate with freemen a tract of land, which they had purchased, in order to ascertain, whether Africa might not be civilized, and rendered more productive, as a grand emporium of commerce and manufactures, than as a nursery for slaves. A bill was brought in, May the 30th, by Mr. Henry Thornton, for the establishment of such a company, which speedily passed through both houses of parliament. After a long and laborious session, the parliament was prorogued on the 10th of June, but did not meet till the 21st of January, 1792. 1791.

CHAPTER XXXV.

GEORGE III.

[1791, 1792.]

Internal State of France—Indisposition of the King—Flight of the Royal Family to Varennes—Their compulsory Return to Paris—Disputes between the Courts of Versailles and Rome—Establishment of a new French Constitution—State of the Public Mind in England—Riots at Birmingham—Opening of Parliament—Debates on Political Reform—Loyal and Revolutionary Societies—Campaign in India—Retreat of Tippoo—The English appear before Seringapatam—Tippoo concludes with Lord Cornwallis a humiliating Peace.

THE authors of the French revolution had apparently obtained the objects of their most sanguine wishes. They had constituted a legislature consisting of one entire body; they had annihilated the nobility, and circumscribed the royal authority; they had formed a system of representation, which reached the smallest division of property, and carefully guarded every avenue to corruption; they had destroyed the monasteries; had deprived the church of that abundant wealth which was deemed detrimental to the public;

and had established an elective magistracy, and an elective clergy. But the timidity and irresolution of the sovereign, whose firmness might have led to the repression of further innovation, encouraged the factious and the turbulent to more momentous and unnecessary changes. Lewis possessed the inclination, but not the energy, required to defeat the designs of the conspirators against his throne and life, and the benevolent and misguided king, while he was doubtful of his course, perished amidst the ruins of the monarchy.

Alarmed and irresolute, the sovereign of France was induced to implore the co-operation of the eloquent but unprincipled Mirabeau, who had now been elected president of the assembly, and whose friendly interference might bias the proceedings of that body in favour of the royal cause. At the same moment, M. de la Fayette was meditating, unknown to Mirabeau, a political scheme, of which the success depended on strictly watching the movements of the king at the Thuilleries. When some commotions had alarmed his majesty, about 300 royalists hastened to defend him; but the officers of the national guard insisted on their retiring, after the surrender of their arms to the king, who was not only obliged by la Fayette to deliver up the weapons, but was prohibited from admitting any strangers into the palace. These insults made a deep impression on the feelings of the harassed prince, who was soon after seized with a fever. His recovery was celebrated with illuminations; but this testimonial of the people's attachment was more than overbalanced by the death of Mirabeau. Afflicted and discouraged by that event, he was inclined to seek comfort and protection at a distance from his turbulent capital. He was advised by M. de Montmorin, to propose to the emperor the formation of such a league as might, without actual war, intimidate the assembly into respect and moderation. On pretence of averting hostilities, the king was to negotiate with the combined powers, and to put the army on an orderly and respectable footing. He was then to proceed to the frontiers, command the emigrants to return and join his troops, form a new administration, and summon the assembly to deliberate under his eye. The electoral assemblies were to be consulted, and a plan of government, providing for the continuance of the monarchy, yet not inconsistent with reasonable liberty, was to be settled with general consent. After the adjustment of an accommodation with foreign powers, Lewis was to return to Paris; and affairs, it was expected, would then proceed in a prosperous train. The emperor was pleased with the propositions; but on their disclosure to the count d'Artois, and other emigrants, they were received with repulsive indifference, and obtained their passive acquiescence rather than their active support.

The assembly, in the mean time, hastened to complete the constitution; and, in compliance with the general wish, a time was fixed for the convocation of primary assemblies, that the constituent body might be succeeded by a legislative council, from which the present national representatives should be excluded.

The mortifications and thraldom to which the king was now subjected, in consequence of a general suspicion that he was meditating an escape, induced him to put that design in execution at an early opportunity. Montmedi, a fortress on the borders of Luxemburgh, was chosen as the place of his majesty's residence; and the marquis de Bouillé had prepared to facilitate his escape, by placing relays of horses at proper stations, and ordering protecting parties of dragoons, under various pretexts, to occupy positions on the road. On the night of the 20th of June, the king, accompanied by her majesty, and by the royal family, having obtained a passport, by means of the Russian ambassador, eluding the vigilance of the guard, escaped from the Thuilleries, and, taking the road of Chalons sur Marne, and St. Menehoud, they reached Varennes, about 150 miles from Paris, and only 30 from Montmedi, before midnight on the 21st. It is not extraordinary, that a scheme so complicated, and liable to innumerable accidents, should have failed of success; but to have their progress stopped and their views blighted, when their object was so nearly attained, was a circumstance peculiarly afflicting. Drouet, the post-master at St. Menehoud, recognising his majesty's person by its resemblance to his portrait, pursued him to Varennes, and contrived to detain him there, till some of the national guards could be assembled, by causing a waggon loaded with furniture to be overturned upon a bridge

which led towards Montmedi. Parties of dragoons had been stationed both at St. Menehoud and Varennes, but were seduced from their duty. On information of the disaster, de Bouillé used all possible despatch to rescue his sovereign, hastening with a regiment of dragoons to Varennes for that purpose. But he arrived too late. His majesty had been placed under an arrest, and was instantly carried back to Paris, under an escort of the national guards. The apathy with which the inhabitants of the provinces beheld the afflicted royal family, the consternation which prevailed among the citizens of Paris when their escape was announced, and their joy on receiving intelligence of their arrest, might have well awakened the aristocrats from those delusive dreams, respecting the aid which would be derived from the people in the event of an invasion. Unfortunately for their own welfare, and the repose of Europe, the friends of the French monarchy were so completely subjected to the influence of passion and prejudice, that the admonitions of common sense could not be heard, and even the evidence of facts was wholly disregarded.

THE republican violence of the Jacobins urged them to represent the king's flight as a sufficient ground for his dethronement. Petion did not scruple to propose, that Lewis should be brought to trial, as his declared inviolability could only be applied to acts of royalty; but the assembly rejected the motion as unconstitutional. At a meeting of the seditious club, Brissot maintained, in a studied harangue, that it was not merely lawful, but an act of duty to try the king; and pamphlets to that effect were industriously spread. The friends of the constitution discouraged such doctrines, without manifesting that spirit which the danger of their sovereign required them to exert.

THE Jacobin club, the society of Cordeliers, and other democratic associations, continued to inveigh against the king, and demand his punishment. Their arts and clamours having occasioned a tumultuous meeting in the *Champ de Mars*, (July 17, 1791,) the mayor proclaimed martial law; the national guard, attacked by the mob, fired, and killed or wounded thirty or forty of the rioters. For this violation of the sovereignty of the people, Bailli was never forgiven by the Jacobins.

A CONTINUANCE of deliberation and discussion at length completed the expected code. A deputation being escorted by troops to the palace, Thouret thus addressed the king: "The representatives of the nation present to your majesty the constitutional act, which consecrates the unalienable rights of the French people, tends to establish the true dignity of the throne, and regenerates the government of the empire." Lewis promised to examine, and state his opinion with all reasonable despatch. After an interval of ten days, he declared his acceptance. If it had been presented to him at the moment of his departure from Paris, he could not have prevailed upon himself to assent; but as it had been, since that time, improved in various respects, rendered more apt to promote good government and order, and had secured a general sanction in the public opinion, he now engaged to maintain it at home, defend it against attacks from abroad, and endeavour to carry it into complete effect. He, however, added, that he did not perceive, in the means allotted to the executive power, all the energy necessary for concentration and unity; and he subjoined a caution against that discord that might lead to anarchy. On the following day he appeared in the hall of the assembly, took an oath for the observance of the new constitution, and signed the act. The president, in a posture of *nonchalance*, without rising from his seat, congratulated Lewis on his enjoyment of the most desirable crown in the universe, secured by the permanent and decisive authority of a constitution freely decreed. Sept. 14.

A CEREMONIOUS proclamation followed. The Parisian municipality announced, with military parade, that the national assembly, having finished (within the space of two years and two months) their constitutional labours, had consigned the act, confirmed by the king, to the fidelity of the legislative body, as a sacred deposit,—to the vigilance of the fathers and mothers of families, the affections of the young citizens, and to the courage and zeal of all Frenchmen.

AT the time of completing this boasted work of human wisdom, or (as some have termed it) monument of human folly, an act of revolutionary rapacity was committed by the assembly: I allude to the seizure of the comtat Venaissin. A motion for its union with the

French monarchy had before been rejected by the moderation of the majority; but this forbearance was not permanent. An intestine war had arisen in the combat from the violence of the jacobin faction. An army of revolutionists from Avignon had attacked Cavaillon, and massacred many of the inhabitants. Jourdan, a sanguinary ruffian, besieged Capentras, and perpetrated horrible outrages, and most of the towns of the Venaissin were at length intimidated into an application for such a settlement as might extinguish in that territory the power of the pope.

From the death of Ganganelli to the prosecution of the cardinal de Rohan, no important or serious contest had occurred between the courts of Versailles and Rome; and after that extraordinary affair, Lewis and Pius were again on friendly terms. But when the revolution had broken out, the very nature of the explosion presaged a breach between the altered government and the administrator of a superstitious system. The discontinuance of the payment of first-fruits, and the vote which declared the possessions of the church to be national property, gave great offence to the pope; and the proceedings of the assembly, on the subject of his territories in France, fired him with indignation. After the renewal of commotions at Avignon, it was proposed that the whole Venaissin should be re-annexed to the Gallic realm; and because the measure was *convenient*, it was pronounced to be *just* and *lawful*.

Lewis seemed now to have recovered his popularity. He was considered as a constitutional king, and hailed as a friend to his country. But he was still in a state of anxiety. He dreaded the intrigues of the Jacobins, and apprehended great danger from their violent and restless spirit. He saw the defects and absurdities of the constitution, and did not expect to be allowed freely to exercise the power which it assigned to him.

He again attended the assembly, to witness its dissolution. "Return to your families," he then said, "and tell your fellow-citizens, that I have no interest but that of the nation; that I will exert all the powers with which I am entrusted, to give full efficacy to the new system; and will prove in every thing, that I can rejoice only when my people are happy."

This fabric of power was ill-cemented and unsound. It was denominated a monarchy; but it contained so strong a mixture of democracy, that the former term was inapplicable to the system. It rendered the king a mere instrument in the hands of a domineering assembly; his prerogative was inefficient, and his authority inadequate even to the preservation of order and tranquillity. A veto, to be useful, ought to be absolute; for a temporary prohibition or enactment cannot command respect, unless from a well constituted assembly. I am aware that the suspensive veto has been applauded by the vanity of its proposer, as a happy effort of political sagacity, calculated to give time to a popular assembly to exchange zeal for moderation; but I am rather disposed to consider it as a feeble tie, invidious without being authoritative, seemingly arbitrary without the energy of perseverance.

The constitution formed a multiplicity of parts; but they did not form a regular chain, they did not smoothly glide into each other. The theory could not easily be reduced to practice. Indeed if the code had been truly excellent, and much more practicable than it was, the exorbitancy of Jacobinical ambition, and the anarchical licentiousness of faction would not long have suffered it to be operative and efficacious.

The progress of the constitution, and the eventful scenes which occurred while it was yet unfinished, gave the French ample time to reflect on the nature and tendency of their revolution. The royalists, for obvious reasons, could not view it with satisfaction; the nobility were not pleased at being reduced to a level with the mass of the people; and the clergy complained of the diminution of their privileges and revenues; while the nation in general still hoped and expected to derive benefit from the change.

When the newly elected assembly commenced its career, three parties were distinctly observable among the members; Oct. 1.
the friends of the new constitution, (including the Feuillans,)—the independents —and the violent faction, which consisted of Jacobins and Cordeliers. Dumas, Dumolard, and Guardin, headed the first party; la Croix was the chief director of the second; Brissot (for Robespierre was not among the deputies) had the principal influence over the third.

The constitutional code, being presented in form to the new legislature, was hailed as the

pledge of peace and union. Cerutti then moved, that thanks should be voted to the constituent assembly, for having saved and regenerated the French empire; for having destroyed, by the labours of three years, the abuses of fourteen centuries, and paved the way for ages of happiness. The motion was applauded, and readily sanctioned; and a mere doubt, expressed by Chabot, whether the constitution was the most perfect of all works, produced general murmurs. This was literally a modest hint from one who was considered a man of extraordinary impudence; but it was deemed a profanation of *the gospel of the constitution.*

In a judicious speech from the king, proper objects were recommended to the attention of the deputies. He requested them to facilitate the operations of government, strengthen the army and navy, establish public credit, improve the civil laws, render the attainment of justice more prompt and easy, and frame a system of national education. To this advice little attention was paid. The assembly evinced a deficiency of wisdom and of patriotism; frequently discussed trifles, and decreed absurdities; enacted unjust laws; connived at the licentiousness and brutality of the rabble; insulted and degraded the king; and encouraged factious anarchy.

An early attack was made upon the emigrants, many of whom were embodied in Germany. Their supposed views of hostility were mentioned with indignation in the assembly; and on the 9th of November it was decreed, that if they should remain in a body, and not return into France before the 1st day of the next year, they should be punished with death wherever they might be found. This infamous law originated with Brissot's party; and a decree for the punishment of all priests who refused to take the civic oath, or who excited disturbances, arose from the intolerant spirit of the same faction. From these ordinances Lewis withheld his sanction; and his refusal did not at first seem to give serious disgust.

The preparations of the emigrants continued to be productive of warm debates, and formed the chief feature of a manifesto written by Condorcet, and adopted by the assembly. In this composition, plausible professions of general moderation were mingled with vindictive denunciations against the *rebels,* who menaced their native country with sanguinary convulsions. The hostile views imputed to the emperor were also a subject of animated discussion. Some vassals of the empire having complained that their feudal rights in Alsace and Lorraine had been invaded by the constituent assembly, Leopold promised to assert their claims; and, not approving the indemnification offered by Lewis, he demanded a re-establishment of those possessions on the footing prescribed by treaties. He also intimated a desire, that the elector of Treves might not be attacked, as that prince had engaged to put a stop to the assembling of emigrants in his dominions. In communicating the imperial despatches to the legislative body, the king declared that, if the elector should not fully perform his promise, he would have recourse to arms. M. de Narbonne was sent to the frontiers to examine the state of the army and fortified towns. He made a favourable report, and assured the assembly, that the French were well prepared to resist aggression.

The important revolution which had occurred in France, could not but be viewed with anxiety by the neighbouring nations. Some men, actuated by the love of novelty, or an aversion to legal restraint, hailed the approach of those days, when mankind would be blessed with the full enjoyment of liberty, and others from interested motives, were desirous of any change that might afford them an opportunity of improving their condition, or repairing their broken fortunes. Many were affrighted by the progress of principles, which gave to the people the power of new-modelling their forms of government; while in England the sincere well-wishers to the established constitution looked forward to the result of the changes in France with extreme solicitude, apprehensive that the glorious system of government, under which the British people had so long flourished, might be undermined in its principles by designing men, or might be reduced to ruin amid the crash of empires. Those who considered France as the rival of our commercial prosperity and political grandeur, who had observed with regret the struggles made by that kingdom to augment its naval force, even during its decline, and thought, with Mr. Burke, that the works constructed at Cherburg, for the security of that fortress and the

accommodation of their navy, were more vast in their design than the pyramids of Egypt, were relieved from their apprehensions, when they saw that powerful rival disabled from contending with England by her domestic troubles. Among the British subjects who declared themselves the friends of liberty, there were undoubtedly a few who wished for a republican government, and others who were inflamed with a spirit of violent Jacobinism; but no man of candour will deny, that many of them were sincerely attached to the principles of that constitution; which was improved and secured under the sway of William III. Individuals of these different descriptions celebrated the anniversary of the French revolution in convivial meetings at London, Norwich, Manchester, Liverpool, and other towns. At Birmingham a similar meeting took place, but did not end without disturbances. An appeal had been previously made to the people in a printed bill, complaining, in strong terms, of political abuses and general grievances, yet recommending order and forbearance till the majority should be disposed to resist oppression. As a riot appears to have been preconcerted, some zealous partisans of the civil and religious establishment might have circulated this paper, that, being regarded as the production of the discontented party, it might excite odium against them; but this is merely the cursory surmise of a partial historian, and cannot be stated as an historical fact.

The populace assembly at the hotel, in which the festive party dined, gave various signs of disapprobation. After the celebrators of the anniversary had retired, the windows of the house were broken, and the rioters proceeded to more serious mischief. They set the new meeting-house on fire, nearly demolished the old one, and destroyed the house, library, and philosophical apparatus of Dr. Priestley, who was particularly obnoxious to these turbulent champions of church and state. Several other houses near the town were burned, because they belonged to dissenters, and in one of these some of the incendiaries lost their lives. The civil power being unable to prevent the continuance of tumult, depredation, and havoc, troops were sent into the town, and ordered to scour the country. Four of the offenders were condemned at Warwick, two were hanged, and the county being sued by Dr. Priestley, and others who had suffered the loss of property, compensation was awarded by the jury.

Great Britain had yet abstained from taking a decided part in the transactions connected with the affairs of France; but at a period like the present, when a complete revolution had taken place in one of the greatest states in Europe, and men of all ranks appeared determined freely to investigate the principles and origin of government, and to decide on the merits of the different systems, it was impossible for the most insensible or the most humble individual to remain entirely unmoved by the scene around him. Still more powerful and decisive was the effect of existing circumstances on the proceedings of the legislature, and on the opinions of our senators. The baneful influence of the French revolution on the minds of the people, and even on the conduct and sentiments of our most popular orators, might have been still more extensive and deplorable, had not the flattering representations of Mr. Pitt, on the subjects of commerce and finance, diverted the national attention from real grievances and erroneous theories. A prospect of increasing prosperity opened upon us, not only as the general result of our collective industry, but from the new sources of wealth continually produced by the extension of our foreign trade. Among other measures adopted for the latter purpose, but of which the execution was suspended till the autumn of this year, was an embassy from his Britannic majesty to the emperor of China, conducted by lord Macartney, for the improvement of our commercial intercourse with that country. The ambassador's train was suited to the taste for magnificence which prevails in the East; and he was received with all the pomp and ceremony that could be devised. But the emperor discovered, at the same time, in his treatment of his guests, a jealousy towards the Europeans, at once excited and justified by his acquaintance with the fate of other Eastern countries. His politeness was united with circumspection; and, after being treated with ostentatious hospitality, the ambassador was dismissed with cold civility.

His majesty made known to parliament in his speech, (Jan. 31st) the marriage of his son, the duke of York, with the princess Frederica, daughter of his good brother, the king o

Prussia. He informed the two houses, that a treaty had been concluded, under his mediation and that of his allies, between the emperor and the Ottoman porte, and preliminaries agreed upon, between the latter of these powers and Russia. The general state of affairs in Europe promised a continuance of peace, and he was induced to hope for an immediate reduction of his naval and military establishments.

1792. An address of thanks and approbation was moved by Mr. Charles Yorke, and seconded by sir James Murray, but severely animadverted on by Mr. Fox, who said, alluding to the cession of Oczakow to the Russians, that it required no moderate share of assurance for ministers to say to gentlemen, who had supported their measures as wise and necessary, *That which you last year contended for, as of the utmost importance, we have now abandoned, as of none. Will you have the goodness to move an address, approving what we have done?* Mr. Fox thought it extraordinary, that in mentioning the inestimable blessings of peace and order, no notice was taken of the violent interruption of order which had occurred in the course of the summer. At the close of the eighteenth century we had seen the revival of the spirit and practice of the darkest ages. It would have been well if his majesty had spoken of those riots in the terms they merited. They were not riots for bread,—they were not riots in the cause of liberty, which, however highly to be reprobated, had yet some excuse in their principle; they were riots of men neither aggrieved nor complaining—of men who had set on foot an indiscriminate persecution of an entire description of their fellow-citizens, including persons as eminent for their ability, as blameless in their conduct, and as faithful to their allegiance, as this or any other country could boast.

This subject was regarded by Mr. Pitt as neither pleasant nor profitable, the revival of which he sincerely deplored, rather inclining to draw the attention of the house to the prosperous and flourishing state of our finances and the national commerce, a correct statement of which it was his full intention to submit to the house in a very short time. He gave, on the 17th of February, a grand display of national prosperity, in a speech replete with eloquence and animation, by far more glowing than any before him had ventured to suggest. The amount of the permanent revenue, with the land and malt duties annexed, from January 1791 to January 1792, he estimated at £16,730,000, being £300,000 more than the aggregate of the preceding year. The permanent expenditure, including the interest of the debt, the annual million applied towards its liquidation, the civil list, and the military and naval establishments, he calculated at £15,810,000, leaving a clear surplus of more than £900,000. In this state of things he thought himself authorised to propose the repeal of a part of more burdensome taxes, to the amount of about £200,000 per annum; and, at the same time, to apply the sum of £400,000 to the reduction of the national debt, in aid of the annual million appropriated by parliament. This would still fall far short of his estimate of the national ability.

This session of parliament was rendered peculiarly interesting by the state of the public mind on the subject of political reform. The example of France had stimulated the zeal of several active and intelligent individuals in Great Britain; and publications, explaining the imperfections of our constitution, denying or ridiculing the boasted liberties of the subject, and recommending the most violent measures in the cause of democracy, were eagerly circulated, and were read with avidity. The ministry, alarmed by these demonstrations of the public spirit, obtained from the king a proclamation against seditious writings. A legal process was instituted against Thomas Paine, who had written a dangerous and insidious publication, called *the Rights of Man*. Notwithstanding the able defence of Mr. Erskine, he was pronounced guilty, and, as he did not make his appearance, was subjected to outlawry.

The proceedings of the various associations alarmed the timid and the loyal. Many enlightened and distinguished votaries of constitutional freedom formed themselves into a society, under the appellation of *the Friends of the People*. Their principal object was the promotion of a reform in parliament, in conformity to the principles which Mr. Pitt had frequently enforced with the most conclusive arguments. *The London Corresponding Society, the Society for Constitutional Information, the Revolutionary Society*, and

various other self-constituted bodies, actively propagated the doctrine of the rights of man, openly applauded the conduct of the French revolutionists, and claimed a more popular government, and a greater degree of freedom than was recognised by the English constitution. In conformity with the views of the *Society of the Friends of the People*, to which Mr. Grey belonged, that gentleman, in the following session, made a fruitless appeal to the house of commons. Counter-associations were immediately formed, of which Mr. John Reeves, the patentee of prayer-books, and Mr. Bowles, the celebrated delinquent as a Dutch commissioner, were active and ostensible promoters; beneath their auspices subscriptions were formed for the circulation of loyal and aristocratic pamphlets; and, though their motives might not have withstood the test of rigid scrutiny, their exertions materially contributed to tranquillize the passions, and correct the errors of the people.

The present session of parliament was distinguished by an act, in which the freedom of an Englishman is essentially interested. The manner of deciding in our courts of judicature, in trials for libel, not being duly ascertained, Mr. Fox proposed a bill for declaring the power of juries to decide upon the law, as well as the fact. When this important point was discussed in the house of lords, the rights of juries were maintained, with great learning and strength of argument, by lord Camden. It was feebly opposed, on the ground of danger attending even the appearance of innovation at such a period as the present, and was finally passed by a great majority.

Towards the termination of the session, the attention of parliament was powerfully attracted to the affairs of India. When earl Cornwallis, the governor-general, had commenced the campaign of 1791, the strength of Bangalour had threatened him with a protracted siege; but he soon reduced the pettah, or town, and, when his batteries had played against the fort for a week, he took it by a nocturnal assault, with great slaughter of the garrison. He soon after routed a body of the enemy, formed a junction with the cavalry of the nizam, and resolved to proceed to Seringapatam. After a fatiguing march in rainy weather, attended with a serious loss of cattle, he boldly attacked the Mysorean army. Both sides fought with great courage; but the assailants at length prevailed, and drove the enemy to the works of the town. A siege, however, was then deemed unadvisable, for want of a covering army, and on account of the scarcity of provisions and the progress of disease. Major-general Abercrombie was prevented from joining lord Cornwallis by the extraordinary swell of the Cauveri, and no intelligence could be obtained of the advance of the Mahrattas. The earl now retired towards Bangalore; but was deterred, by the approach of the monsoon, from the speedy prosecution of the intended siege. After an interval of inaction, all the forts which commanded the Polycode pass were taken, and Nundydroog was added to the conquests of the confederates. Lieutenant Chalmers distinguished himself by his resolute defence of Coimbatore, though he was ultimately obliged to surrender it. Colonel Stuart formed the siege of Savendroog, and took it by assault, as well as Outredroog, to the inexpressible astonishment and confusion of the enemy.

On this occasion, the prospect of individual emolument interfered with the general interests of the confederacy. Purseram Bhow, who had promised to form a junction with general Abercrombie, tempted by the spoils of the rich province of Bednore, disregarded his engagement, and advanced towards that country, late in the autumn of 1791, with his own army, and captain Little's detachment. They easily possessed themselves of several intervening forts and small towns, and when a Mysorean army, under Reza Sahib, would have obstructed the siege of the strong fortress of Simoga, they came to an action with that chieftain, and having defeated him, reduced the fortress. The Bhow then advanced towards Bednore, his chief object, but Tippoo determined, if possible, to save the province from the ravages of this army, despatched Cummer Ul Dien, with a strong force, to its defence. The Bhow, finding himself compelled to oppose so powerful an antagonist, desisted from his enterprise, and retreated towards the grand army then employed before Seringapatam; but did not effect his junction till the preparations for the siege had been completed. Dec. 29.

All obstacles to the principal enterprise being removed, provisions for forty days

being prepared, and every part of the confederate forces, except Purseram Bhow's army, being ready to co-operate in the siege, lord Cornwallis sent orders to general Abercrombie to advance again from his station on the Malabar coast; and having reviewed the army under his immediate command near Outredroog, consisting of a strong body of British troops, with the Nizamates, and those of the Mahrattas which remained with him, he moved towards Seringapatam. Every attempt to convey just ideas of the several bodies which composed this huge mass, must fall miserably short of the original. Regular columns of infantry, ready to act on the appearance of an enemy, extended along the front and left bank, wherever danger was to be apprehended. The train, and heavy carriages of whatsoever description, moved on better ground to the right of the infantry, in general at the distance of about 100 yards. Stores, suttling, and private carriages of various kinds, advanced on a third road, to the right of the other two; and elephants, camels, buffaloes, bullocks, tattoos, asses, with myriads of followers that defy description, kept pace with these lines on the baggage flank. In the rear, and to the right, were large bodies of horse from the army of Nizam Ally, together with powerful divisions from Hurry Punt; these, in their turn, co-operating with the cavalry of colonel Floyd, extended to the infantry in front: in short, one immense chain of cavalry and infantry, embracing the whole mass, afforded complete protection to the several component parts. From this moving world, swarms of irregular horse branched out in every direction, as far as the eye could reach.

The Mysorean capital, besides the natural strength which it derived from its insular situation in the Cauveri, had the security of batteries erected along the banks of that river. The position which Tippoo Sultan had taken for its defence, on its north side, was fortified with six well-constructed redoubts, and was, moreover, guarded by the Lockani river, which covered part of its front, and by ravines and marshy grounds in other quarters. Double ditches of excellent masonry were covered in front by works constructed with the best materials, and on the most approved principle of the present time. Drawbridges secured the communication over the ditches at every entrance, and heavy guns, out of number, pointed in all directions from bastions, cavaliers, and out-works. The defences to the northward, notwithstanding they were covered by the river, were, on a comparative view, considered of less strength than those towards the island. The walls in this direction were not of the same thickness with the others. The ditches, excavated from the solid rock at an enormous expence, were inferior both in depth and width; but, on the north face, the advantages of the ground presented inducements most favourable to an attack. From a gradual rise in the country, not only the buildings within, but the walls of the fort were exposed, to the very foundation; and several French deserters, who had lately abandoned the sultan, agreed in opinion, respecting the weakness of Seringapatam in this direction.

The commander-in-chief, having encamped within eight miles of the island, there formed his British forces in three divisions; the centre commanded under himself by Stuart, the right by Medows, and the left by Maxwell. The artillery corps was commanded by Montagu; and the defence of the camp was committed to Duff.—They moved from their camp in the dusk of the evening; a full moon affording them light, and the stillness of night adding to the solemnity of the scene.

Maxwell's division began their operations before midnight, by an assault on one of the enemy's redoubts. It was guarded by a double breast-work; but the assailants bore down all resistance; and, driving the enemy before them, they entered the sultan's lines, and formed a junction with the centre division. The successive assaults were furious, and attended with prodigious slaughter: death presented itself in its most hideous shapes: beside those who perished by the sword, multitudes were driven into the Cauveri. A body of troops under Stuart, Maxwell, Knox, and Baird, fording the river, made a lodgement on the island. And the sultan, when light returned, had the grief to behold the pettah adjoining to his capital, and a great part of the island of Seringapatam, in possession of his enemy.

Vigorous efforts were then made by Tippoo to recover his redoubts, and drive his enemy from the ground which they had gained during the night. But neither the bravery of his subjects, fighting under the

eye of their sovereign, nor his greatly superior numbers, which enabled him continually to bring fresh troops to the encounter, nor the vengeance which they breathed on seeing the imminent danger which threatened the Mysorean capital, could give them success. They displayed the discipline as well as valour of troops formed by Hyder and Tippoo Sultan. At one period of the engagement, they made a furious attack upon a small band of troops, consisting of a few companies of infantry, with which the commander-in-chief had been left, during the confusion of this nocturnal affair. But this, by its exemplary firmness, repelled with the bayonet every effort of the enemy; while the centre and left divisions opened the way to final success, by establishing themselves in the sultan's encampment, and on the island.

Medows, in the mean time, had been employed, with the right division, against what was called the Edga redoubt, which protected the left of the Mysorean camp. This was very strongly fortified, and among the troops which guarded it, was a considerable corps of Europeans, commanded by M. Vigie. The struggle for this important station was desperate: the assailants were once forced to recoil; but being immediately brought again to the assault, with a reinforcement, the enemy were at last driven from their works. The victory was, however, dearly bought, with the lives of a great number of British troops; and the bodies of 400 of the enemy, within a circle of not more than thirty yards diameter, were a mournful trophy to their firmness.

The subsequent movements of this division were not equally judicious or successful. "Instead of attacking another redoubt, which began to oppose their progress, soon after they were put in motion, towards earl Cornwallis," says captain Mackenzie, "an unhappy council of war, after some deliberation, determined, in order to avoid delay, to make a circuit to the left. The encampment of this wing consequently remained without further molestation during the action. The column repassed the Roundhedge, again forded the Nulla, at different bands; and proceeding towards the Carigat pagoda, got bewildered amongst the paddy fields, (the rice fields) for the greater part of the night. Before day, however, the whole division, with the exception of the garrison left in the Edga redoubt, was drawn up at the foot of the hill."

The success which attended the British arms stimulating the sultan to greater exertions, by convincing him that, unless they were stopped in their career of victory, ruin awaited him, his efforts were renewed for recovering the island and the redoubts on the north side of the Cauveri. But although these efforts were made with the choicest of his forces, they all failed of success. Perceiving at last, that the British troops resisted every assault with immoveable firmness, that the spirit, with which victory inspired them, seemed to carry them forward with augmented force; whilst his own began to droop from the prodigious slaughter which they had sustained, a slaughter rendered still more afflicting by the loss of 80 pieces of artillery, he was constrained to retire with the remainder within the walls of his capital.

The British general, although he discovered no aversion to negotiate, was too well acquainted with the sultan's artifices to be deceived with his pacific overtures. He accordingly proceeded without interruption in his preparations for the siege, and was much assisted in their prosecution by the arrival of general Abercrombie, with the army under his command.

When the general viewed the strength and extent of the fortification, and the force in garrison, which amounted to 20,000 men, he could not but heavily regret the absence of Purseram Bhow's army. His circumstances, however, did not admit of delay. He immediately made his arrangements for the siege. Stuart was invested with the command on the island. The piquets and out-posts were entrusted to Maxwell. Captain Brown commanded on the ground north of the river, which had before been occupied by the Mysorean army: and the operations of the whole army were directed by Medows, under the eye of the commander-in-chief.

Tippoo Sultan, in the mean time, had neglected no means for the preservation of his capital and his military glory, which were now both at stake. Whilst the besiegers were making their approaches, they were annoyed by a heavy cannonade from the

fortress. When Mackenzie and Cameron, during the progress of the works on the island, were sent to gain possession of a post on the south of the city, to facilitate an attack from that quarter, a vigorous and successful sally was made by the garrison. The sultan, in person, to encourage his men to redouble their efforts, advanced with fresh troops to support the action, and a second time repulsed the assailants. But the result was the same as in every other engagement of this campaign. A reinforcement arriving from Abercrombie's army towards the close of the day, the garrison were repulsed, with the loss of 600 men. This victory proved decisive of the war. The sultan, perceiving that his greatest exertions served only to enhance the merit of his enemies, seeing that their parallels and batteries were completed, and hearing that Purseram Bhow was hourly expected to join the allied army, was convinced that he must either submit to a capitulation, or suffer the reduction of his capital by storm. Reflecting on the dire alternative, he, at last, humbled himself so far as to accept the preliminaries prescribed by his victorious adversary, and to send his two eldest sons to the British camp, to remain there as hostages, till the terms of peace should be finally concluded. The chief articles were,—"That one half of the dominions, which Tippoo Sultan possessed before the war, should be ceded to the allies from the countries adjacent, according to their situation. That three crores and thirty lacks of rupees be paid by him; one crore and sixty-five lacks to be paid immediately, and one crore and sixty-five lacks in three payments, not exceeding four months each. All prisoners to be unequivocally restored. Two of Tippoo Sultan's three eldest sons to be given as hostages for the performance of the treaty.

During the conferences of the Mysorean vakiels with those of the nizam and the Mahrattas, and the British commissioners, Tippoo Sultan was practising various arts to protract the negotiations, and evade a just performance of a treaty so humiliating to his pride, and destructive of his power. They had continued near three weeks, when lord Cornwallis, observing his warlike movements, and his disposition to prevaricate, prepared to re-commence the siege, and ordered the hostages to be removed to Bangalore. The sultan, then submitting to his fate, gave his ratification to the definitive treaty on the 18th of March; and Abdul Calig, his eldest son, closed the transactions by delivering a separate copy to the representatives of each confederate power, and receiving from them a counterpart of the treaty. 1792.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

GEORGE III.

[1792, 1793.]

Internal State of England—Turbulence of Parties—The Question of War or Peace considered—Hostile Demonstrations of the Allied Powers—Proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick—Its Influence on the Parisians—Attack upon the Palace—Lewis visits the National Assembly—Commencement of Military Operations—Advance and disastrous Retreat of the Allies—Sieges of Lisle and Thionville—Successes of Custine—Royalty is abolished in France—Trial and Execution of the King.

THE number and singularity of the occurrences connected with the revolution in France, and more particularly the progress and vicissitudes of the campaign, will require the utmost attention of the reader, and can only be intelligible in a minute and connected narrative. It will be necessary, therefore, before I proceed to record the subsequent atrocities of the Parisians, and the splendid and unexpected succession of military exploits, to exhibit a rapid but not unimportant sketch of the corresponding policy of England, and of the principal events which, at a period so momentous, may be regarded as worthy of historical commemoration.

IMMEDIATELY previous to the declaration of war against Austria, the French monarch addressed a letter to his Britannic majesty, in which he made the most eager advances towards the establishment of a treaty of friendship and alliance. "Between our countries," says Lewis, "new connections ought to take place. I think I see the remains of that rivalship which has done so much mischief to both, daily wearing away. It becomes two kings who have distinguished their reigns by a constant desire to promote the happiness of their people, to connect themselves by such ties as will appear to be durable, in proportion as the two nations shall have clearer views of their own interests. I consider the success of the alliance, in which I wish you to concur with as much zeal as I do, as of the highest importance; I consider it as necessary to the stability of the respective constitutions; and I will add that our union ought to command peace to Europe." As this letter produced no sensible effect, an application was made in due form by M. Chauvelin, on the part of the king of France to the king of Great Britain, "to oppose, and by his wisdom and influence to avert, while it is still time, the progress of the confederacy formed against France, and which threatened the peace, the liberty, and the happiness of Europe." An answer was returned on the 8th of July, that "in the existing circumstances of the war begun, the intervention of his Britannic majesty's councils or good offices could not be of use, unless they were desired by all the parties interested." A wise neutrality was therefore all that could be expected by the French patriots from the British government; and, while they suspected the views of the English monarch, they confided in the apparent moderation of the minister.

April, 1792.

IN the mean time, the diffusion of revolutionary principles, among the people of Great Britain, was rapid and general. In the metropolis, besides individuals of genius and learning, well-affected to the French revolution, there was a numerous class of adventurers in politics and literature, who espoused and

circulated its principles. If learning be not more profound in the present than in former ages, it is certainly spread over a wider surface. The commercial opulence of the country encourages the sale and manufacture of literary commodities of every value and denomination. The demand extending to a vast variety of productions, which require neither profound learning nor vigorous genius, the number of authors multiplies in proportion to the moderate qualifications that are necessary. All these, down to translators of German novels, and collectors of paragraphs for the daily papers, deemed themselves persons of genius and erudition, and members of the republic of letters. In France, the influence of literary men was great and extensive, and many of this class in England conceived, that if the same system were established here, they might rise to the same distinction in the new order of things. There were in the literary, as in other classes, persons, who, deluded by the benevolence of their enthusiasm, exulted in the prospect that vice and misery would be extirpated by the influence of the French constitution, and by the diffusion of the principles on which it was established. Among the most conspicuous advocates of the revolution were the worshippers of sensibility, who regarded the restraints of religion, morality, and political regulation, as harsh, tyrannical, and absurd, because they frequently contradicted the impulse of sentimental feeling. In this class were to be ranked several female votaries of literature, and at their head Mary Anne Wollstonecraft, who produced, as a counter-part to Paine's *Rights of Man*, a performance entitled *the Rights of Woman*; vindicating the exemption of the sex from every moral and decorous restriction, and claiming the free and full indulgence of every gratification which fancy could suggest or passion stimulate. Besides these classes there was a great and multiplying variety of clubs, to which resorted many mechanics, tradesmen, and others, from a desire extremely prevalent among the English, of distinguishing themselves as *spokesmen*. After hearing or delivering speeches, and reading pamphlets, they assumed the importance of politicians and philosophers, and hastened, in consequence of their recent discoveries, to abandon the prejudices of education, and to sacrifice religion, patriotism, and loyalty, at the shrine of vanity. From so many causes, and through so many agents, the revolutionary doctrines were widely disseminated. To facilitate the circulation of their opinions, the opulent votaries of Jacobinism published cheap editions of the most inflammatory works, and more particularly of the *Rights of Man*. The seditious proceedings of several societies and individuals were carried to such an extent, that his majesty was induced, before the prorogation of parliament, to issue a proclamation, solemnly warning his subjects against all such attempts as aimed at the subversion of good government, and were inconsistent with the peace and good order of society. The French convention had notoriously endeavoured to cherish in this kingdom a spirit of sedition, by its correspondence with societies which were known to be inimical to the established government. It had insulted Great Britain, by declaring its design and its right to open the Scheldt, in opposition to treaties, of which the crown of England was a guarantee. On the 19th of November, when its arms had been successful in the Netherlands, in the exultation inspired by success, it had issued a decree, declaring that the convention would "grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty;" and charging their generals "to give assistance to such people, and to defend such citizens, as have suffered or are now suffering in the cause of liberty." The general term, liberty, being applicable to every mode of free government, the manifesto might have been understood as addressed to the subjects of despotic states, had not such a conclusion been contradicted by the late violent proceedings in France, the declaration of many members of the convention, and the general tenor of its conduct, which had an evident tendency to the subversion of all established governments. Its unprovoked violence towards the pope, in the seizure of Avignon without a pretext, sufficiently proved that, notwithstanding its pacific professions, the interests of the republic would be the sole standard of its policy. It was not necessary, however, for Great Britain to justify her future proceedings, by asserting the commission of injury or of insult towards herself, or by alleging the legitimacy of the

motives by which the continental powers were actuated in their hostile demonstrations against France. Under whatever pretences or circumstances the war between France and the most formidable of the combined powers commenced, it was obviously the interest of Britain to make a common cause with the opponents of an enemy, whose views were evidently hostile, and to become a participator in the contest, while exertion and union might yet be effectual. Whatever might be the disasters, the misfortunes, and the errors of the continental powers, it cannot be doubted that their alliance with England mitigated their distresses, and relieved their misfortunes, while it counteracted the triumphs and impeded the progress of the enemy. Had we persevered in the defensive system recommended by superficial politicians, we should first have witnessed the downfal of Austria and Prussia, and have been compelled to struggle single-handed, with the violence and the augmented power of an inveterate and triumphant enemy.

I HAVE hitherto only considered the *expedience* of a war with France; in forming our opinions respecting the *justice* of our cause, we shall be assisted by reflecting on some events and transactions which preceded the commencement of the war. In proof of the pacific disposition of the British government, before it had experienced extreme provocation from that of France, we may adduce the words of the emperor Leopold to the marquis de Bouillé, after the conferences at Pilnitz. Speaking of the invitation given to Spain, Russia, England, and the principal cities of Italy, to unite with him and the king of Prussia, he said, "I am assured of the co-operation of all these powers, with the exception of England, which is resolved to preserve the most strict neutrality." As a further testimony of the same disposition, his majesty, so lately as the beginning of the current year, in his address to the two houses of parliament, proposed a reduction of the naval and military establishments. A yet stronger proof that the English government had not, by any overt act, discovered an hostile disposition towards France, till after the dreadful events of the 10th of August, is found in the words of Brissot himself, who acknowledged "that England had observed the most strict neutrality till that *immortal day*." The national convention itself admitted, that England had persevered in this line of conduct till the beginning of the present year.

GREAT Britain had indeed more than negative merit to plead in its conduct towards France. It had the merit of displaying the most generous friendship, in return for the injuries she had so frequently received. When the negroes of St. Domingo were in a state of insurrection, when Blanchelande, the governor, was in a state of extreme distress, and the planters would gladly have passed into the hands of the English to save them from impending ruin, lord Effingham, governor of Jamaica, in compliance with Blanchelande's request, immediately despatched two frigates to their relief, laden with necessaries and provisions. The words with which the president closed his address of thanks are deserving of notice. "We will avail ourselves of your benevolence, but the days you preserve to us will not be sufficient to manifest our gratitude; our children shall keep it in remembrance. Regenerated France, unapprised that such calamities might befal us, has taken no measures to protect us against their effects. With what admiration will she learn, that, without your assistance, we should no longer exist as a dependency to any nation." That France, though regenerated, had not yet learned to be grateful, appeared from her behaviour on this occasion. For when the British ambassador at Paris, in the month of November, 1791, as a testimony of his sovereign's amity, notified his approbation of lord Effingham's conduct, a motion was coldly passed in the national assembly, that its thanks should be given neither to the British government nor to the government of Jamaica, but to the *British nation*." Nor was this the only testimony of amity shewn by the crown of England to regenerated France. When Lewis, in the late autumn, wrote letters to the different courts of Europe, intimating his acceptance of the new constitution, his Britannic majesty immediately returned an answer in terms of great respect. When Chauvelin notified the French declaration of war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia, and demanded that, conformably with the treaty of 1786, his majesty should prohibit his subjects from committing hostilities against the French ships, he in-

stantly complied by issuing a declaration to that effect; and so well satisfied was the French government with this conduct on the part of Great Britain, that Chauvelin was instructed to assure his majesty of "the sense which the French king entertained of the friendly dispositions, and of the sentiments of humanity, of justice, and of peace, which are so clearly manifested in his answer."

It may be fairly deduced from the transactions of the convention, and from the language of its leading members, that they regarded the commencement of hostilities as necessary to the success of their ambitious designs. So early as the close of the year 1791, Brissot declared in the assembly, that war was a real benefit to the nation, and that the only evil which they had reason to dread was the absence of war. A few days after, Isnard announced to the assembly that war was about to be kindled—"war which is indispensable to the completion of the revolution." "Peace," exclaimed Roland, "is out of the question. We have 300,000 men in arms; we must make them march as far as their legs will carry them, or they will return and cut our throats." But it was not merely war on which they were so resolutely bent; it was war with royalty, the destruction of which the Jacobin party contemplated as the first object of their ambition. "It was," said Brissot, "the abolition of royalty which I had in view, when I provoked the declaration of war."—Let it be remembered, that these declarations were unaccompanied by any offers of accommodation with the other continental powers; that the object specified is not the defence of their own territory or their own security, but the overthrow of every existing monarchy, and arbitrary interference with the rights and condition of every contemporary people. That the republican partisans were influenced by designs of hostility against Great Britain in particular, long before that crown had offended them by the recal of its ambassador, immediately after our friendly offices in the West Indies, and while Great Britain was reducing her naval and military establishments, is proved by the report of Lamoth, delivered to the national assembly in the name of the committee for naval affairs, importing that "about 80,000 sailors would be necessary to man the vessels now at the disposition of the state, and which the honour of the nation, as well as the interests of its commerce did not permit the assembly to reduce." A subsequent report of the minister of marine expressly declares, that so early as September 22nd, 21 ships of the line, 30 frigates, 10 vessels armed en flute, and 42 smaller vessels of war, were actually at sea; and that 34 ships of the line, in addition to these, were in a state to be commissioned; that 19 more were capable of being refitted; and that seven were rebuilding: preparations which could only be designed against the two maritime powers, England, and Holland her ally.

March 18, 1792.

The hostility of the government of France to that of England was still further exemplified, in the friendly intercourse subsisting between the republican partisans in France, and the malcontent societies of Great Britain. The addresses of the latter were received after the 10th of August by the convention itself, and every possible encouragement was given the addressers to rebel against the government. "What is liberty? Where are our rights?" said an address from the united English societies. "Frenchmen, you are already free, and Englishmen are preparing to become so." To which the president of the convention replied, "Citizens of the world! principles are waging war against tyranny, which will fall under the blows of philosophy. Royalty in Europe is destroyed, or is perishing on the ruins of feudality; and the declaration of rights, placed by the side of thrones, is a devouring fire which will consume them. Worthy republicans, congratulate yourselves on thinking that the festival you have celebrated in honour of the French revolution is the prelude to the festival of nations." Even Dumouriez himself confesses, that it required all the imprudence of Brissot, all the petulance of the national convention, and the murder of Lewis XVI., as atrocious as impolitic, to drive the English from their system of neutrality, and to plunge them into an expensive war, which gave them momentary advantages, balanced by great losses and enormous subsidies, without an assurance of preserving their conquests. But the danger to be apprehended from the diffusion of French principles, and from the rapidity of their military progress; the influence of just indignation against open insult and secret machination:

and the obvious necessity of combining vigorous precaution with every demonstration of anxiety for the continuance of peace, at length induced the king of England to embody his militia, and to augment his naval and military forces.

The contentions of the Parisian factions were renewed, after the promulgation of the national code, with ten-fold malignity. The ambition of Brissot, the chairman of the Girondist party, urged him to depress and humble the king, that, by his influence over the assembly, he might himself be enabled to act the part of a sovereign. He was a man of low birth, but not uneducated. He had served as an attorney's clerk, afterwards became a journalist, and was admitted into the household of the duke of Orleans. By his intrigues an address was procured from the assembly, desiring Lewis to demand a categorical explanation of the emperor's designs with regard to France. An evasive answer was returned; and, in conformity with the views of the Jacobins, Dumouriez was appointed minister for the foreign department. A declaration of war was voted against the king of Hungary and Bohemia; and Narbonne, minister at war, proposed to the assembly, that an encampment of 20,000 men should be formed near Paris. The king declared his disapprobation of the scheme; he had been recently offended by the dismissal of his guards, and he declared that he could no longer submit to the insults of his ministers. Dumouriez therefore resigned his office in disgust. The dismissal of the three friends of Brissot accelerated the explosion of another revolutionary conspiracy. A party of grenadiers was placed around the royal person, which was menaced with sanguinary violence. The queen, and the rest of the royal family, in the adjacent apartments, were exposed to the insolence of officers of justice. The friends of the constitution admiring the tranquil firmness of the king on this afflicting emergency, la Fayette was induced to leave his camp, repaired to the metropolis, and in the name of the soldiers requested the assembly to punish the authors of the late disgraceful tumults. But his address was ineffectual and his private offers of service to the royal family, whose escape he had hoped to facilitate, were coolly received. When he returned to the frontiers, he found the measures of the enemy in great forwardness, and a sense of the danger which threatened the country afflicted all its friends. Under this idea a member arose in the national assembly, on the 7th of July, and conjured them to sacrifice their private views, and to become friends for the sake of their country. "Let all," said he, "who discover faults in the constitution, display a spirit of accommodation to each other, and let us swear that we will unite to maintain it as it is." Scarcely were the last words uttered, when the two sides (republicans and constitutionalists) arose, threw up their hats, and shouted applauses from every side; the two parties embraced and swore immortal union, taking their seats indifferently as a sign of endless harmony. The minutes of this event were ordered to be immediately sent to the king, and directions were given to communicate the glorious issue to all the citizens. Such indeed was the combination of events at this period, that M. Carnot, who has since been looked on as a complete republican, stood up in defence of the king's prerogative, and moved, that the judicial power should be especially charged to redouble their vigilance and authority.

A new scene of riot was at hand, under the mask of a national fête, or grand confederation, to celebrate the 14th of July. Deputies from the departments were to give their assistance; care was to be taken that such of the visitors, as might not be sufficiently corrupted, should not return home without being in possession of all the fire-brands of strife, that might yet be wanting to inflame the sober hamlets of the country, and make them as licentious as the metropolitans. Brissot and his party threw off the mask, which they had for a few days assumed, and after his torrent of declamation, in which he declared, that "the danger lay in the palace," the assembly decreed concisely, "the country is in danger," and two addresses, filled with alarm, were drawn up, and sent to the armies and the departments. Dissipation and idleness had been so long habitual, that the number of debtors and poor was greatly increased; and many thousands, not originally corrupt, became so, in the cruel hope of being able to ruin their landlords and creditors by overthrowing royalty. The king's feelings were injured in every shape, and as

the late triumph of the mayor gave a great opportunity, the mob took every means to insult the king and his friends with shouts of "Long live Petion!—Down with royalty! &c." Whilst the last remains of regal authority were brought into contempt, they also succeeded in assuring the people, that the court prevented the success of the French arms, by its intrigues with those united against France. In this they were, in some measure, sanctioned by the combined powers themselves, who, instead of marching, as they should have done, with a strong column, into the heart of the country, while it was yet undefended, continued to issue their feeble threats upon the frontiers. "It is not in their arms," said the Jacobins, "that the enemy place their hopes: it is in the intrigues of the Thuilleries. It is the army of enemies that pass between Coblentz (the head-quarters of the emigrant princes) and the court, which alone we have to fear, and not the soldiers of Brunswick.

A MANIFESTO was circulated through France, signed by the duke of Brunswick as generalissimo, which declared the intention of the emperor and the king of Prussia to restore order to France; to protect all persons who submitted to the king; that all persons found in arms should be punished severely; that all the members of the assembly were responsible with their lives; it threatened the most exemplary punishment on every one who controlled the king, or, as it was expressed, held him in subjection; it promised, that the troops of the duke of Brunswick should observe the strictest discipline, and treat all well-disposed subjects with mildness; and called on the people to suffer them to enter the kingdom, and give them every assistance. In an additional declaration, he resolved to punish the people of Paris if the king should be insulted; and stated, that, in case of the royal family being carried off, all places which did not oppose their passage should be subject to the severest penalties; and that no place of retreat was to be considered as the choice of his most Christian majesty, unless it was effected under the offered escort.

NOTHING, during the whole course of the revolution, did so much mischief as publishing this wretched manifesto; for it made no difference whatever between the sober well-meaning friends of limited monarchy, and the Jacobins, who threatened even life itself with unlimited destruction.

PETION appeared at the head of a gang, and pretended he came from the forty-eight sections of Paris, to demand the king's exclusion from the throne, and that responsible ministers should be appointed, until the election of a new king in a national convention. He supported this petition by a sketch of what he called the "king's conduct since the revolution," which proved him, he said, to be an enemy to the people, to the laws, and to France. The petition created a violent agitation in the assembly, so that the president was obliged to adjourn the sitting; and in the evening, the assembly resolved to determine the question on that day se'nnight. All business ceased in Paris from the 3rd of August, and the leaders of the national assembly were busy in passing decrees that should favour the insurgents; patroles of the rabble were also placed, by Petion and Santerre, so as to prevent the possibility of the king's escape. Matters being arranged for carrying the decree into execution, on the 10th of August, the day before the assembly had resolved to pass it, the palace was attacked. As many of the leading members of the assembly were desirous of aiding in the assault, who, at the same time, wished to be concealed, it was resolved that the riot should not commence till dark. It was not till eleven o'clock that Danton called "To arms! to arms!" and the bells were rung, to proclaim the city in a state of insurrection.

THE conquest of the palace was not effected so easily as it had been on the 20th of June; for though the attack commenced at one in the morning, it was nine before the outer gates were forced. Some preparations had been made for resistance; but, like every effort of the unfortunate Lewis, it was more an attempt at resolution than resolution itself. Besides a part of the Swiss guard, and a few of the national grenadiers, who were resolved to defend the constitution, there was a considerable body of royalists, who had determined to subdue the traitors, or perish in the attempt: the whole amounting to near three thousand armed men. When the outer gates were forced, the assailants were met by the king's guards, who drove them back, and compelled them to 1792.

abandon four pieces of cannon. The Swiss guarded the principal court, while the cannon played upon the palace, and had already pierced the roof. The bodies of the slain were strewed on every side, and the folly of resistance became evident. The defenders of the palace, left without direction, soon became a tumultuous crowd. They had no advantage over their adversaries, and were much inferior to them in number. They failed, and they fell, for want of a commander; they were overpowered by numbers; and the triumphant barbarians enjoyed the sport of cutting them to pieces, and dragging their mangled carcases in their horrible processions. All the Swiss found were inhumanly put to death in cold blood, and their remains exhibited fixed at the end of pikes! About 3000 persons, on both sides, lost their lives in this attack; and more would have suffered, but that a part of the guards had escorted the royal family to the assembly.

Lewis seems to have had such an aversion to the shedding of blood, that he exposed himself to the most unwarrantable treatment, simply because the offenders calculated upon his forbearance. The danger was greater and more pressing than ever: this every one of his friends and family knew; and it is surprising that, after the length the assembly had gone, he did not clearly see that he must either be driven from his throne, or fight in defence of it. Yet he does not appear to have had such a view of the subject; for, when he was followed by the queen, and the princess his sister, in the midst of their brave defenders—after he had heard the dreadful howlings of a thousand tongues bellow out the cries of "deposition!" and "death!"—after the nobles and guards had satisfied him of victory, and the queen had resolved to die by his side—he took the unaccountable resolution of throwing himself and family into the arms of the national assembly, lest he should be supposed to violate the constitution; and, previous to his leaving the palace, gave positive orders not to fire upon the people!

A series of singular events had placed him now in a most distressing situation. The members of the assembly, to which he had retreated, thought no business of so much consequence as passing the decree of deposition; but they could not proceed to business in the king's presence, because it was contrary to the constitution. This gave a pretence for forcing the royal family into a corner, where the secretaries kept their books, which deprived them even of the poor consolation of exchanging thoughts, and subjected them to the cruel state of a prison, while it was alleged that their persons were sacred. Fourteen hours of mortification being thus inflicted upon their helpless captives, they decreed that the executive power should be taken from the king, and that he and his family should be confined in the Temple. To increase the pain of the royal sufferers, orders were issued that Petion should go in the same carriage, to take them to prison. This traitor not only insulted them by his advice on their journey, but occasionally stopped the carriage, that they might hear the speeches of the infamous orators who irritated the people against them by their atrocious calumnies.

The revolution took a turn which seemed to dispel the hopes of all good men. The assembly was about to dissolve, for a national convention was appointed to assemble on the 20th of September, to constitute a republic; and little hope remained that this assembly would not long have the power of doing mischief.

On the 21st of September, a new provisional executive council was appointed, consisting of Roland, Servan, and Clavière, the ministers lately dismissed by the king; to whom was added, M. le Brun, as minister of foreign affairs. M. Luckner, M. Dumouriez, now acting in the capacity of general in the army, and the other commanders, readily submitted to the authority of the assembly. M. Fayette, finding himself wholly unsupported in his loyal endeavours, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, with seventeen companions. They were arrested by an Austrian patrole, and conducted to Luxemburg. He and his companions were afterwards committed close prisoners to the fortress of Magdeburg, where they remained during a whole year in a miserable dungeon, treated with uncommon severity. The great talents of M. Fayette had checked the whole Austrian and Prussian armies, although he had not more than 20,000 men under his command. He being no longer opposed to the enemy, the combined armies resolved to advance as far as possible into France

They bombarded Longwy with such violence for fifteen hours, as threatened to bury it in ruins, and the town capitulated. The assembly ordered a court-martial to sit on the magistrates who surrendered it, and they were executed.

Verdun was next invested; it was in want of every thing; the enemy had a secret correspondence with the inhabitants; the town was considered untenable, and the municipal officers advised its surrender. Although the garrison had only two battalions, Beaurepaire, the commander, determined to hold out as long as possible; but finding all his efforts useless, and his colleagues wanting to capitulate, he drew a pistol from his belt, in the midst of a council of war, and discharged it against his temple.

Great was the consternation at Paris when it was known that Longwy and Verdun had surrendered. All were alarmed, lest the report should be true, that the duke of Brunswick would be in the neighbourhood of Paris. Danton, however, the minister of justice, whilst despair was seated on every countenance, declared there were at least 30,000 stand of arms in Paris. He proposed that they should be delivered up, and a body of volunteers raised and equipped with them. This was decreed; and all who were capable were ordered to be ready to march.

Alarm guns were fired at two o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of September, the tocsin was sounded, the country declared to be in danger, and the people invited to meet in the Champ de Mars, from whence, as was said, they were instantly to march against the common enemy. Myriads were collected; and, when the resolutions of the assembly, moved by Danton, came to be understood, the universal cry was, "To arms, citizens! to arms! the enemy is at hand." During this sort of frenzy, news was spread that 4000 French troops, sent to reinforce Verdun, had been treacherously led into ambuscade, and cruelly cut to pieces. The fury of the populace was raised to its utmost height, the prisons were forced open, and a most inhuman massacre took place. The cardinal de Rochefoucault, and about 200 priests, were handed out of the prison, two by two, into the street Vaugerard, and there put to death in cold blood. They wreaked their vengeance on the unfortunate Swiss officers who were confined in the Abbey prison. Their commander-in-chief alone, M. d'Affry, had the good fortune to escape, owing to a mistake of the mob.

The force of the French commander-in-chief at this period, it is said, did not equal that under the authority of general Clairfait; but, in this moment of suspense, the military genius of Dumouriez burst forth with great splendor: his inventive mind immediately resolved to divide his strength. To Galbaud, who was stationed at a pass in the forest of Argonne, which Dumouriez looked on as of the first importance to the issue of the campaign, he sent Dillon (4th of September) with considerable reinforcements. Just at this time it was abandoned by Galband, as impossible to be retained; but when he saw the supplies which had been sent him, he returned to its defence with renewed vigour: and it proved to France, what Thermopylæ had been to Greece. Dumouriez, in the mean time, took the post at Grand Pré under his own protection. It was soon contested for by the enemy; and, as he could not retain it against the furious attack of such a force as he had to contend with, he retreated, without loss, to the strong camp of St. Menehould, a strong town, situated about twenty-six miles W. S. W. of Verdun. The Austrians lost a great number of men, together with prince Charles de Ligne.

Bournonville joined Dumouriez, with 15,000 men, as well as Kellerman, with the army under his command. On the 20th of September, Dumouriez found himself in a condition to put an end to the incursions of the enemy. Kellerman, at the head of 16,000 men, repulsed a greatly superior division of the enemy, and rendered all their stratagems abortive.

On the 21st of September, the national assembly resigned its functions, and gave up its power to the convention, by an address of renunciation, and an assurance that they would serve as an advanced guard of the new legislature. The convention chose Petion their president; and, having decreed that the laws should be continued in force, and the usual taxes demanded, Collet d'Herbois rose, and said, that the convention ought not to adjourn, till it had decreed the total abolition of royalty in France. Deputies rose to demand that the question might be instantly

put. M. Bazire exclaimed against the ardour which seemed to have taken possession of their minds, and besought them to argue a question of so much magnitude with the dignity that became them. His advice was looked on as the dull prudence of a vulgar mind, unworthy the practice of philosophers of superior light, and the national convention briefly decreed, that "Royalty is abolished in France." Loud applauses, and exclamations of "*Vive la nation!*" following the decree, minutes of the sitting were ordered to be sent to the departments, and to the armies, as well as to be proclaimed throughout Paris.

At the next sitting M. Condorcet was elected vice-president, and the convention decreed:—

1. That all public acts should be dated, the first year of the French republic.

2. That the seal of the country shall be changed, and have, for a legend, "French Republic."

3. That the national seal shall represent a woman, sitting on a bundle of arms, and holding a pike in her hand, with a cap of liberty upon it; and, upon the exergue, the words, "Archives of the French Republic."

4. That no petitioners shall be admitted to the bar till the evening sitting.

In the mean time, the emperor Leopold died suddenly at Vienna. Francis, his son and successor, declared his intention to persevere in the pacific plan of his father, but to be prepared for defensive war. As the discussion proceeded, it became progressively more hostile, and both sides prepared for hostilities. So early as the summer of 1791, Catherine of Russia had induced Gustavus, the king of Sweden, to join in a project for the relief of Lewis; and he was preparing to conduct an armament, which should make a descent on the coast of France, and co-operate with the royalists, when, on the 16th of March, he was assassinated by the hands of Ankerstroem, a disaffected nobleman, who had plotted with other individuals against his life. The death, however, of this heroic and able prince, did not retard the operations of the allies. Confident in their remaining strength, they proceeded to the acts of folly and atrocity, which I have just recorded, and did not resign their unfounded and presumptuous hopes even after the victory of Kellerman. The French, it is true, remained in a situation extremely critical. The Prussians and Austrians were nearly three times their number: Clermont and Varennes were occupied by their troops; the Prussians had established their hospital at Grand Pré; and their camp on the heights of La Lune was impregnable. The French were thus enclosed on the east, north, and west; and on the south the roads were impassable. Yet the barrenness of the country, and the inclemency of the season, co-operating with the genius of the French generals, and the valour of their troops, ultimately defeated the views, and endangered the safety of their enemies.

The duke of Brunswick was unable to dislodge the French from the pass of Biesme, and he therefore determined to proceed by way of Varennes and Grand Pré, a circuit of about 50 miles. The length of this march, during which the soldiers were exposed to incessant rain, laid the foundation of that fatal disorder, the flux, which ruined the army of Prussia, lately so complete, and so perfect in all the minutiæ of German discipline. To add to their misfortunes, their supplies were stopped by the swelling of the rivers; destitute of bread, they devoured the unripe grapes of Champagne; and those who did not perish with famine were afflicted with the dysentery. The king of Prussia, who accompanied the army, became weary of war; and wrote an effeminate and pathetic letter to one of his mistresses, deploring the severe privations under which he laboured, but particularly that *of coffee, from which, for two whole days, he had been compelled to abstain.* He was woefully convinced of the difference between a Prussian military parade and a campaign against the French; and he did not fail most bitterly to reproach the emigrants, and those who had deluded him on by false representations.

Sir Henry Clinton, who had commanded the English army in America, and who had formerly served with the duke of Brunswick, accompanied the latter in this expedition. Sir Henry observed to the duke, that the silence of the country, the retreat of the inhabitants, and their speedy communication of intelligence among each other, induced him to think he was on the soil of America, during the war in that country.—"Return," said the duke, "and mention these facts to the government of England, that they may under

stand the nature and probable issue of the present contest.

In this situation, the author of the manifesto very prudently proposed an armistice on the 24th of September. A few days after, a negotiation was set on foot, in order to prevent the out-posts of the armies from firing upon each other; when a conversation took place between the duke of Brunswick, attended by general Kalkreuth, and two officers of the French army.

The Prussians commenced their retreat, and were followed soon after by the armies of Austria and Hesse-Cassel. The first post abandoned was the pass of Grand Pré, which took place on the 30th of September. Clermont was evacuated on the 1st of October; and the Prussians left their strong position of La Lune, where the French found part of more than 300 horses, the half of which had been eaten, for want of other provisions. The retreat of the enemy was very slow; they were encumbered with sick, and worn out with hunger and fatigue. It has been said that Dumouriez might have interrupted their progress, and perhaps have captured both the king and the general; and it has been surmised, that there existed a secret treaty between the generals.

The Prussians, in their retreat, made no considerable halt at Verdun; and the garrison which they had stationed there surrendered on capitulation to general Dillon, on the 12th of October. Longwy was re-captured by the French on the 22nd; the Prussian armies immediately evacuated the territories of France; and it was solemnly proclaimed, that the country was no longer in danger. The conduct of the combined troops was not marked by that strict regard to good behaviour and integrity, for which the duke of Brunswick had pledged himself. They plundered the peasantry incessantly. Wherever they came, like a swarm of locusts, they left a barren wilderness behind them. Not only money and plate, but every article that could be removed, and was of the least value, was taken away. The Hessians might perhaps be justly placed in the foremost ranks of the plunderers. They stripped, without mercy, the miserable emigrants themselves, and plundered the nobility of France, who served in the combined armies, with as little remorse as those whom they denominated rebels. But the treatment experienced by the unfortunate villagers of Voges ought never to be forgotten. This place was situated on a mountain, and was well calculated to form a post of some strength; but its fortifications were so run to decay, that it would have been folly in the inhabitants to resist an army. Yet, having been greatly harassed by marauding parties of the enemy the villagers resolved to defend their party against those military thieves, though not to resist a regular summons. The next band of plunderers was therefore bravely repulsed; but, immediately returning with a strong reinforcement, the peasants, after a gallant resistance, were compelled to submit. The marauders, born and educated in the principles of slavery, under pretext that the unhappy villagers were not dressed in the uniform of soldiers, judged them to be exempt from the laws of war. In consequence, they were compelled to set fire to their dwellings with their own hands, by which many lives were lost: the survivors were tied to the tails of horses, and dragged to the head-quarters. A mother threw herself at the feet of the barbarous conquerors, and entreated permission to carry away her two infants. Her entreaties were disregarded, and the unoffending babes perished in the flames!

Nor was the conduct of his serene highness the duke of Brunswick unexceptionable: the contributions levied by him upon notes payable by the king of France, when they could be instated, are sufficiently notorious; while the conduct of the French soldiers was, on the contrary, generally exemplary. They religiously abstained from plunder; and, as they endured the greatest privations with the utmost fortitude, were cautious of injuring others. But in justice it must be confessed, that their political fanaticism sometimes betrayed them to commit atrocious excesses; of which the most flagrant instance occurred at Rhetel, in the beginning of October. Two battalions of volunteers being stationed at that place, four deserters from the Prussian army came to offer their services. They were received by the officers; but, in the course of the day, some difference arising between these men and the soldiers, an alarm was instantly spread, that they were not Prussians, but emigrants and spies. The volunteers instantly seized these unhappy

men, and, in defiance of their officers, with that fatal precipitation which, in so many instances, has characterized the French, cut them to pieces. Dumouriez, however, degraded the two battalions, stripped them of their military accoutrements and uniforms, and obliged them to deliver up the immediate delinquents. The battalions acknowledged the justice of the sentence; but entreated that, instead of being broken, they might be sent on some service of more than ordinary danger, to expiate their crime, and voluntarily delivered up ten of their own body, who were at once the cause and the agents in this atrocious affair.

In detailing the operations of the contending armies, the sieges of Thionville and Lisle merit particular attention. The former is a strong but small fortress, the command of which was entrusted to general Felix Wimpfen. He was summoned by the Austrians, and replied,—"You may destroy the fortress; but you cannot burn the ramparts." Thionville resisted during the whole campaign, and held in check a force amounting to 28,000 men. The town was relieved by the general retreat of the enemy; and the brave commander and garrison received every mark of honour and applause.

Lisle was threatened early in September; and, as the possession of this city was considered by the Austrians of the utmost importance, no expence was spared to effect its reduction. The court of Vienna appointed the duke of Saxe-Teschen to this important command; and, on the 29th, he summoned the city to surrender. He received the following laconic and spirited answer: "We have just renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our post.—We shall not perjure ourselves." On the same day, the Austrian batteries began to play upon the town, and for a week were directed to that quarter which was inhabited by the lower class of citizens. This measure was evidently intended to induce them to rise on the magistrates and commanders. Instead, however, of being excited to insurrection, these very citizens caused the keys of the city to be carried to the great square, and hung upon the tree of liberty. The inhabitants formed themselves into companies, and the women and children were employed in preventing explosion, by knocking out the fusees of the bombs. The churches, however, and the public buildings were soon destroyed, and the city itself was reduced to a heap of ruins. For eight days the firing was incessant, and every instrument of destruction was showered on the city, while the ferocious Christina, sister to the German commander, with her whole court, attended to view the destructive spectacle. In vain, from the 9th of September till the 6th of October, did the Austrians maintain an incessant fire of a formidable battering train, exclusive of 30,000 red-hot balls, and 6000 bombs. On the 7th of October, they began to break up their camp, and the siege was raised. Nor were the successes of the French confined to the side of Germany. On the 20th of September, general Montesquieu entered the territories of the king of Sardinia, was met by a deputation from Chamberg, and took unresisted possession of the country of Savoy. General Anselme having obtained possession of Nice, was dismissed from his command, for encouraging the irregularities of his troops; and Montesquieu, having excited the resentment of the demagogues by his lenity to the citizens of Geneva, was compelled to resign his command, and escape their vengeance by retiring into Switzerland.

In the circles of the Upper Rhine, the successes of Custine were rapid and brilliant. On the 30th of September he approached the gates of Spires, where he found the Austrians ready to receive him, having on their right an eminence, before them a ravine, and their left extended among gardens surrounded by hedges. Notwithstanding this advantageous position, they were attacked by the French, and driven into the town. Having tried, for a short time, to force the gates with cannon, the general proposed to cut them down with axes. The expedient was adopted, and the French impetuously rushed into the place; but the Austrians had taken possession of all the adjacent houses, from the windows of which they commenced a galling and destructive fire. Fortunately for Custine, he had taken the precaution to place some howitzers and eight-pounders at the head of the columns, which enabled him to rally his troops, and re-charge the Austrians, who retreated with the loss of 3000 prisoners.

By forced marches, amidst heavy rain,

general Custine arrived at Mentz on the 19th of October, and summoned the governor to surrender. The Austrian commander replied, that he meant to defend the place, but requested the favour of a day's consideration. In the mean time, the garrison, which consisted of 6000 men, kept up an incessant fire. General Custine wrote a second time to the governor, when a capitulation was agreed upon; the principal article of which was, that the garrison should not serve against the French for the space of one year: and on the following day the Austrians marched out with the honours of war.

Four days afterwards, Francfort experienced the fate of Mentz, and fell into the hands of the victorious French. But in consequence of the protection and assistance which that city had afforded the emigrants, Custine levied a fine on the magistrates of 1,000,000 florins.

Flushed with unexampled success, Custine wished to push forward to Coblentz, the noted receptacle of the enemies of French liberty; but he was not able to effect this daring project, owing, according to his own account, to the inactivity of Kellermann. He wished that general to pass the Sarre and Moselle, and to leave a small party to watch the motions of the Prussians in their retreat. However, Kellermann vindicated himself by stating, that he had no more than 15,000 men under his command, and general Valence not more than 14,000; the Prussians amounted to nearly 50,000; and consequently Kellermann was neither able to penetrate such a body, nor did he think it prudent to leave the French territory again open to their incursions. Thus disappointed in his favourite measure, Custine proceeded to extend his conquests in the dominions of the prince of Hesse. But by the union of the Prussians and Austrians he received a check before the end of the campaign. The combined army appeared before Francfort on the 2nd of December, when the gates were treacherously opened by some of the populace. The French garrison, consisting of 1300 men, were mostly put to death: the few who were made prisoners were sent the next day to Mentz with their hands cut off. This diabolical act was committed by Hessians in the disguise of peasants. After the surrender of Francfort, a smart action took place, when the French gallantly maintained their ground from one o'clock till three against double their numbers. They at length retired to a wood, whence they were able to annoy the enemy and keep him in check.

Never was the enthusiasm of liberty more strikingly exemplified than during this campaign. Fired with the idea of freedom, the hasty levies of undisciplined peasants were at once converted into regular armies. The highly disciplined battalions of Prussia and Austria were overthrown by the almost beardless boys of France. Nor was this enthusiasm confined to the male sex, the French artillery was frequently served by female patriots; the sister of general Anselme distinguished herself, and two young ladies of the name of Fernig acted as aid-du-camps to general Dumouriez. The spirit which inspired the heroes of antient Greece, now seemed to animate the French, and at the pass of Biesme they rivalled the exploits of the companions of Leonidas.

During these military occurrences, which alarmed all the neighbouring states, and made them consider resistance to the arms of France as a common cause to all who were interested in the independence of Europe, affairs of great importance had been transacted at the seat of government. A decree having been published prescribing a plan for the election of representatives to the proposed convention, to be assembled on the 20th of September, the republicans employed themselves assiduously in prepossessing the nation in favour of their cause. The national assembly had been intimidated, and rendered subservient to their faction; and the body of the people were now, by various expedients, to be made their partisans. The needy, and men of desperate fortunes, were allured to support their power by a popular idea dispersed amongst them, of an equal division of property; and they were encouraged to hope for a realization of this democratic project, by the rigorous execution of the decrees respecting the forfeiture of the estates of the nobles and ecclesiastics. Men of property, on the contrary, were frightened into acquiescence by menaces and proscriptions issued against the aristocrats. Circular letters, counter-signed by Danton, as minister of justice, were sent to all the municipalities, justifying the late massacres, as acts necessary

to keep in awe the traitors who were still within the kingdom; by which was meant all who were averse to the Jacobins. And emissaries were sent to influence the electors, and procure the return of persons well-affected to that faction.

On the day appointed, the national convention assembled, and evinced by their first measures, that they were actuated by principles agreeable to the prevailing party. As a notification of these, and a ground-work for future proceedings, they first declared, "that there can be no constitution but that which is accepted by the people." After Sept. 21. that, they unanimously declared that "*Royalty is abolished in France*, all public acts shall be dated *the first year of the French Republic*, and the great seal shall have the words *French Republic* for its legend."

This memorable revolution being accomplished, the next question was, in what manner they should dispose of their late sovereign. On this there were various opinions. The most merciful were advocates for exile: others recommended a continuation of his imprisonment: but the most violent were of opinion, that they should never be secure from the intrigues of the royalists whilst the monarch whom they had dethroned was living, and were resolved to make his life a sacrifice to their own safety and power. Although Robespierre, Marat, Danton, and other Jacobin leaders of what was called the *mountain* party, had overpowered the *Girondists*, who were advocates for moderate measures, yet violent feuds soon prevailed in the convention. And these demagogues were charged with having been the instigators of the late massacres. For these reasons they endeavoured to prevent reflection; and hurried on the trial and death of the king, that they might free themselves from the danger of a revolution in his favour, might foil the Brissotines and Girondists, who would willingly have adjourned his dethronement, and were ready again to espouse his cause, might involve a majority of the convention in the odium of so desperate an act, and might strengthen their party by a community of interests with them.

Actuated by motives of self-interest and self-preservation, as well as a malicious spirit of faction, they procured a decree, that "Lewis Capet" should be brought to his trial. A commission was, in consequence, appointed to arrange a body of evidence against him; and, in a few days, Palaze, one of the commissioners, commenced the proceedings by a report of the evidence to the convention.

This was the instant for those who wished to save the king's life to have exerted themselves. The inviolability which the constitution had given the king's person, and the responsibility which it had laid on his ministers, and the incompetency of the tribunal, afforded them firm ground on which to make their stand. But they suffered themselves to be carried along with the stream, rather than expose themselves to the vengeance of his inveterate enemies by their resistance.

The inviolability of the king's person being done away by an *ex post facto* law, and the convention being declared a competent tribunal, France, which had been so long the theatre of the most tragic scenes, now, at last, presented to the world the awful spectacle of a sovereign arraigned before the national representatives. And we now behold one of the most amiable and benevolent monarchs of his age, and the most patriotic that ever filled the throne of France, by a singular concurrence of unfortunate circumstances, brought to his trial, as an enemy to the welfare of his realms, by men who afterwards proved the most cruel tyrants that ever afflicted any country.

The charges being prepared, and the mode of trial settled, the mayor was sent to conduct the king to the hall of the assembly. But so entirely had he been deprived of all social converse since his commitment to the Temple, that the chief magistrate found him quite uninformed of what had passed in the convention respecting him. It was evidently the design of his enemies that he should be taken by surprise, that he might be unprepared for defence. The awfulness of the occasion, and the nature of the tribunal, might have been expected to have discomposed his spirits; but he appeared with all that composure which results from a consciousness of innocence. And it is observable, that his replies to the charges brought against him, and his whole demeanour shew, that he had far better intellectual endowments, and more personal dignity, than is ascribed to him by those who would depreciate his character.

His majesty approaching the bar, the president, Barrere, addressed him in these words :—" Lewis, the French nation accuses you. The national convention resolved, on the 3rd of December, that you shall be judged by itself. On the 6th it was decreed, that you should be brought to the bar. They are about to read the act which announces the crimes imputed to you. You are permitted to seat yourself while the charges are read."

The king, tacitly submitting to the authority of this self-constituted tribunal, the several charges were read, and he made his reply to each. The most important were what related to his attempts to prevent the establishment of a free government; his escape to Varennes after he had accepted the constitution; the plan concerted by him, with de la Fayette and Mirabeau, for setting aside the existing constitution, and framing a new one; his remissness in giving information of the treaty of Pilnitz, which he knew to be hostile to the French government; his correspondence with the emigrant princes, who had formed anti-revolutionary designs, and his pecuniary remittances to them; the pay remitted by him to the life-guards at Coblentz; his neglect to provide for the national safety; and his encouragement of anti-revolutionary projects.

The evidence in support of these charges was derived chiefly from letters addressed to his majesty, and other papers, with margined notes in his own hand-writing, amounting to strong presumptive proof, only of intentions inimical to the established constitution; and the criminality of which, admitting the fact, was extenuated by the ungenerous treatment which he had received from the authors of the revolution. When the charges, and the pieces on which they were grounded, had been read, Lewis was re-conducted to the Temple, where the cup of affliction was embittered in his last days by his inhuman persecutors. On desiring that he might be indulged with the company of his family, he was refused this comfort: even his son, who was only seven years old, was not suffered to approach him, to alleviate his sufferings.

On the day appointed, he was again brought before the convention, attended by the three counsel which were allowed him,—Malesherbes, Tronchet, and de Sezé. His cause was ably and eloquently opened by the last of these. After descanting on the several charges, he closed his address to the assembly with these remarkable words. " In this hall men have contended for the glory of the 10th of August. I come not to dispute that glory; but since it has been proved that that day was premeditated, how can it be made a crime to Lewis? You accuse him, and you would give judgment against him who has never given a sanguinary order; against him who at Varennes preferred returning a captive to exposing the life of a single man; against him who on the 20th of June refused every kind of aid, and preferred remaining alone in the midst of his people. Here let history speak. Lewis mounted the throne at the age of twenty; he exhibited on it an example of morals, of justice, of œconomy; he abolished servitude in his domains; the people desired liberty—he gave it—*(murmurs.)* We cannot deny to Lewis the glory of having always anticipated the wishes of his people. I do not conclude; I appeal to history; recollect that history will judge your judgment."

This pathetic address appears to have had but little effect on the audience, who were intimidated by the Parisian banditti, or whom vengeance sharpened by self-interest had rendered insensible to his reasonings, as well as to the feelings of humanity. As soon as the king was retired, the assembly was convulsed by disputes respecting the sentence to be pronounced on him. Some thirsted for his blood, and would have proceeded to inflict the punishment of death, without even giving the members time to form their judgment of the offence on more mature delibration. Of this number were the *mountain* faction, headed by Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and Collet d'Herbois, and patronised by the infamous duke of Orleans, better known by the appellation of Egalité. Many were of opinion, that justice and policy forbade the pains of death; of which persuasion were the Rolandists, the Brissotines, and Girondists. They were willing to exercise mercy as far as it was reconcileable with the accomplishment of their views in the establishment of a republic. Others, though advocates for capital punishment, reprobated the idea of compelling men to decide without discussing. Petion and Manuel were of this opinion, and incurred

disgrace with their Jacobin confederates by avowing it. The debate became so violent, that some of the disputants, forgetting their senatorial dignity, came to blows. When the president had restored order, the convention decreed, that the debate should be opened immediately, and continued till judgment should be given. It was not, however, till the 15th of January, in the ensuing year, that this body decided in what terms the question of punishment should be stated, when it was decreed, that the following heads of enquiry should be put to all the members.

1793.

I. Is Lewis Capet, late king of France, guilty of a conspiracy against liberty, and of attempts against the general safety of the state?

II. Shall the judgment to be pronounced on Lewis be submitted to the ratification of the people in primary assemblies?

III. What punishment has he incurred?

On the first question it was found, that of 735 voters, 693 voted for the affirmative; on the second question 424 voted for the negative. When the last question was proposed, Egalité, the nearest relative of Lewis, arose, to the astonishment of the convention, mounted the tribune, and exclaimed, "Insensible to every sentiment but that of duty, convinced that those who conspire against the country deserve death, I vote for death." The president having collected the votes on the question of death, informed the assembly that it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of Five; and by virtue of his office pronounced the following sentence, "I declare then, in the name of the convention, that the punishment which it pronounces against Lewis is Death."

M. de Malesherbes, from whom Lewis expected an account of the proceedings against him, threw himself with a melancholy aspect at the feet of the deposed prince, unable from emotion to speak. At length he uttered, "The fatal judgment cannot be concealed from you." "It is well," replied Lewis, "I am no longer in suspense." When Clery, his faithful valet, expressed his hope that the sentence might be superseded, he said, "I do not deceive myself with hopes; but I am shocked to think that one of my own relatives could be induced to vote for my death." The late decrees of the convention being announced to Lewis by the executive council, he heard without emotion the denunciation of death; and having in vain requested a delay of three days, calmly prepared for his fate. With his family he obtained a mournful and affectionate interview, and promised to renew it in the morning, but his afflicted wife, his sister, and his children, saw him no more. He slept calmly for some hours, rose early, sent for his confessor, Edgeworth, and performed devotional exercises.

On the 21st of January, 1793, Paris resounded with the beat of drums, the clash of arms, and the bustle of preparation. Passing slowly in a carriage through streets lined with troops, the devoted victim arrived with his confessor at the *Place de Lewis XV.*, or *Square of the Revolution* Ascending the scaffold with steadiness, he surveyed for a few moments the immense multitude, and approaching the edge, made a motion of his hand for silence, which instantly took place. Then speaking with a raised voice, he exclaimed, "Frenchmen! I die innocent! I pardon all my enemies, and I desire that France"—the progress of his speech was stopped by Santerre, the brutal commandant, who called out, "I brought you hither, not to harangue, but to die." The guns again thundered, he was rudely seized by the executioners, and placed on the guillotine. His confessor, Mr. Edgeworth, kneeling with his face near to that of the king, pronounced aloud, "*Enfant de St. Louis, montez au ciel.*" "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven." One of the executioners, holding up the head to be seen by the people, a few persons more cruel or more mercenary than the rest, cried, "*Vive la nation! vive la republic!*"

The murder of Lewis excited the most general abhorrence. This detestation, however, did not check the career of the sanguinary faction, nor did the Girondists, whose want of spirit had given the Jacobins an opportunity of triumphing over the king, neglect the means of vigorous hostility, as they foresaw that the war would soon be extended. They justly concluded, that their various indications of hostility towards other countries, and against England in particular, would prompt his Britannic majesty to take arms, and therefore determined to accelerate what they could not long prevent.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GEORGE III.

[1793.]

Meeting of the British Parliament—Debates, on the prevalence of Sedition, and on the Question of Peace or War—The Question impartially stated—Military Operations—Treachery and Flight of Dumouriez—Sieges of Condé and Valenciennes—Internal State of France—Character of Robespierre—A general Review of English and Continental Affairs.

THE trial of Lewis was depending, when the British parliament was suddenly convoked. The conduct of the democratic societies, and the application of their friends to the national assembly, had excited alarm; and the king, who had ordered the militia to be embodied, informed the two houses, (December the 13th) that events had recently occurred, which required the greatest vigilance and exertion, to prevent the loss of the civil and political advantages long enjoyed by this nation. The seditious practices, which had been checked for a time, had "of late (he said) been more openly renewed, and with increased activity." The spirit of disorder had shewn itself in "acts of riot and insurrection;" the industry employed to diffuse discontent appeared to proceed from a "design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government;" and this design had "evidently been pursued in concert with persons in foreign countries." He had scrupulously abstained from all interference in the internal affairs of France; but he could not see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong indications which its rulers had given of an intention of fomenting disturbances in other countries, and pursuing schemes of conquest and aggrandisement; and their views against his allies, the states-general, he particularly disapproved, because not only the law of nations, but the stipulations of treaties, opposed their pretensions. Amidst these grounds of alarm, he had thought it his duty to take some steps for the augmentation of his naval and military force. At the same time, he would neglect nothing that could contribute to the preservation of the blessings of peace, consistently with the security of his dominions, and the performance of his engagements. It was a great consolation to him to reflect, that ample resources for vigorous preparations would be found in the excess of the revenue above the ordinary expenditure.—He trusted that the means of enforcing obedience to the laws, and repressing all seditious attempts, would be the objects of immediate deliberation, as the defence of that constitution, which had so long protected the liberties and promoted the happiness of every class of his subjects, claimed an early and earnest attention.

In condemning the acts and views of the French, his majesty alluded to a decree for granting fraternal assistance to such communities as were desirous of procuring liberty, to an order for incorporating Savoy with the new republic, and to an intention of opening the Scheldt.

Some parts of the royal speech were arraigned by lord Wycombe, who said, that it contained calumnious animadversions on the behaviour of the people, and that the war in which it threatened to involve us could only be justified on our part by an

actual invasion from France. Mr. Fox was of opinion that the alarm was excited by art and imposture, rather than by real danger, and that we had more reason to dread the encroachments of the crown than the seditious intrigues of the people; and he moved for an enquiry into the truth of the ministerial allegations. Mr. Windham was convinced that the country was in a state of great danger, from the traitorous machinations of the enemies of our constitution; but Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan contended that the peril was merely imaginary. Mr. Burke asserted the existence of a numerous and zealous party, whose aims extended to the reform of our government according to the French model; and he hoped that the house would be unanimous in counteracting such execrable schemes. A majority of 240 opposed the suggestion of Mr. Fox, and voted for a courtly address. A similar answer to the king's speech was voted by the peers, but not without strong expressions of disapprobation from the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Lansdown, and lord Rawdon. After another debate on the address, a proposal from Mr. Fox, that a minister should be sent to Paris to treat with the governing power, was assailed with pointed censure by lord Sheffield, Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Burke, who maintained that such condescension to a horde of monsters would reflect indelible disgrace on this country, and that, even if no dishonour attended it, it did not afford the least promise of success. The motion was therefore rejected without the formality or the honour of a division.

The effect which the court wished to produce, quickly appeared. The kingdom resounded with exclamations against the arrogant, arbitrary, and violent proceedings of the Jacobin faction; and it was loudly affirmed, that the most vigorous exertions of every kind were necessary to prevent the evils with which Europe was threatened by the systematic diffusion of a wild spirit of democracy. Additional associations were formed for the defence of liberty and property against the attempts of republicans and levellers; and various short pieces, calculated for the diffusion of loyal sentiments, were distributed among the people. Many of the nobility, and others who, though not destitute of merit, were more distinguished by rank and fortune than by virtue or patriotism, partook of the panic, and joined in the clamour; and not a few of those who cherished the purest intentions, and who had justly acquired the high esteem of their countrymen, were influenced by the prevailing alarm, and induced to concur with the ministerial phalanx.

The proceedings of our court drew some expostulations from M. Chauvelin; and he demanded a categorical answer to the question, whether Great Britain should be considered as a neutral power, or as hostile to the nation which he represented. The official reply of lord Grenville intimated, that the only way by which the French could secure the amity or the forbearance of this country, would be to renounce all views of aggression and aggrandisement. The French envoy was authorised to explain the decree of fraternity, as only promising aid when it should be demanded by the general will of a nation, to disclaim all ideas of conquest, and to stipulate that the affair of the Scheldt should be left to the unbiassed determination of the inhabitants of the Netherlands: but these declarations were pronounced vague and unsatisfactory.

From an apprehension of the intrigues of the French and other turbulent foreigners, who already were in this country or might be inclined to repair to it, a bill was introduced into the house of peers for the restraint of aliens. The marquis of Lansdown and the earl of Lauderdale opposed it with warmth, as tending to involve the nation in a war; and they advised that an ambassador should be sent to France, to assist in composing the troubles of the continent, and avert by personal expostulation the danger which seemed to impend over the unfortunate king. The earl of Guildford (son of the minister who governed during the American war) was also hostile to the bill, which, he said, infringed the commercial treaty: but it was supported by almost the whole house, and sent to the commons for their concurrence. It was applauded by Mr. Burke, in a speech which not only abounded with invectives against the French, but contained severe strictures on the opinions and behaviour of the leader of opposition. On this occasion he endeavoured to render his eloquence more *piercing* by drawing forth a dagger, as a sample of an

order given by a democratic Englishman for the manufacture of 3000 at Birmingham. With rage and horror depicted on his countenance, he threw the weapon on the floor, saying, "This is what you will gain by fraternising with France." Sir Peter Burrell and sir Gilbert Elliot lamented the necessity of separating from a friend (Mr. Fox) with whom they had been long accustomed to act; but it was imposed upon them, they said, by the consideration of the disregard recently shewn by that gentleman to the true principles of the constitution. Mr. Fox ridiculed the alarm of those who dreaded the 1793. influence of French opinions in a country which enjoyed a greater portion of liberty than any other in Europe; but Mr. Pitt declared that the arts, machinations, and violence of the French, afforded grounds for the most serious apprehensions, and called for the strictest vigilance; and the bill soon received the royal assent. M. Chauvelin complained of the arbitrary provisions of a bill which encroached on the lawful freedom of the French in Great Britain, and rendered them liable to expulsion or exclusion; but lord Grenville replied, that it only authorised such precautions as already existed in France; and when the envoy desired an exemption from its effect, no hope of indulgence was given, as his credentials from the republic were not allowed.

When the king intimated to both houses his dismission of the French agent, he expressed his reliance on their support in ulterior measures of precaution and defence. In the discussion of this message, lord Grenville inveighed against the atrocious act which then engrossed the attention of Europe; remarked that the promise of neutrality given by our court was conditional, depending on the proper treatment of the royal family of France; and urged the necessity of taking arms for the assistance of our allies, and the prevention of the dangerous aggrandisement of the French. Earl Stanhope said, that such a war would be unnecessary, and consequently unjustifiable; the earl of Derby thought that it might be easily and honourably avoided; and the marquis of Lansdown opposed it as not required either by good faith toward the Dutch (who did not desire our interference in the affair of the Scheldt), or by any danger which threatened this country. But the speeches of the earls of Carlisle and Darnley, the lords Stormont and Porchester, and the lord-chancellor Loughborough, manifested a strong spirit of hostility; and an address of support was voted to his majesty.

Mr. Pitt deplored the death of the French king, and expatiated on the enormity of those principles which actuated the rulers of the republic—principles which tended to destroy all religion, morality, and social order, and reduce mankind to a state of the most dreadful anarchy. With such men, he said, a continuance of peace could not be expected. They had formed schemes of arbitrary encroachment on the rights of neutral powers; aimed at a total change of the government of those countries in which their arms should happen to prevail; proposed a subversion of the long-established law of nations, and the propagation of a general spirit of revolutionary insurrection. After unsatisfactory explanations of an obnoxious decree, and palliations of offensive proceedings, their agent in England had persisted in what was equivalent to the avowal of every thing dangerous to Great Britain, and had thrown out menaces of hostility in the event of our inacquiescence. Mr. Fox admitted that it was our duty to assist the Dutch, if they should demand our aid; but he did not think that we ought to force them into a war by which they might be endangered, as this constraint would be an abuse of treaty. He allowed that the decree of fraternity was an insult to the world; but it was not a just ground for war. He blamed the ministry for insisting on security in terms not sufficiently precise, as this was not the way to obtain satisfaction. The object of contest ought to be clearly stated: otherwise the return of peace might be long retarded. If the court imagined that all Europe was exposed to danger from the progress of the French arms, the peril would not be increased by proposing terms before we should engage in war. The real cause of the war, he added, might be referred to the desire of restoring despotism in France; a motive which he highly disapproved, though he was by no means pleased with the existing government of that country.—After other speeches on both sides of the question, an address corresponding with the message passed without a division.

The next communication from the king announced the French declaration of war against Great Britain and the United Provinces. It was alleged by the convention, that his Britannic majesty had persisted (more particularly since the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792,) in giving proofs of his attachment to the coalition of princes, had refused to acknowledge the new government of France, had violated in various instances the treaty of 1786, equipped an armament against the republic, and seduced the stadtholder into similar measures of hostility. The royal message censured this "wanton and unprovoked aggression," and called for the "zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people," in the prosecution of a "just and necessary war."

A warlike address was proposed (Feb. 12th,) by lord Grenville, with a renewal of severe animadversions on the conduct of the French. An amendment from earl Stanhope, calculated to ascertain the object of the war, and one from the earl of Lauderdale, tending to make the war merely defensive, and to accelerate a negotiation, were rejected by the peers; and the motion of the secretary received the assent of the house. Mr. Pitt analysed the French declaration of war, and stigmatised the "groundless pretences" by which it was supported; and, as we had no longer the power of choice, but were forced into a war, he hoped that the zeal of the people would second the views of the court. Mr. Fox was willing to agree to an address which should merely promise the co-operation of the house in defensive hostilities; but he could not vote for one which imputed unprovoked aggression to the French. Mr. Burke said, that a more necessary or justifiable war, than that in which we were preparing to engage, could not be conceived; but Mr. Sheridan strongly argued against its supposed necessity, and particularly condemned the absurdity of making infidelity a ground for war, as the sword was not a proper instrument for the propagation of religion, and as those whom we were to assist in France were more remarkable for deism or even atheism than the supporters of the revolution. The address framed by the minister was then adopted; and considerable additions were made to the naval and military force.

The subject of the war was re-examined, when Mr. Fox urged the house to adopt several resolutions, condemning all forcible interference in the internal government of any country, denying that the ministry had taken proper measures to avoid a war, and dissuading his majesty from entering into any engagements which might prevent him from concluding a separate peace; and it was resumed, when Mr. Grey moved a long and spirited address to the king, accusing his advisers of having plunged their country into an unnecessary war. These propositions, as the reader may conclude, were rejected; as was also a motion from Mr. Sheridan for an inquiry into the truth of those reports of sedition which had been so studiously propagated.

Mr. Fox and his friends were equally unsuccessful in their opposition to a bill which was calculated to prevent traitorous correspondence, in trade or other respects, with the king's enemies. They affirmed that it involved an arbitrary extension of the act of the twenty-fifth year of Edward III.; that it would lead to perjury, and put any man in the power of a malignant adversary; and that, at the same time, it was a bill by which we should gain less, and our enemies lose less, than if it were not enacted. But the attorney-general and Mr. Burke said, that it was framed in the spirit, if not according to the letter, of former acts, and that its rigour was not greater than the urgency of the crisis required. On a division, the votes in its favour were 154, forming a majority of 101. In the upper house it was opposed with vigour, particularly by the marquis of Lansdown, who pronounced it to be repugnant to equity, and invasive of the constitution. He, on the same occasion, took a review of the state of Europe, and, on every ground, recommended peace.

A memorial which had been presented by lord Auckland to the states-general, proposing the subjection of some of the detestable regicides to the sword of the law, was reprobated by several members of both houses, as mingling purposes of vengeance with the views of defence and security; but the motions of censure were rejected with little hesitation. More interesting were the debates which followed the offer of petitions to the commons from the inhabitants of Birmingham, Derby, Warwick, and many other

towns, praying for a parliamentary reform. The application of the *Friends of the People* (May 6,) for this important object, chiefly drew the attention of the house. They stated, that less than 15,000 persons, out of three millions of male adults, elected the major part of the assembly; that the right of voting was not regulated by any uniform or rational principles; that the extent of private parliamentary patronage was an abuse which tended to exclude the great mass of the people from any substantial influence in elections; and that the spirit of the constitution required a frequent renewal of choice, instead of the continuance of the same members to the seventh year. Mr. Grey eloquently exposed the defects and grievances of the present system, and moved for a committee of enquiry. Mr. Windham said, that the blemishes of the constitution could not be corrected without the risque of destroying its excellencies, and that the proposed experiment might lead to the most fatal consequences. Mr. Erskine enlarged on the prevailing abuses; but the earl of Mornington considered them as unworthy of notice, when compared with the benefits of the parliamentary constitution. Mr. Pitt did not think that the people were desirous of a reform; and he deprecated the attempt in these perturbed times. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox defended the propriety of an investigation of the causes of complaint, and repelled the objections to the particular time, by arguing that an acquiescence in moderate and constitutional requests would tend to silence clamour, and allay discontent, and would thus baffle the schemes of seditious revolutionists. A majority of 241, however, voted against the enquiry.

The slave-trade was productive of fresh debates, without the adoption of any decisive measures. With regard to the trade of India, it was the wish of many that it might be opened; but, when the company petitioned for a renewal of its charter, the continuance of the monopoly was deemed advisable on the ground of experience, though it was rendered less strict than it had been under the former regulations. The system of government, established for that country by the act of 1784, was also considered as worthy of retention. Mr. Dundas pronounced an elaborate speech in favour of those objects; and the bill which he framed met with the concurrence of the two houses.

The supplies demanded by the minister, and readily voted by the commons, were £16,698,000. The seamen and marines were 45,000; the guards and garrisons exceeded 27,000 men. Four millions and a half were borrowed on this occasion; and some taxes, at first intended to be merely temporary, were continued in consequence of this loan. An alarm being excited by the failure of many mercantile houses, chiefly from the abuse of paper credit, a bill was enacted for the distribution of five millions, in exchequer bills, among such traders as might apply for relief, on condition of giving security in goods. This act was very seasonably expedient in the revival of commercial credit. To unite a judicious system of husbandry with the advantages of manufacturing industry and of general trade, the commons addressed the king for the institution of a board of agriculture and internal improvement. Sir John Sinclair, the projector of the scheme, became the first president of this society.

When a prorogation was expected, Mr. Fox took an opportunity of recommending a speedy negotiation, as the French had been so far checked that no ground of alarm, for our security or that of the Dutch, could be truly alleged. But Mr. Burke and Mr. Pitt contended, that no government with which we could safely treat existed in France; and a majority of 140 voted for a continuance of the war. June 17.

The proceedings of the parliament of Ireland, in the session of this year, ought not to pass without some notice. To conciliate the catholics, a bill was introduced by the ministry, granting the right of voting for the election of representatives of the people, that of holding particular offices from which they had long been excluded, and the full freedom of religion and property. To gratify the adversaries of the court, the power of the crown was in some points restrained; and on the other hand, to check seditious practices, all assemblies convened in the name of the people, under pretence of petitioning for alterations of the laws, or remonstrating against supposed grievances, were declared to be unlawful.

To promote the success of the war, a convention had been signed in the spring between

our court and that of Petersburg, stipulating for the prosecution of hostilities till the French should relinquish all their conquests. A treaty was soon after concluded with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for a subsidiary body of 8000 men; a number which, by a subsequent agreement, was extended to 12,000. British treasure was also lavished on the king of Sardinia, who engaged (for £200.000 *per annum*) to keep up an army of 50.000 men, to be employed in the particular defence of his dominions, and in general service against the enemy. A compact of alliance was adjusted with Spain, one with Naples, and others with Prussia, Austria, and Portugal. Besides the stipulations of vigorous hostility, it was agreed that the conduct of other powers should be watched with extraordinary circumspection, in this cause of common concern to every civilized state, lest they should abuse their professed neutrality by protecting the commerce or property of the French.

In forming our judgment respecting the causes and origin of the most important contest which ever involved the interests of mankind, we must, in justice to Great Britain, carefully distinguish between the war of *invasion*, to which all the future calamities of Europe may be attributed, and in which we remained perfectly neutral, and the war of *general defence*, in which we became the most prominent and active ally. Before the indication of hostile feelings and principles on the part of France had become too frequent and too offensive to be mistaken, we studiously abstained from all participation in the measures of the continental powers, and received the accredited agent of France with every testimony of confidence and respect. The duplicity of Chauvelin himself first excited and justified the distrust of the British cabinet. A note was presented to him by lord Grenville, as secretary of state, which was intended to explain away the real meaning of the offensive decree of the 19th of November, but was calculated with the most exquisite artifice to sow dissension between the government and the nation. In the conclusion, it admonishes the English minister of the responsibility which must attach to his conduct in case of a declaration of war, "the consequences of which must be fatal to other countries, and to all mankind; and in which a generous and free people could not consent to betray their interests, by assisting a tyrannical coalition." Lord Grenville adverted to the general tenor of the conduct of the French government, in promoting sedition throughout the kingdom, and charged them with violating the neutrality of the Dutch republic, and insulting the ally of Great Britain, by sending a vessel up the Scheldt to attack Antwerp. The convention, in return, endeavoured to justify their conduct respecting the Scheldt, on the grounds of the gross injustice committed towards the Belgians by the treaties which deprived them of the navigation of a river flowing through their provinces, and they again endeavoured, in the course of their explanation, to conciliate the favour of the English people, and to imbue them with a feeling of hostility against their government. "If warlike preparations be continued in the ports of England, we shall combat with regret the English, whom we esteem, but are well assured that the English republicans will not suffer it. Already those free-men shew their discontent, and their repugnance to bear arms against their brothers, the French. We will fly to their succour, we will make a descent on the island, and destroy their tyranny." The final reply of lord Grenville again denied the sufficiency of M. Chauvelin's explanation, urged the necessity of naval preparation, and animadverted on the enmity of the republicans to social order.

After the dismissal of Chauvelin, it was decreed in the national convention,—"That George, king of England, had never ceased, since the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792, from giving proofs of his enmity to the French, and of his attachment to the concert of crowned heads, and that he had drawn into the same league the stadtholder of the United Provinces; that, contrary to the first article of the treaty of 1783, the English ministry had granted protection and succour to the emigrants and others, who have openly appeared in arms against France; that, on the news of the execution of Lewis Capet, they were led to commit an outrage against the French republic, by ordering the ambassador of France to quit Great Britain; that the English have stopped divers boats and vessels laden with corn for France, whilst, at the same time, contrary to the treaty of 1786

they continue the exportation of it to other foreign countries; that, in order to thwart more efficaciously the commercial transactions of the republic with England, they have, by an act of parliament, prohibited the circulation of assignats. The convention therefore declare, that, in consequence of these acts of hostility and aggression, the French republic is at war with the king of England, and the stadtholder of the United Provinces.

No sooner was war declared against England and Holland, than the conquest of the latter occupied the mind of Dumouriez. This general had been in Paris for some time. He was there during the trial and execution of Lewis, and, if we are to believe his own words, he exerted himself to save the life of the unfortunate monarch; but these exertions were not very conspicuous—perhaps they consisted in conversations with a few of the Parisian milliners. The hero of Jemappe, flushed with the hopes of reaping fresh laurels, returned to Flanders. Dumouriez was aware of the great discontent that prevailed in Holland; numbers were anxious for the arrival of the French, in order to overturn the government of the stadtholder; the French general very justly calculated on support from the friends of revolutionary principles; and on every view of the case, the conquest of Holland was an easy enterprise.

Dumouriez assembled his army at Antwerp, where several emigrant Hollanders, of character and consequence in their own country, formed a revolutionary association to assist the general by intelligence relative to the interior parts of the United Provinces, and to maintain a correspondence with the disaffected. This committee proposed an irruption into Zealand; but Dumouriez was determined, if possible, to effect a passage across an arm of the sea to Dort, and thus penetrate into the very heart of Holland. It was a daring and bold design, and marked the character of the projector. The French army, on this occasion, amounted to 13,000 men, and was accompanied by the skilful engineer d'Arcon, inventor of the floating batteries which attacked Gibraltar, and a considerable number of Dutch emigrants. He issued a proclamation, in which he observes:—"Batavians! it is not against you that the French republic has declared war—the friend of all nations, she has for enemies only despots. The English, so proud of their liberty, suffer themselves to be misled by gold, and the falsehoods of a ———, of whom they will soon be weary. The more enemies we have, the more shall we propagate our principles—persuasion and victory shall sustain the imprescriptible rights of man, and nations will be tired of exhausting their blood and treasures for a small number of individuals, who fan the flames of discord, as the best means of deceiving and enslaving the people."

On the 17th of February 1793, the French troops entered the Dutch territories, and attacked Breda, which immediately surrendered. Klundert followed its example on the 26th; and on the 4th of March, Gertruydenburg fell into the hands of the republicans, after a bombardment of three days. Bergen-op-Zoom was invested, but without success; and at length the French presented themselves before the fortress of Williamstadt, the garrison of which had been strengthened by a detachment from the brigade of English foot-guards, just landed in Holland. The place was also defended by some English and Dutch gun-boats, the whole commanded by general count Botzlaer. Williamstadt resisted every effort of the French, who were ultimately compelled to raise the siege with great loss. Klundert was also evacuated, and the republicans retreated towards Antwerp, after setting fire to the village of Maerdyck, as well as to their own batteries, and leaving several pieces of artillery behind them.

During these proceedings in Holland, general Miranda, with a division of the French army amounting to 20,000 men, had invested Maestricht. On the 23rd of February, his works were completed; and on the following day, he summoned the town to surrender: the prince of Hesse, who commanded this fortress, declared his determination to defend it.

General Valence, who commanded the third division of the French army, had his head-quarters at Liege, while his out-posts extended to Aix-la-Chapelle and the banks of the Roer. On the 1st of March, general Clairfait, having passed the Roer in the night, attacked the French, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loss of 2000 men, 12 pieces of cannon, 13 ammunition-

waggons, and the military chest. On the 3rd, the prince of Saxe-Cobourg defeated the French, and drove them from Aix-la-Chapelle with the loss of 4000 killed, 1600 prisoners, and 20 pieces of cannon. This was the signal for raising the siege of Maestricht. Miranda learned, on the 4th, that the enemy was advancing, with more than 35,000 men, for the purpose of throwing succours into this place. After 6000 bombs, therefore, had been thrown into Maestricht, at midnight the French retreated, and, on the day following, formed a junction at St. Tron with general Valence, who had abandoned the country of Liege to the enemy. Here they were joined by troops under generals Isler, Lamorliere, and Champmorin, and on the 8th they moved towards Tirlemont.

It will be necessary to notice in this place, the unsuccessful attack which the French made on the island of Sardinia. A French fleet, consisting of nineteen sail of the line, had sailed from Toulon, under the command of admiral Truguet, and anchored in the harbour of Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, on the 24th of January. The admiral demanded the surrender of the place, which was refused; when the fleet bombarded the city, and was answered by a brisk firing of red-hot balls. The attack was continued three days, without much loss on either side; the French, at length, finding their efforts vain, sailed away.

On the 7th of March, war was declared by the French against the king of Spain.

Dumouriez left the command of the army in Holland to general de Fleis, and assumed the command in person of the disconcerted forces of Miranda and Valence. The troops testified the utmost satisfaction on being rejoined by their former victorious commander; and the hopes of the soldiers anticipated the glories of a second Jemappe. The Austrians attacked and carried Tirlemont on the 15th of March; but were driven out by Dumouriez on the following day. On the 18th, a general engagement took place at Neerwinden; the French army being covered on the left by Dormael, and on the right by Landen. The action was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, from seven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French gave way, and for some time retreated in tolerable order; but the Austrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to the rout. The French fought with great bravery, but were overpowered by numbers, and the battle was gained by the Austrians, under the prince de Cobourg and general Clairfait; at the expence of 1400 men. It proved very disastrous to the republicans, as 6000 of their troops immediately deserted and proceeded towards France. The French continued to skirmish till they reached Godsenhoven, about a league south of Tirlemont, where they formed in order of battle, and the hostile troops rested all night upon their arms, in the face of each other. On the 19th, little or nothing was attempted; on the night of the 20th, Dumouriez took possession of the heights of Cumtich, behind Tirlemont, from whence he had time to withdraw his magazines; and on the following day he passed the Welpe, and encamped near Bantersem, having his right at Op and Neerwelpe, and his left on the heights and in the woods in front of Zuellenberg, where he was attacked by the Austrian advanced guard, which he repulsed. During this affair, Danton and la Croix arrived in the camp as commissioners from the convention; and, after receiving from Dumouriez some explanation respecting a letter which he had written on the affairs of Belgium, they returned.

On the 22nd, Dumouriez approached nearer Louvain, and posted himself between Tirlemont and that city. He was attacked on the following day, when an obstinate and bloody engagement took place:—it lasted the whole day, and ended with the defeat of the imperialists, who retreated with great loss; but this victory was attended with little or no advantage to the French; and in the evening, the general sent colonel Montjoye to the head-quarters of the prince de Cobourg, to treat respecting the wounded and prisoners. The French officer conferred with colonel Mack, (the hero of Ulm!) and a kind of suspension of arms was agreed to; Mack waited on Dumouriez the following night, when *private* arrangements were made, which the subsequent conduct of the French commander will sufficiently develope.

Notwithstanding the suspension of arms, Dumouriez was attacked the next day by general Clairfait, who had not been informed of the stipulations, and was forced to abandon Louvain, and to retreat during the night

towards Brussels. He then formed near Vilvorde, where he remained some days without being interrupted by the enemy. He passed through Brussels with his army on the 25th, and two days afterwards arrived at Ath. He sent orders to general d'Harville to evacuate the citadel of Namur; and on the same day Mack reached Ath, when a further agreement was entered into. It was arranged that the French should remain for some time at Mons, Tournay, and Courtray; that general Dumouriez, who had communicated his design of marching to Paris, should direct, as occasion might require, the motions of the imperial troops, who were to act merely as auxiliaries, and, in case he should not want their assistance, they were to remain on the frontiers. But the evacuation of Belgium by the French was expressly stipulated; and general Dumouriez was to be supplied with any number of Austrian troops he might think proper, if he found himself unable to effect a counter-revolution without their assistance.

Dumouriez departed for Tournay; and on the following day, (the 29th) several deputies arrived at the same place, who came with despatches from the minister, Le Brun, and pretended to have certain communications to make relative to the affairs of Belgium. The treachery of Dumouriez had become suspected at Paris; and these men appear to have been sent merely to sound him, and ascertain the truth; they were succeeded by four commissioners directed to suspend him, Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, accompanied by general Bournonville, appointed to supersede him in the command. As the commissioners were aware of the danger of arresting Dumouriez, they wished to proceed with caution: they accordingly halted at Lisle, and despatched a summons for the general to appear in that city, and answer the charges to be preferred against him. He replied, that the army required his presence; that he could not for a moment abandon it; that if the commissioners would proceed to him, he would answer them with his usual frankness; but that if they did not choose to continue their route, he would present himself before them as soon as he had secured his retreat into the French territory. At the same time he remarked, that he would not enter Lisle, but with his army, in order to punish the poltroons, who, forgetful of their own cowardice, employed themselves in calumniating the brave defenders of their country.

On the 29th of March, Dumouriez learned that Antwerp had been abandoned by the troops which he had stationed there; and that they had effected their escape to the French territories. On the following day, he quitted the camp at Tournay, and proceeded to occupy that of Maulde; and sent orders, in the mean time, through the medium of colonel Mack, to the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenburg, to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to march back to France. He ordered general Miaczinski, who was with his division at Orchies, to march to Lisle, and arrest the commissioners sent by the convention. This circumstance, by some means, became known to the commissioners; and they persuaded Miaczinski to enter the city with a trifling escort, when the gates were instantly shut—he was arrested, sent to Paris, and decapitated.

Dumouriez had formed a plan for seizing Condé and Valenciennes; but the patriotism of generals Ferraud and Ecuyer penetrated the real design, and rendered the attempt abortive. The commissioners from the convention must have been perfectly aware of Dumouriez's intention to arrest them, but determined to proceed as far as possible in the execution of their orders; and as Dumouriez had established his head-quarters at St. Armand, they proceeded thither on the 2nd of April, and obtained an interview. After a conference of some hours, during which much violent language was used, Camus pronounced the suspension of the general. At this moment a signal was given, and a body of hussars entered, who were ordered to convey the four commissioners, as well as Bournonville, to the head-quarters of general Clairfait, to be considered as hostages for the safety of the king and royal family. The next morning, Dumouriez went to the camp, and addressed the troops, who approved of the seizure of the commissioners, but positively rejected his proposal of deserting to the enemy. He immediately perceived that the officers were disaffected to his cause, and the murmurs which were heard along the line sufficiently disclosed the disposition of his troops. Sensible of the danger by which

he was assailed, he decamped suddenly with about 700 men, accompanied by the duke de Chartres and colonel Thouvenot, and proceeded to the head-quarters of colonel Mack, the commander of the Austrian army, who escorted him to Mons. He was appointed to a commission in the imperial army; but the reproach which attaches itself to treachery, even under the most favourable circumstances, still adhered to his character; he was regarded with suspicion, and soon sunk into insignificance.

When Dampierre assumed the command of the army, he found it so disorganized as to require all his efforts for the re-establishment of discipline. He then attacked the advanced posts of the allies, but met with a severe check, which did not deter him from assaulting a formidable line of posts from the Scheldt to the abbey of Vicogne, and St. Armand. Knobelsdorf, the Prussian general, having weakened his army by detaching a considerable corps to support the harassed Austrians near the abbey, the duke of York seasonably advanced to assist him, with some brave and well-disciplined battalions. The Coldstream regiment distinguished itself on this occasion, and eminently contributed to check the advance of the enemy. At the abbey, the combat was prolonged till the close of day, and the Austrians under Clairfait firmly maintained their ground. Two days afterward, that general and his Prussian associate attacked with success the batteries, which had been recently erected along their front, and the republicans fell back on Orchies.

In the battle of Vicogne, Dampierre was shot in one of his thighs, and died of the wound; and 3500 of his countrymen, but not more than 1500 of the allies, lost their lives or were wounded. Custine was now ordered to act in the Netherlands. That commander had made a bold attack on the posts near the Rhine, in the hope of relieving Mentz; but he was repelled with considerable loss. He had not yet joined the army on the French frontiers, when the prince of Saxe-Cobourg and the duke of York commanded four columns to advance against the camp of Famars, which served to protect the town of Valenciennes. One of these divisions marched towards the entrenchments, which had been formed upon the right bank of the Rouelle, and forced them by a vigorous assault. Other posts were attacked (May the 23rd) with equal spirit; and all parts of the line were stormed, except a strong redoubt, which the enemy evacuated on the ensuing night. On this occasion, Clairfait's corps sustained greater loss than the other divisions of the allies; but the French suffered still more than their opponents.

The arbitrary rulers of France menaced Custine with exemplary vengeance, if he should suffer Valenciennes to be taken; but he could not prevent the gradual approaches or the ultimate success of the besiegers. The place was invested with the forms prescribed by old engineers; and all the out-works were at length taken. The governor, Ferraud, then capitulated, and very reluctantly consented that the garrison should become prisoners of war. The siege was not prolonged beyond the seventh week; but Condé was blockaded for a quarter of a year before it was reduced. The conquest of these important towns elevated the hopes of the confederates, the most sanguine of whom seemed to think that the way to Paris would soon be open. The French were alarmed at the apparent danger; but they did not sink into the apathy of despair. Custine was put to death for imputed negligence; and the terrors of the guillotine were displayed as incentives to patriotism.

The French having retired to a strong camp in the vicinity of Cambray, covered by the Scheldt, and by the wood and fortified heights of Bourlon, the duke of York led a body of the allies toward that post; and, with little difficulty, an abandonment of the station was enforced. Instead of a warm pursuit of the retreating enemy, the Austrian and British commanders now agreed to a division of that force, which, when united, seemed irresistible. The army of the emperor, in whose name the late conquests were made, marched to undertake the siege of Le Quesnoi; while the English and Dutch directed their course, by the way of Menin, to Dunkirk, which had long been a thorn in the side of Britain. This impolitic attention to separate interests, greatly injured the common cause.

During the siege of Valenciennes, that of Mentz was prosecuted by the king of Prussia, who, when he retook the place, only bound the garrison not to act for one year against

him or his belligerent associates. In the mean time, the pressure of the confederates, and the supposed nature of their designs, cherished the ferocious tyranny of Robespierre. Not to be controlled by foreign powers, was the first wish of every Frenchman; and Robespierre, with a sagacity and energy worthy of a better cause, obtained a decree for a general rising of the people. A forced loan placed the property of all men at the disposal of the government; 1,200,000 men were marched out to meet the enemy, and vehicles were contrived for conveying the soldiers and cannon with unexampled rapidity. Immense bodies were despatched to subdue the insurgents of La Vendèe; Marseilles yielded, after a short resistance, to the revolutionary arms, and Lyons surrendered, after a more protracted struggle. The wretched inhabitants of the latter city, too numerous for the operation of the guillotine, were driven in large bodies, with the most brutal and blasphemous ceremonies, into the Rhone, or assembled in the squares, and murdered by the fire of artillery.

While the French, rising in a mass, crushed revolt and expelled foreign enemies in the south, their gigantic efforts effected in the north a momentous change in the events of the campaign. After the reduction of Valenciennes, the French were compelled to abandon a very strong position, which Custine occupied, behind the Scheldt, denominated Cæsar's camp. A council of war was now held by the allies, to consider the most effectual plans of pursuing their successes. Generals Cobourg and Clairfait proposed, while the French were under an alarm from the disasters in the Netherlands, to penetrate towards Paris, while a force should be sent, under cover of the British fleets, to co-operate with the loyalists in Britany; the duke of York was of opinion, that it would be much more advisable to extend their conquests upon the frontiers. He proposed that the army should divide; that he, at the head of his countrymen, and the Dutch and Hanoverians, should attack the enemy on the side of West Flanders, while the allies continued their operations in the Eastern Netherlands. It was concerted, that the allies should besiege Quesnoi; and that the duke of York, marching to the coast, where he could receive maritime co-operation, should invest Dunkirk. This port has ever been, in time of war, a very great receptacle for privateers, and extremely troublesome to the English trade in its approach to the Downs. The British cabinet, therefore, as well as the commander-in-chief, were eager to wrest from the enemy such means of annoyance. Separating from the allies, his royal highness marched towards Dunkirk, and on the 18th of August he reached Menin. The Dutch, under the hereditary prince of Orange, attacked a French post at Lincelles, in that neighbourhood, and were repulsed; but the British troops, though very inferior in force, carried the post with fixed bayonets, and defeated the enemy. The French, no longer venturing to obstruct his advances, on the 22nd his royal highness arrived before Dunkirk. On the 24th of he attacked the French out-posts, and compelled them to take refuge within the town. In this engagement, however, he incurred some loss both in men and officers, and among the latter the Austrian general, Dalton, so distinguished during the revolt of the Netherlands from the emperor Joseph. On the 28th of August, the siege was regularly commenced by the duke of York, while general Freytag, with an army of auxiliaries, was posted to cover the besiegers. A considerable naval armament from Great Britain, intended to co-operate with a military force, by some unaccountable delay, did not arrive so soon as was appointed and expected. His royal highness, nevertheless, carried on the siege with great vigour and skill. Meanwhile the republican troops, commanded by general Houchard, poured from all quarters in an enormous mass. Attacking the army of Freytag, on the 7th of September, after several severe actions, in which the Germans made a most vigorous resistance, the French at last overpowered them by numbers, defeated them, and compelled them to make a precipitate retreat. In this rout Freytag himself, and prince Adolphus of England, youngest son of his Britannic majesty, were taken prisoners, but in a short time rescued. The duke of York, from the defeat of the covering army, found it necessary to raise the siege. Before he had departed, the garrison, informed of Houchard's success, made a sally, in which they were repulsed with great loss; while the besiegers suffered considerably, and, among

other officers, were deprived of the celebrated engineer, colonel Moncrief, who was killed by a cannon-ball. Houchard now attacked a second time all that remained of the covering army, gained a complete and decisive victory, and with his daily increasing mass hastened against the duke of York. The British commander found it absolutely necessary to withdraw from Dunkirk, to prevent his gallant band from being totally overpowered by such an infinite number of enemies. The unavoidable hurry of his retreat compelled our prince to leave his heavy artillery, and a great quantity of ammunition, which fell into the hands of the enemy. The military chest was preserved by being hastily put on board a frigate.

The miscarriage of this enterprise produced great censure, among those who judge of plans by events; but, at the time that the enterprise was concerted, there were reasonable hopes of success; and the attainment of the object would have been extremely advantageous to Britain. The delay of the gunboats and artillery must certainly have retarded the execution of the design; but the final disappointment was owing to causes which no man, judging from military experience, could have possibly anticipated. The new French expedient, of arming in mass, had not yet been known to the allies; and the rapid means of bringing forward the troops were no less extraordinary than astonishing. The prodigious hordes thus carried to the scene of warfare must have discomfited the British project, however wise the undertaking, well-concerted the plan, seasonable and efficient the preparations. Ends were to be sought, and means to be employed, according to probabilities, founded on the experience that then existed. From so unprecedented a collection of armed multitudes, escape, without very considerable loss, was a great achievement; so great, indeed, that the enemy considered it impracticable: they apprehended that, if general Houchard had discharged his duty, he might have effectually cut off the British retreat. Under this impression the French general was afterwards denounced, and suffered by the sentence of the revolutionary tribunal.

While the duke of York was engaged before Dunkirk, the allies invested Cambray, Bouchain, and Quesnoi; the two former they found impracticable; of the latter they obtained possession. Prince Cobourg having repulsed a detachment sent to the relief of Quesnoi, the fortress surrendered to general Clairfait on the 11th of September. Soon after this capture the duke of York rejoined the confederates. The French army in the north, after raising the siege of Dunkirk, took a strong position in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge, where they were immediately blockaded by the whole united force of the allies, collected under prince Cobourg. The republican armies, after the accusation of Houchard, were entrusted to the command of Jourdan, who, having formerly served in the French army in an humble rank, and having afterwards become a shopkeeper in a petty village, but had again resumed the military profession, was by the French government deemed worthy of the supreme command; and, as the allies experienced, did signal honour to the penetration of his employers. Jourdan, on the 15th and 16th of October, attacked prince Cobourg with such numbers, vigour, and effect, as to compel him to abandon his position, and repass the Sambre. The French general, now freed from blockade, was at liberty to commence offensive operations. Detachments were accordingly sent to make inroads into maritime Flanders. They took possession of Werwick and Menin, from whence they advanced to Furnes; they proceeded to Nieuport, which they besieged and greatly damaged; but the place was saved by having recourse to inundation. It was some time before the allied forces were able to stop the progress of the republicans, and their generals even trembled for the fate of Ostend. A considerable armament from England, being, at that time, however, preparing for the West Indies, under sir Charles Grey, their destination was altered; and, by arriving at this fortunate moment at Ostend, saved the Low Countries, for the present campaign.

On the Rhine, after the capture of Mentz, a number of petty actions took place, in which the French were generally successful; but no event of importance ensued. During the month of September, the duke of Brunswick gained several advantages, and the allies invested Landau, the siege of which occupied the remainder of the campaign. A French army, commanded by general Lan-

dremont, strongly posted on the Lauter, covered and protected this important fortress. On the 14th of October, general Wurmser forced the strong lines of the enemy; and Lautreburg surrendered at discretion, after being evacuated by the republicans. The town of Weissemburg made a long resistance; part of it, however, was unfortunately burnt, and the French, before they retreated, set fire to their magazines within the walls, as well as those at Alstade. The French, not disheartened at these losses, made repeated attacks on the enemy's lines; and at last were so successful, that the duke of Brunswick deemed it expedient to raise the siege of Landau, and retire into winter-quarters. The armies of the Netherlands finished the campaign about the same time.

On the 10th of August, lord Hood, who had been despatched with a powerful fleet from England, appeared off Marseilles, which had surrendered before his arrival. He therefore repaired to Toulon, where he was reinforced by a Spanish squadron, under rear-admiral Gravina, and was joined by Langara, the commander-in-chief of the Spanish fleet. Immediately on appearing before the port, he transmitted to the constituted authorities of the town a note, in which he assured them, that if an explicit declaration were made in favour of monarchy, if the standard of royalty were hoisted, and the port and forts placed at his disposal, the inhabitants should sustain no injury, and all the ships and forts should be restored to France, at the conclusion of peace. They acquiesced in these proposals, and the arsenals, the forts, and the ships were surrendered. A great proportion of the people, and even the galley-slaves, were averse to these measures; and Monsieur St. Julien endeavoured to counteract the conciliatory proceedings of his colleague, admiral Trogof, exerting the officers and crews of one division of the squadron, to resist the entrance of the English fleet. The exertions of Trogof, however, restored the crews to order, and 1500 men from the English fleet immediately took possession of fort Malgue. The French ships were warped into the inner road, according to agreement; the combined squadrons anchored in the outer road; and 1000 Spaniards were sent on shore to strengthen the English garrison.

Immediately subsequent to the surrender of Marseilles, Carteaux directed his march to Toulon, his army being augmented by a levy-en-masse of the southern provinces. In his progress, a portion of his force was defeated at Ollioules, by a part of the garrison, under sir George Keith Elphinstone. Aix and Lyons had been, in the mean time, reduced with dreadful slaughter, general Dagobert having arrived at Toulon to co-operate with Carteaux, the town was besieged by their united army amounting to 20,000 men, double the number of the garrison. Several sorties were made, with considerable effect, to destroy the works erected by the besiegers. But in the last of these, which was attempted with a view to seize the important post of Malbousquet, the British troops were carried too far by their ardour in pursuit of the retreating enemy, and were driven from the batteries which they had gained. General O'Hara, as he was rallying his men, was wounded and taken prisoner; and the fortress, being found no longer tenable against such a superiority of force, the allied commanders set fire to the shipping and evacuated the post. On the 19th of December, the town and part of the shipping were set on fire in different places by the allies, and the positions which they evacuated were occupied next morning by the republicans. The deplorable situation in which the inhabitants were left by the flight and desertion of the allies, afforded a decisive and melancholy proof of the cruelty and impolicy of this expedition. When the inhabitants perceived that they were left to their fate, they repaired in multitudes to the shores, and appealed to that protection which they had expected to receive from the generosity and honour of the British commanders, and which had been promised under the most solemn and deliberate sanctions. A few were conveyed to the ships; but it was found that numbers must be left behind, to suffer the persecution and the tortures which would be inflicted upon them by their countrymen. Many of the despairing supplicants were beheld, as they stood on the beach, to perpetrate the crime of suicide, and others threw themselves into the water, endeavouring to reach the British vessels. But if the land exhibited an awful and distressing scene of despair and conflagration, the spectacle on board was,

if possible, still more dreadful. The ships were filled with a motley group of all descriptions, men, women, and children, old and young, of various nations. The groans of the wounded and the dying patients from the various hospitals, the mournful exclamations and despairing cries of multitudes for their parents, wives, husbands, and children, who had been left on shore, and the frantic gestures and melancholy countenances of those who had been reduced by the late events from the highest affluence to the most deplorable poverty, presented a combination of misery, anguish, and despair, disgraceful to the government which, in the pursuit of a minor object of policy, had thus endangered the happiness of thousands, and multiplied the sources of guilt, misfortune, and distress.

The British found 31 ships of the line at Toulon, of which 13 were left behind, nine burnt in the harbour, and one at Leghorn, besides four more, which lord Hood had sent to Rochfort and Brest, with 500 seamen belonging to France, as he laboured under considerable apprehension that it would be dangerous to confide in them. Great Britain, therefore, acquired by this sanguinary and expensive expedition to Toulon, no more than three ships of the line and five frigates. The French took from the allies 100 pieces of cannon, vast quantities of forage, and every other species of provision. Rear-admiral Trogof, on board the Commerce de Marseilles, with the Puissant and Pompee, two other ships of the line, and the Pearl, Arethusa, and Topaz frigates, with several corvettes, formed part of the English fleet, which, under the command of lord Hood, proceeded to Hieres Bay, and soon after landed the men, women, and children, by which his decks were surrounded.

Thus, after a siege of three months, and an incessant assault of five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France. The most cruel punishments were inflicted on the loyalists, and the conquerors sullied their victory, and disgraced themselves by a terrible and indiscriminate carnage. Workmen were invited from all the neighbouring departments to destroy the principal houses; the population was visibly decreased by daily butchery; the name of Port de la Montagne was substituted by a decree for that of Toulon, and the citizens were declared to have forfeited the protection of the law.

The expulsion of the English, and the surrender of the arsenal, must be chiefly ascribed to the skilful direction of the French artillery, which was committed to the superintendence of Napoleon Buonaparte, a Corsican, who had lately been distinguished by the patronage of Barras. He was the reputed son of Charles Buonaparte, an attorney of Ajaccio, and of his wife Lætitia Raniolini, afterwards mistress of count Marbœuf, through whose interest she obtained for her husband the office of solicitor-general for the island of Corsica. Marbœuf, whose claims to regard him with paternal affection were by no means equivocal, obtained for the young Napoleon admission to a provincial school in France, and afterwards removed him to a military school at Paris. He entered the service as lieutenant of artillery, and soon after returned to Corsica, where general Paoli appointed him successively captain and colonel of the national guards. On the reduction of Corsica by the English, Buonaparte proffered his services to Mr. Elliot, the viceroy, but they were refused. In consequence of this disappointment, he removed to France, with his mother and the rest of his family, and resided for some time in obscurity near Toulon. On the capture of that port by the English, Salicetti recommended him to Barras, the acting commissary. After having contributed to the expulsion of the confederates, he was entrusted with the punishment of the inhabitants, and exhibited, in the execution of his sanguinary office, the same ferocity of temper, the same insensibility to the sympathies of human nature, and the same determined and ingenious malignity, which marked his conduct on more important occasions, and in situations more open to public scrutiny.

At the close of the year 1793, the faction of Robespierre was indisputably triumphant, the system of terror was solidly established, and the government of France was become a government of blood, to be sustained by the terrors of the guillotine. While the emissaries of the convention at Lyons, under the superintendence of Collet and Fouché, prosecuted the work of demolition and massacre, the dreadful engine of decapitation was fully employed at Paris. Custine, Houchard, and other able generals, who had signalized

themselves in the cause of liberty, previous to the ascendancy of the faction of Robespierre, were tried, condemned, and executed, for treasonable practices. The same punishment was inflicted on Baillie, mayor of Paris, at the commencement of the revolution; and that virtuous, intelligent, and humane individual, whose only crime was his attachment to the cause of genuine and rational liberty, was brought to the block at the same time with the duke of Orleans, whose crimes had destined him to eternal infamy.

The afflictions of the unhappy Marie Antoinette were now approaching to a close, and, in common with the most worthy and most faithful of her subjects, she was condemned to feel the fatal and decisive stroke of the guillotine. That no circumstance might be wanting which could render her existence more wretched, she was conveyed from the Temple to the Conciergerie prison, and confined to a dungeon, eight feet square, where she was subjected to the most unmanly insults, and the most severe privations. On the motion of Billaud de Varennes, a criminal process was instituted against the "widow of Lewis Capet." She was accused of having sent immense sums of money to Vienna, of having disclosed to the enemies of the republic the views and schemes of the government, and having excited intestine war in France. Being tried by an arbitrary tribunal, and a prejudiced jury, she was pronounced guilty of every part of the charge. She heard the sentence without the least discomposure, and retired from the court in dignified silence. In her way to the place of execution, to which she was conveyed in a common cart, with her hands tied behind her, she appeared wholly unmoved by the brutal shouts of the people; and when she reached the scaffold, she seemed eager to resign a life which she could not preserve. She had not completed her 38th year; but her sufferings had given to her countenance and form the appearance of more advanced age. While her enemies gratified their malice to its utmost extent, they conferred on the queen, by her public execution the most valuable boon which she was capable of receiving—that of acquiring the respect of posterity by the magnanimity with which she bore her complicated afflictions, and the fortitude with which she submitted to the stroke of death.

The maritime operations of the year 1793, were too trivial to excite even the momentary interest of the rival nations; yet the British commanders in the West Indies were equally alert and successful in availing themselves of the unprepared state of the enemy in that quarter of the globe. Admiral La Foray sailing with the squadron, which he commanded on the Barbadoes station, and a body of land-forces under general Cuyler, made an easy conquest of the island of Tobago, after a desperate conflict with the troops, which the commandant opposed to the attack. The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon soon after surrendered to the British arms; and before the close of the campaign, the French part of St. Domingo, where many of the most respectable inhabitants were well-affected to Great Britain, was ceded to general Williamson, governor of Jamaica, who sailed with a small force from that island, to take possession of the territory. The successes of the British arms in the East Indies were more important. As soon as intelligence arrived at Madras, that war was declared by the French republic against Great Britain and Holland, the earl of Cornwallis instantly prepared for an attack upon Pondicherry. The event answered his most sanguine expectations. The fortress surrendered to a body of forces under colonel Braithwaite, before the general arrived to take the command of the besiegers, and its reduction was followed by that of the smaller forts and settlements belonging to the possessions of France in the East Indies.

On the 29th of October, a declaration was presented to the world, vindicating the exercise of external force, for the establishment of order in France, as essential to the security and repose of other powers, recommending an hereditary monarchy, yet not insisting on the exclusion of any other form of government, which might prove compatible with the peace and safety of Europe.

The events of the late campaign, and the occurrences in the interior of France, impressed the surrounding nations with mingled feelings of execration and alarm. Yet such was the ardent desire of change among the people of Great Britain, that the pretended or mistaken advocates of liberty were not ashamed to celebrate the successes of the French republicans. By this behaviour they

furnished their antagonists, the opponents of every kind of reform, with the strongest arguments for a firm resistance to their wishes, and for an extension of the prerogative, which would have been regarded as unjust and oppressive under any other circumstances. The passions of men were more and more exasperated; each party accused its antagonist of acting contrary to the principles of the constitution, and the national welfare; and the voice of faction was heard in the odious epithets, so grossly and so pertinaciously applied to the supporters of legitimate government and social order.

The errors of both the opposing parties were so flagrant and conspicuous, that the opinion of the country was divided between alarm at the encroachments of the ministers on the liberty of the subject, and indignation at the democratic violence of the leaders of opposition. The principles of Mr. Pitt were worthy of his country and of his descent, but his practical application of those principles was more remarkable for activity than judgment: for hasty decision and unnecessary display, than for correctness, circumspection, or useful and energetic preparation. To attempt a great variety of minor objects, while some important enterprise, which might have decided the issue of the campaign, or the fate of Europe, was neglected or postponed, was the usual character of his policy. He supported a just and sacred cause, but supported it unskilfully. Nor were his domestic plans more successful than his foreign negotiations. He exasperated those whom the slightest condescension would have tended to conciliate, and provoked, by the loftiness of his tone and the asperity of his manner, the unrestrained and indignant animadversion of his most gentle and most candid opponents. His theory was good, but his practice was unfortunate; and he will always be regarded, by the judicious observer of past events, as a minister whose general views were worthy of the highest genius, but whose measures in detail were futile, extravagant, and generally abortive.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

GEORGE III.

[1794.]

Effects of the Expedition under Lord Moira—Conduct of the Duke of Portland—Debates on the policy of the War, and on the management of the Navy—Trial and Condemnation of Messrs. Muir and Palmer.

THE year had closed with an exhibition not less advantageous to the French republic, than disgraceful and detrimental to Great Britain. The abandonment of lord Moira's expedition to succour the royalists in the interior of France, had given the French convention the idea and opportunity of crushing the remaining force of that party in France, by the means of which alone a counter-revolution could have been effected, had such a project been ever seriously intended by ministers. At the very time that

it was believed, or pretended to be believed, that the royalists were to appear in full force, upon the northern coast of Brittany, to cover and protect the landing of our men, the executive power of France knew that their main force commanded a part of the southern coast of Brittany, by possessing the island of Noirmoutier. Here they attacked the royalists, and totally defeated them; they killed above 500, and 1200 of them threw down their arms and surrendered at discretion. The conquerors gained by this victory above 30 pieces of cannon, and 8000 muskets. From the different accounts of this expedition against the island of Noirmoutier, it does not appear that the royalists made that vigorous stand against the republicans which their desperate situation required. They made but a slight resistance; and the republican reports assure us, that though the town be remarkably well-situated for defence, the royalists surrendered at discretion, even before the enemy came within reach of their batteries. The island of Noirmoutier, which is close to the southernmost coast of Brittany, is about twenty miles in circumference, and might evidently have afforded a secure landing to our troops, while in possession of the royalists, if our real intention had been to form a junction with them. Delbec, Dubois, Tingry, d'Hauterive, Massey, and all the chiefs of that body of the royalists, were taken and secured. When we reflect that the expedition under lord Moira ended in the loss of more than a thousand of our men by sickness, the landing and quartering of several thousand Hessians on the Hampshire coast, and the apparent annihilation of the force it was fitted out to support, it was but a mournful solace to be left in doubt whether the failure arose from the want of foresight, intelligence, energy, or sincerity of those who projected it.

1794. The success of the republicans seems not to have been confined to particular spots or occasions. The Spaniards, who, upon the taking of Toulon, had been very industrious in issuing manifestoes, to invite all Frenchmen to imitate the example of the Toulonese, suffered repeated checks and defeats. So little attention was paid to the protection of our trade, that, in the course of ten or twelve days, sixty prizes were carried into Cherburg, Morlaix, and Brest; which gave occasion to the observation of Maland, who reported the captures to the convention, that, "In truth it seems as if the English were determined to pay the whole expences of the war." The abandonment of the lines of Weissembourg, the raising of the siege of Landau, and the crossing of the Rhine by the combined armies, produced a most important change of affairs in favour of the French; in consequence of which, the Austrian general Wurmser was removed from his command by the court of Vienna; and the duke of Brunswick resigned the command of the Prussian army, in which he was succeeded by general Mollendorf. It is notorious that the duke of Brunswick on this occasion differed from all the Austrian generals, and loudly protested against the disgraceful measures of retiring without risking a battle. A general engagement took place, which proved unsuccessful. Upon this, as upon most occasions of a similar nature, the misfortune was reciprocally cast upon the commanders of the different powers. However mysterious or suspicious the conduct of the duke may have been in the first disgraceful campaign against France, where he acted under the immediate eye of the king of Prussia, it is certain, that in this last conflict with the enemy he manifested a zeal, activity, and bravery, which, on this day at least, were not found in the commanders of the Austrians. Their main body had been thrown into confusion, and the French had possessed themselves of some heights, so as completely to cut off their retreat. The duke, sword in hand, with infinite presence of mind, though not without uncommon exertions, rallied the discomfited Austrians, and led them on against the enemy, whom they dislodged from the heights, and thus secured the important, though never sufficiently prized, advantage of a regular and orderly retreat.

In the house of lords, lord Stair moved the address to his majesty upon the speech, and was seconded by lord Auckland. In the debate, lord Spencer and lord Mansfield were particularly forward and pointed in approving of the war, and consequently were for the address. Lord Guildford, the duke of Norfolk, and lord Lansdowne, were those who spoke most strongly against it. Upon the division, there appeared only 12 for the amendment to the address, which had been

proposed by the earl of Guildford,—against it 97. In the commons, lord Clifden moved the address of thanks, and was seconded by sir Peter Burrell. The debate chiefly consisted of the speeches of lord Mornington, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Pitt, who very strenuously supported the necessity of the war, and attempted to prove its successful prosecution, in reply to Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, who violently reprobated it, as unjust, unnecessary, and unsuccessful. Mr. Fox moved an amendment to the address, upon which the house divided, 57 against 277.

From this and all the subsequent debates in both houses of parliament, during the remaining part of the session, it clearly appears that the reason, motive, or pretext, for the conduct of the former friends of Mr. Fox, was founded upon the alarming danger of our country from insurrection at home, and the necessity of the war against France, for the preservation of our religion, laws, liberties, and constitution. In proportion to the strength of every man's conviction must he necessarily wonder at the difference of others from him upon a subject equally open to the information of both. Hence arises the difficulty of speaking with moderation and temper upon subjects that appear to carry conviction little short of mathematical demonstration. The secession of so many from the Whig party, who had, for the last ten years, uniformly and steadily opposed the administration of Mr. Pitt, was a circumstance of too deep importance to the nation to be passed over in silence. Their ground or pretext for seceding was certainly new, and did not exist at the beginning nor during the greater part of Mr. Pitt's administration. From the nature and structure of our constitution, an opposition to the ministry of the day must always exist; but it becomes a personal insult to suppose that any man opposes the measures of his majesty's servants, upon other grounds than that the principles or actions of the ministers are dangerous to the state, or hostile to the constitution. A change of opinion may certainly take place in any man, and with that change an honest man alters his conduct. The worst of ministers may propose and bring forward a measure, which his most strenuous and upright opponent may be under a strict obligation to approve; but whilst his conviction lasts, of the unconstitutional principles upon which a particular administration is founded and supported, probity and integrity desert him at the moment in which he gives his support to such a system.

The duke of Portland, who succeeded the late marquis of Rockingham in heading the respectable Whig party, which once commanded a large portion of the national esteem and confidence, when he first gave his support to the war against France, had the caution to declare in the house of lords, that it was not on account of any personal attachment to the present administration that he supported it. He could not forget the manner in which they came into power; he could not forget the many circumstances in their conduct, by which, in his opinion, they had forfeited all title to the confidence of the nation; he could not forget that to their misconduct many of our present difficulties were owing. What the father so openly and unequivocally avowed in the house of lords, the son, within a very short time, professed more strongly and emphatically in the house of commons; "My political sentiments and attachments," said the marquis of Tichfield, "remain the same they ever have been. My opinion of the gentlemen who compose the present administration is in no respect altered; but I feel the dangers which surround us, and the necessity, in that case, of giving to government such support as may enable it to act with effect; a support, therefore, directed to that end, and governed by those considerations, is that which I mean to afford. The bill under consideration I conceive to be one of those measures, and therefore it should have my support. But in declaring those intentions, which, as I have already said, were formed on my opinion of the crisis in which the country stands—a crisis which I must attribute, in a great measure, to the misconduct of the present ministry. I cannot too explicitly declare, that in no other respect can I give them any share of my confidence; and I cannot too openly avow my attachment to those principles and connexions with which I have had the happiness of entering into public life, and to which it is my sincere wish for ever to adhere."

These explanatory avowals of the father and son in their respective houses of parliament, were evidently made to prevent that

confusion of error in the public mind, against which it is the duty of the annalist of their subsequent conduct to guard his readers. They were old and deeply-rooted sentiments, not to be torn up even with the violence of a hurricane, much less removed by the transient blasts of flattery, deceit, or corruption. His grace, in the year 1784, on the 31st of January, wrote from Devonshire-house to those country-gentlemen who then wished him to coalesce with Mr. Pitt,—*I believe you will agree, that the continuance of the present ministry, and the honour of the house of commons, are not very easily reconcileable.* And again, within three days, he farther assured the same gentlemen, who pressed him to a confidential conference with Mr. Pitt, as the representative of the existing administration, *If I had done this, I must have fallen in your esteem (which I assure you is a very serious object to me) as I should have shewn myself insensible of what is due to the house of commons.*

When Mr. Pitt moved, in a committee of the whole house, "That it was the opinion of the committee, that 85,000 men be granted to his majesty for the sea-service, for the year 1794, including 12,115 marines." Mr. Fox rose, not to oppose the motion, for he believed it to be generally agreed, that if the war were to be persisted in, it ought to be carried on with vigour and energy, particularly in the naval department; but to enquire in what manner our navy had been employed, and our trade had been protected. In the course of this desultory debate, a very material fact was brought forward by Mr. Sheridan respecting the situation of Halifax. Mr. Dundas, in the last session, had contradicted a statement made by lord Wycombe, of the defenceless situation of Halifax, and had asserted that there were at least 4000 men left to defend it. It now appeared, contrary to the assertion of the right honourable secretary, from accounts as late as the 7th of the preceding month of December, that the trade of that place had no protection, that it was utterly unprovided with the means of defence in case of an attack, and that the inhabitants were in the utmost alarm; having only one frigate at Halifax, two companies of artillery, two of infantry, and 300 volunteers unfit for any service. The absence of Mr. Dundas deprived the house of any explanation or retractation upon this important matter. Mr. alderman Anderson undertook to answer for the merchants trading to the Baltic, that they were highly satisfied with the protection afforded to the trade, and the punctuality of convoys; and Mr. Brandling even went to the extent of asserting, that the people of Newcastle never found such protection afforded to trade in any former war. Neither the right honourable secretary, the alderman, nor the member for Newcastle, were publicly called upon to prove their statements.

Never has there occurred, in the annals of the British history, so much unanimity in parliament, upon any system of measures, as for that carried on by Mr. Pitt for the prosecution of the war against republican France. Never consequently did an opposition act upon purer convictions of their rectitude than on the present occasion. Their numbers dwindled to absolute insignificancy; prosolytism profusely recompensed; secession no longer vilified; the nation beheld them struggling against every advantage of power, of opulence, of patronage; against the opinions of the people, the frowns of royalty, the malevolence of long-rooted enmities, and the keener rancour of newly lost friendships.

The landing of several thousand Hessian troops on the coast of Hampshire, and retaining them in quarters, were circumstances that alarmed the opponents of the war, as violent encroachments of the crown upon the liberties of the subject; and Mr. Grey moved in the house of commons, "that to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into this kingdom, without the consent of parliament first had and obtained, is contrary to law." To such an unaccountable degree of alarm had the *justice* and *necessity* of this war been impressed upon the minds of its newly-converted advocates, that upon this abstracted constitutional question, Mr. serjeant Adair was the only one of them sufficiently honest to approve of the principle and truth of the motion; though, to terminate the discussion, he moved for the previous question. The metaphysics of Mr. Wyndham, and the constitutional independence of Mr. Powys, broke forth into uncommon exertions to prove the legality of the measure; and the law officer of the crown, Mr. attorney-general, though he said that he should not enter fully

into the discussion of this great constitutional question, upon which those only would pronounce readily who considered rashly; yet in going over the precedents that had been brought forward by different speakers, he positively concluded, that, in the case then before the house, nothing had been done illegal, unconstitutional, or in violation of the declaration of rights and the act of settlement. The members of the opposition acquiesced in the actual landing of the sickly Hessians upon our coasts, under the existing circumstances; but they called for a bill to indemnify ministers for having done the act, which, it should hereafter be clearly understood, ought not to have been done without the consent of parliament. For this the young earl of Albemarle made a motion in the house of lords, and accompanied it with a speech that insured to his country the flattering promise of the most able and steady support of the constitution in its genuine purity. Leave was given to bring in the bill, which was read a first time; it was strenuously opposed by lord Spencer; not indeed upon the demerits of the question, but upon the inexpediency of the measure; he was perhaps aware that it might indirectly censure that system which he had so recently pledged himself to support.

The debate in the house of lords assumed a different turn from that which had occurred in the house of commons. Here the landing of foreign troops, without the consent of parliament, was admitted to be illegal by the whole house, excepting lord Auckland. As he had been the very earliest convert to Mr. Pitt's political sentiments, so was he resolved to prove the sincerity of his convictions, by an unlimited devotion to his entire creed; he blushed not in the face of his old and his new friends, in defiance of the unanimous consent of the whole house of peers, like an upright, unshaken, and incorruptible patriot, to profess, without hesitation, his decided opinion, that *it is constitutional and legal for the king to introduce foreign troops, in time of war, into this country, without the previous consent of parliament.* Notwithstanding this general sense of the house against the illegality of the measure, the bill of indemnity to ministers was thrown out, by carrying the motion for the previous question; twelve only were found in the minority. A striking instance of the predetermined resolution of parliament to support every measure brought forward by the minister; where the same measure was supported by a decided majority of the commons, who held it to be *legal and constitutional*, as by the lords, who held it unanimously (except lord Auckland) to be *illegal and unconstitutional.* The same fate attended every question that was brought before either house of parliament during the session. Thus ended the debates upon the army-estimates, in which the late campaign was maintained to have been uncommonly successful; thus concluded Mr. Fox's motion for referring to a committee, an enquiry into the protection given to the trade of his majesty's subjects, by convoy or otherwise, during the war. A readiness to meet enquiry was heretofore deemed the strongest presumption of innocence. This question too concerned the war, and therefore carried with it the whole tide of Mr. Pitt's former friends, as well as the intermingled stream of his new alliance. The house of commons voted the protection sufficient for the trade; and the minister, to give sanction to their vote, effectually rendered the protection daily more sufficient, by rendering the objects of protection less numerous; of this lamentable truth the blank lists at Lloyd's exhibited above eight hundred instances, in so many captured vessels, after the commencement of hostilities. Thus also terminated the marquis of Lansdowne's motion for peace with France, which was preceded by a speech of great length and of greater eloquence, energy, and information; the wonderful powers of this great statesman brought forth the duke of Grafton in support of the motion, after a recess from politics of more than twenty years. Very unusual attention was paid to both their speeches; many personal compliments were made to both of them by their opponents, and the minority divided, as usual, in favour of ministers. Thus, in a word, ended Mr. Sheridan's motion on the unprotected state of Nova Scotia. He wished to comply with the two duties which he owed to his constituents; that of preserving them from war, which he had already attempted, and that of seeing that the supplies voted for prosecuting the war were faithfully and diligently applied; and this he proposed by moving for the present enquiry. A very animated debate ensued, in

which the minister was closely pressed with his constant reluctance and dread to meet fair enquiry; to which he angrily replied, "that though he admitted the right of enquiry, he denied the expediency of it where overbalanced by the proposed good; and upon that principle he dissented from the present motion."

The war with France was now become a new scene of political attraction, connected with every question that could be stirred without or moved within the senate. The condemnation of Messrs. Muir and Palmer for fourteen years to Botany Bay, had so affected the mind and feelings of lord Stanhope, that he brought forward a motion in the house of lords, praying his majesty not to carry the sentence into execution, until that house had made a proper enquiry into the justice of all the proceedings against them. The duke of Norfolk said, "that if the points stated and complained by the noble earl, had been brought before them by petition, and supported by affidavit, he should have thought it his duty to go into the enquiry; but they could not, by the rules of the house, entertain the question as brought forward in the motion." Mr. Sheridan, in the commons, presented a petition from Mr. Palmer, humbly representing that the petitioner was suffering under what he conceived to be an illegal judgment of the court of justiciary of Scotland, from which there was no appeal to any other court of justice, and praying such relief, as to the wisdom of the house should seem meet. The chancellor of the exchequer objected against a petition being received, which prayed the interposition of that house between the sentence of a competent court and the execution of that sentence. The regular mode of proceeding would be to petition the crown for mercy. Being, however, pressed by Mr. Fox not to give so deep a wound to the constitution, as a refusal to hear the petition; as it was an universal principle, that a petition may be presented to the king in parliament, in other words, to the legislature, against the decision of any court of justice from which there was, by law, no appeal to any other court, he hesitated, and desired that the question might be adjourned; and, after having been better informed, he profited of the warning of Mr. Fox, and consented to its being brought up: it was, however, of no avail to the unfortunate petitioner, who was soon after shipped off with his fellow-sufferer for the place of his banishment. In the course of these debates many facts were advanced, and not contradicted, though they were alleged to be informally brought forward, respecting the proceedings of Messrs. Muir and Palmer's trials. Such were the admission of evidence to charges not contained in the indictment, and the over-ruling of the strongest challenges of several of the jurors.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

GEORGE III.

[1794.]

Debates on employing Foreign Officers in the British Service—State of the Continental Armies—Operations in the West Indies—Duplicity of the King of Prussia—Military Operations—Arrival of the Emperor at Brabant—Military Operations in the vicinity of Brussels.

IN the course of the debates in parliament, major Maitland made a motion in the house of commons, that an account be laid before that house of any officers, natives of foreign countries, now in service under the command of the earl of Moira, and receiving British pay. It was seconded by Mr. Grey, who maintained, that such officers could not be employed without the authority of parliament. Mr. secretary Dundas insisted upon the necessity of the earl of Moira using his discretion, and suppressing the names of any officers he might have under his command. The motion was negatived without a division. It had, however, the good effect, some time after, of procuring from the earl of Moira, in the house of lords, more certain and satisfactory information of his expedition to the coast of France than the public had hitherto possessed. His lordship gave a very candid, manly, and satisfactory detail of the reasons and circumstances under which he found it necessary to employ French officers and artillerists; and very pathetically entreated the house not to call for and publish the names of the officers, on account of their relatives in France, upon whom the vengeance of the executive government would probably fall, if their names were made public. On this occasion, the noble lord took an opportunity to detail some of the circumstances which related to his expedition to the coast of France. It appears that the original scheme and opportunity of succouring the royalists, whilst it was feasible, had been, by the delay or neglect of ministers, irretrievably lost. His lordship had kept himself in constant readiness to undertake it. At last, on the 17th of November, he received his orders, and was himself ready at Portsmouth on the 22nd; his lordship attributed the delay of embarking till the 1st of December to the wind and weather, which prevented the frigates from coming round. He farther vouched for the ministers having received, on the 25th of November, by emissaries from the army of the royalists near Dol, on the coast of Brittany, all the signals that were to be made upon the arrival of the English fleet, to point the spot in which they were to make the descent. These emissaries had left the army on the 10th of November; consequently the orders to sail, which were only prevented by wind and weather, were given without any signals or certainty where the landing was to be effected. They arrived, however, in time to make every advantage of them, in six days before the sailing of the fleet. On the 2nd of December, at day-break, they made the coast of Cherbourg, and sailed along the coast for several days, without any signal being made; then, in obedience to the orders he had received, he proceeded to Guernsey. Whilst he resided there, he sent many emissaries to the army of the royalists, and by them first learned that they had, on the 14th of November, made an attack upon Granville, and, having been defeated, had retired

to the banks of the Loire. All the French journalists, however, confessed that a large column had directed its course towards Caen in Normandy. A violent storm happening, and Guernsey roads being deemed unsafe, a part of the fleet was under the necessity of leaving them. On account of the information received relative to a column of royalists being on their march to Caen, he conceived it his duty to attempt to co-operate with them, expecting that the fleet which had left Guernsey roads would have been hovering about the mouth of Portsmouth harbour, instead of having cast anchor. It was then, however, that he learned the final disappointment of the project of the royalist army.

The abandonment of lord Moira's expedition to the coast of France, seems to have alarmed our government for the safety of their own. So prevalent were the rumours of a threatened invasion, that the grand council of war, at which the famed colonel Mack assisted, was believed to be convened on this subject. Both the duke of York and colonel Mack had been present at the grand council of war, which was held at Brussels in the beginning of this month, at which also were present the prince of Cobourg, Clairfait, Colloredo, Seckendorf, and Walmoden. Soon after this council, both colonel Mack and his royal highness, who had arrived in England on the 8th of the month, returned to the continent. The whole prospect of success for the ensuing campaign depended upon the confidence in colonel Mack.

The French army under Pichegru began their grand movement by marching a column of 70,000 men against Valenciennes, whilst two other columns marched, one towards Le Quesnoy, the other to Marchiennes. His whole army was said to consist of 140,000 men. At the same time, another army of 65,000 men marched into the duchy of Luxembourg, and seemed to threaten the principality of Liege, where internal tranquillity had never been perfectly restored, since the last evacuation of it by the French.

To a reflecting mind it is a matter of more than curious speculation, to pass in review the immense armies that were now in actual movement, either for the purpose of attaining one fixed and general, or several particular objects of the war. By the most authentic accounts we find, at this period, the republican armies of France amounting to the enormous number of 780,000 effective men, viz. :—

	MEN.
The army of the north - -	220,000
The united armies of the Rhine and Moselle - - - - -	280,000
The army of the Alps - -	60,000
The army of the Eastern Pyrenees	80,000
The army of the south - -	60,000
The army of the west - -	80,000
Total	780,000

It is also to be noticed, that this immense swarm of troops was brought into the field without having recourse to the men of the second requisition. On the other hand, without reckoning the forces of Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, or Naples, we find the following statement of the combined forces brought into the field to act against the French in the north and on the Rhine, viz. :—

	MEN.
Army under prince Cobourg -	140,000
Army under the duke of York -	40,000
The Dutch army - - -	20,000
Austrian army on the Rhine -	60,000
Prussian army on the Rhine -	64,000
Troops of the empire - -	20,000
Emigrant corps under prince Condé	12,000
Total	356,000

To these numerous armies must be also added the forces of the royal party in La Vendée, as well as those British and Hessian troops which were destined, under lord Moira, to co-operate with them. These armed royalists, though their numbers cannot be precisely ascertained, may be said to be the only part of the combined armies who had a determinate object in view, which even success in their exertions could attain. For it is obvious, that if a counter-revolution in France were the real object of this mighty confederacy of armed princes, the efforts of the royalists alone could effect it. The reluctance, inertness, and indecision of our cabinet, and their reluctance to invigorate and protect this party, were regarded by the opposition as strong proofs of their insincerity in forwarding the cause they had undertaken. It is not by the actual situation or appearances

of the royalists at any particular given time, that the policy or possibility of our co-operating with them is to be judged. We find from the report of Barrere, that their force was reduced almost to 7000 men, at the very time that lord Moira was waiting to co-operate with them at Guernsey; and so convinced did the French nation then appear to be, of the absolute extinction of the party, that the reporter expressly stated, from the committee of public welfare, "that they expect it will be the last time that they shall speak to the convention of that disgraceful part of the republic."

His imperial majesty delivered in at the diet at Ratisbon, a note to demand the sense of the German states, respecting the necessity of arming all the inhabitants on the frontiers of Germany, and of furnishing a triple contingent on the part of the said states; and, as chief of the empire, he requested the advice of his co-estates, not only respecting the general arming of the inhabitants of the Germanic frontiers, but also the means of coercion to be employed against such of the members as had not fulfilled the obligations imposed upon them by the decree of the diet of the 23rd of November, 1792, for effecting the supply of their triple contingents. Those states were reluctant to enter into this armed confederacy; they could discover in it no general object of advantage, nor were they allured to it by particular views of present or future interest. The general arming of the Germanic frontiers would have been a measure too effectual to stop the further progress of the French, to have answered the treacherous designs of the king of Prussia; he accordingly opposed it in the diet, and published a manifesto of his reasons for it. Sensible, however, that his conduct since the commencement of hostilities would neither stand the impartial test of scrutiny, nor render plausible any further treachery, he had recourse to the last stale excuses of hypocrisy, self-proclaimed innocence, and purity of intention. In a declaration which he delivered to the states of the interior circles, assembled at Francfort, he said, that, "confident that his designs were pure, he might pass over such rumours, and content himself with the conviction, that they would find no belief on the part of the well-disposed states of the empire; but to give an overplus of satisfaction, and to confound the malevolent who invent similar stories purposely, and perhaps to excite distress, his majesty declared that, whilst he made war upon the French, he had never any view but the defence of the Germanic empire, and the maintenance of the constitution.

The only quarter of the globe in which the British arms appeared to promise any degree of success, was in the West Indies; and there also the progress of our conquests seemed to be carried on upon a new principle of negotiation and treachery, rather than by the open and honourable means of public hostility. It appears that, on the 9th of the month, the commander of the British forces had written from St. Jeremie to La Vaux, the French commander at Port de Paix, not only to induce him to surrender the town and forts, upon false representations of the state and disasters of the French republic, but had also offered him, in the name of the British government, a bribe of 5000 crowns French money, to be paid to him in person, or deposited in the bank of England. The offer of this paltry sum, of about 600 guineas, roused the indignation of the republican governor, who rejected the offer with scorn; and he complained loudly of the indignity offered to him personally, in the following manner;—"Permit me now to complain to yourself of the indignity you have offered me in thinking me so vile, so flagitious, so base, as not to resent the offer of 5000 crowns Turnois. In this you have wronged yourself. I am a general; hitherto I have been worthy to command an army. You have endeavoured to dishonour me in the eyes of my comrades: this is an offence between you and me, for which you owe me satisfaction; I demand it in the name of honour, which must exist among all nations. Therefore, previous to any general action, I offer you a single combat, till either of us fall, leaving to you the choice of arms, either on foot or horseback; then, if victorious, I shall have proved myself worthy to command republicans; if I fall gloriously, the republican army will have another leader, still more formidable, and every individual in the army will imitate my example. Your quality of enemy in the name of your nation, did not give you a right to offer me a personal insult; as a private person I ask satisfaction for an injury done me by an individual."

A PAPER had been issued from the treasury, recommending to the people to stand forth and assist the executive government by voluntary subscriptions. A part of the proposed plan was brought forward by the minister for the increase of the militia. Mr. Baker said in the house of commons, that the measure was by no means adequate to the purpose for which it was avowedly brought forward. It was said to be a provision for the danger which threatened the country; if the danger were imminent, our force ought to be equal to it; but, above all, the provision made against the danger should be *legal*. Voluntary subscriptions, and the unparliamentary application of them, were *illegal*; parliament was the only *legal* organ of the country, through which the people should consent to the carrying on any measure, which was ultimately to be paid for out of the public purse. Mr. Fox also strenuously opposed this measure of voluntary contributions, as absolutely illegal, and super-eminently dangerous to the constitution. Two of the advocates for the war, Messrs. Adair and Powys, had the candour and firmness on this occasion to join with Messrs. Baker and Fox, in declaring it to be illegal to raise men by voluntary subscriptions, without the consent of parliament. Upon this subject, lord Lauderdale, in the house of peers, prefaced, by a very learned and animated discourse, the following motion:—"That it is a dangerous and unconstitutional measure, for the people of this country to grant to the executive government any private aid, benevolence, or subscription for public purposes, without the consent of parliament. The motion was violently opposed by lords Grenville and Hawkesbury, and others who contended for the legality of the measure. The motion was dismissed by the previous question, on which the chancellor made a very elaborate speech, the general purport of which was to prove, that the reality of the fact was not before the house. He was wary of committing himself upon the illegality of such a measure as was described or alluded to in the motion; but asserted, that whatever had been done by ministers, respecting these voluntary contributions, from the issuing of the circular letters from the secretary of state to the lords lieutenant, down to the county meetings that had been convened in consequence of them, was *legal, constitutional, expedient*, and *proper*. Yet the late lord Camden had declared, that the opening of private subscriptions, for raising men at the London Tavern in 1778, was *daringly illegal and truly alarming*; and that the committees, both at London and Bristol, for raising money, to be disposed of as his majesty should think fit, *had assumed a legislative power, and had acted in that capacity in which the parliament only were empowered to act, agreeably to the spirit of the constitution, and the meaning of the bill of rights*. Of the like sentiment was Mr. Wilkes, on the 2nd of April 1778, when he said, that nothing could be more alarming to the acknowledged rights and privileges of the house of commons than the doctrines lately propagated, and the practice begun of *giving aids, benevolences, and subscriptions for public purposes, to the crown, without the sanction of parliament*.

THE minister, when he was first pressed by Mr. Sheridan, in the house of commons, to communicate to them the recommendations from the secretary of state to the lords lieutenant of the different counties, upon this subject of voluntary subscriptions, peremptorily refused; but, upon maturer reflection, he at last consented: and, upon several of the members expressing, with warmth and astonishment, their indignation at the insult offered to that house, in being postponed to every county meeting in the consultations upon the propriety, means, and necessity of raising men for the defence of the state, the chancellor of the exchequer replied, that it was his intention to lay the whole of what had been done before the house in a message from the throne, the next day. This mode of anticipating the opinion of the house of commons, and pledging to the public their subsequent assent was peculiar to Mr. Pitt's administration. It certainly was no conclusive proof of the minister's deference for the opinion of the house of commons, however it may justify a fair presumption of their acquiescence in every proposition that he might bring forward.

His majesty's message to the two houses of parliament, which Mr. Pitt had promised, was conceived in general terms, and did not hint at any voluntary subscription for raising men. His majesty thought proper to acquaint the house, that for the purpose of more

effectually guarding against the attempts of the enemy to execute their projected design of invading the kingdom; he had augmented his land forces, sundry parts of which he was to assemble in different parts of the kingdom, where it might be necessary; and he relied upon the cordial support of his parliament, and the zeal and affection of his people, that they would co-operate with him in such measures as might be necessary for the general security. It tended, however, to deepen the impression of a French invasion. The address to his majesty upon his gracious message was opposed in both houses upon the same grounds; the words objected to in the address were, *just and necessary war*. The grand object of the minister was, to impress upon the minds of the people so strong a dread and alarm of foreign invasion, as to assent to the necessity of these most extraordinary measures. No subject was so warmly debated during the session, as the legality of these voluntary subscriptions. From the expressions employed in the course of the debates by several members, it appeared evident, that although they thought this method of raising men illegal and unconstitutional; yet they conceived themselves committed to support every possible question of the minister, and therefore they satisfied their scruples by voting for the previous question.

The earl of Stanhope summoned the lords to appear on a particular day, on which he meant to bring forward a motion, that to him appeared of the highest national consequence. He had noticed in the preceding week an observation in that house, that if it were possible to engage any considerable number of Frenchmen to excite an insurrection or rebellion in France against the national convention, no possible expence which it could cost this country ought to be spared, and that it was a measure which ought to be adopted by the British government. This appeared to his lordship so abhorrent of all true policy, to genuine religion and even to common humanity; so contrary to the principles of civilized war, and so outrageous to all the feelings that ought to govern the conduct of a people, that he thought it his duty to vindicate the character of the nation from the horror of the sentiment, and to disclaim it by a solemn parliamentary act, declaring it "to be felony, without benefit of clergy, to make any attempts to engage Frenchmen, or others, to stir up rebellion or insurrection in France, or to interfere at all in the internal concerns of that nation." This motion, like most others of this noble earl's, was negatived without a division. The earl of Mansfield was the peer who made the observation, and he avowed and gloried in it. Lord Grenville admired his noble friend, for acknowledging with becoming dignity a sentiment, to which he was surprised that any one should object. Though the decision of the house of peers be in certain cases conclusive as a supreme court of judicature, it does not in all its acts command this undeniable authority. There were many respectable *Englishmen*, who thought with the earl of Stanhope, that open hostilities cannot justify the encouragement of the crime of treason and rebellion: that the shedding or causing the shedding of blood in the massacres and assassinations inseparable from insurrections and commotions, is not justifiable either by the law of God or man: that in the line of morality, the Creator, who has given to man the power of locomotion, and confined his residence to no given spot upon earth, has imposed upon all human beings, a consciousness and indispensable obligation of *obeying the powers that are* in every community in which they may find themselves. In a word, that hired missionaries for destroying government by blood, rapine and terror, would be as little honourable to Great Britain, as Jean de Brie's proposed list of twelve hundred pensioned regicides to be dispersed throughout Europe, for the purpose of raising insurrections and commotions in every state, by the massacre of their sovereigns.

At this time many new and peculiar reasons arose to prevent our cabinet from applying with any degree of confidence to his majesty of Prussia; for even ministers began, though tardily and reluctantly, to believe that his Prussian majesty was withdrawing himself from the grand confederacy against the French republic, meaning only to furnish as elector of Brandenburg, his contingent of twelve or fifteen thousand men for the defence of the empire. The turn and situation of affairs which gave occasion to the duke of Brunswick's resignation, and prompted him to write the before-cited letter to the king of Prussia, subjected his majesty to the necessity of attempting many measures, either the

more plausibly to disguise his pretended project, or the more effectually to forward his real designs. He first demanded of the diet of Ratisbon the payment of a considerable sum of money, which he feigned to be due to him by the German empire, on account of the assistance he had given to it in the war at the time of the Spanish succession. He then wrote to the elector of Mentz to convene the six frontier circles, to induce them to undertake the provisioning of his army, which he must otherwise immediately withdraw from the defence of the empire. Immediately after this a negociation at Francfort between French commissioners and some Prussian officers gave grounds for a report, that the exchange of prisoners was neither the only nor the chief object of their mission. The French commissioners on this occasion made a more open and pompous entry into Francfort, than they had done on any other occasion since the establishment of the republic; they used a sumptuous carriage of the late king, Louis, on which they had painted the cap of liberty over the ancient escutcheon of the fleurs de lys. The important negociations between the Prussian and Austrian ministers at Vienna, had broken off, upon the peremptory refusal of the latter to accede to the exorbitant demands of the former, though they were seconded and supported by the British minister. His Prussian majesty now declared to the Germanic body, "that having fulfilled all his obligations as ally and co-member, and perceiving that the court of Vienna and diet of Ratisbon had misinterpreted his intentions, and declined complying with his just demands, he found himself in the present state of things, under the necessity of withdrawing and recalling into his own states the surplus of the contingent of 20,000 men; which he was obliged by virtue of the treaty of alliance, and as prince of the empire to employ against the common enemy." He accordingly gave orders for the whole of his army (except these 20,000 men) to quit the environs of Mentz, and march towards Cologne. It is remarkable, that this corps of 20,000 men was left under the command of general Kalkreuth, who was the person that negociated with the French commissioners at Francfort.

The different circumstances which occasioned the defection of the Prussian monarch from the general confederacy, seem to have inspired the neutral states of Europe to speak a more decisive language than they had hitherto dared to use, upon the subjects of their own independency, and the unalienable rights of neutrality. The causes which provoked their resentment and indignation so particularly against our government, were certainly neither few nor trivial. By the directions of our cabinet, nearly 250 vessels of Sweden and Denmark had been seized, under pretence of preventing supplies being carried to France: and from the latest American accounts, which were conveyed in a very angry tone, it appeared that between two and three hundred of their ships had been captured by our cruizers and privateers, amongst the Windward and Leeward islands, independent of those carried into Jamaica and the Bahama islands, as well as of those brought into our ports in Europe. As the natural and unavoidable consequence of such outrages upon the independent rights of neutrality, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden and Venice entered into a negociation for maintaining the rights of nations against the insults and encroachments of the belligerent powers; and to this confederacy they invited the states of America, Florence, Genoa, and all others who had suffered from the insolence and tyranny of any of the powers at war. Our cabinet openly abandoned the principles upon which the greatest part of their vessels were captured; and their Danish and Swedish majesties entered into a convention, for the common defence of the liberty and safety of the Danish and Swedish commerce and navigation. It was to last during the war, and to be supported and enforced by arms and reprisals, in case of need.

In America, frequent and heavy complaints were made to congress, of the injuries suffered in their trade by almost every state of the Union. Their president, Mr. Washington, stated to congress at the beginning of this month, "that the secretary of state had reported to him upon the several complaints which had been lodged in his office, against the vexations and spoliations on their commerce since the commencement of the European war, a copy of which report he submitted to their consideration." Six days after this statement, the congress passed a resolution for laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports of the United States, whether already cleared out or not, bound to any foreign port or place for the

term of thirty days. These different acts of different states fully bespoke their sense of the conduct of Great Britain towards them.

The armies in Flanders were, during the greatest part of this month (April) absolutely inactive; not only the indecision and differences of the generals, but the unprecedented prevalence of disease in the different corps at this time, prevented any active operations. The general returns of the sick and wounded in the Austrian army in Brabant alone, amounted to the incredible number of 23,400 men. General Clairfait however, attempted an attack upon one of the enemy's columns, which seemed to be threatening Maritime Flanders; he failed in the attempt, and was so closely pressed by the French in his retreat, that he was driven to the destructive measure of inundating the country around Furnes. Some time after this, a very unfortunate circumstance happened, as one of the many fatal consequences of want of union in the allied cabinets and armies. A general council of war was convened at Ath, in which general Haddick, from Vienna, brought forward the plans of the ensuing campaign, as settled by that court. One part of these plans was, that general Clairfait should command the advanced army over the duke of York. To this his royal highness peremptorily objected: serious discussions took place; and notwithstanding the warmest efforts of prince Charles and lord Elgin to intermediate, personal altercations arose to such a height, that the duke of York declared the British troops should not act till he had taken the directions of his court. Lord Elgin, accordingly, after a long conference with his royal highness, set off for England. The duke insisted upon continuing commander in chief of the British troops under prince Cobourg; and as he never did afterwards act under general Clairfait, it is to be presumed, either that the settlement of the plans by the court of Vienna was made without any attention to the interests or councils of that of St. James's; or, that the imperial ministers had even then some pecuniary or subsidiary views, in giving up an object of so much importance to the success of the campaign.

Our successes were multiplied in the western quarter of the globe by the capture of Tiberoon, by colonel Whitelock, and the surrender of the united parishes of Leogane and Arcalahaye, and Jean de Rabel, in the island of St. Domingo. Flushed with these accounts of our foreign successes, Mr. Pitt pledged himself to the house of commons, that, *except in the single instance of Dunkirk, he was ready to maintain, that the British arms had been eminently successful.* Upon the strength then of these imaginary successes, did it become the fashion of the day, to treat with levity and disdain the defection of the Prussian monarch from the general confederacy. It was, however, found necessary for the expectation and satisfaction of the public, that the principal character should not be wholly withdrawn from the piece. A negociation was now opened with the king of Prussia, for the purchase of a body of his troops to be taken into British pay, and employed against France. By the first article of this treaty between the king of Prussia, the king of Great Britain and the states general of the United Provinces, his Prussian majesty engaged to furnish an army, which should be composed of sixty-two thousand four hundred men, to be under a Prussian commander, to act most suitably to the interests of the maritime powers; to arrive at the place of their destination on the 24th day of May 1794, or sooner if possible; and to be completely provided with field-pieces and carriages, and also with tents and military equipments necessary for taking the field.

The terms which this treaty uses to express the motives which induced his Prussian majesty to demand the subsidy or salary, are worthy of notice.—*In order to facilitate to his Prussian majesty the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the sentiments of zeal and concern with which he is animated for the common cause.* The treaty was made to last only during the year 1794, from the day of its date (April 14th, 1794); and the following payments were to be made to him, viz. £300,000 for starting, and £100,000 for returning to the Prussian territories; £50,000 subsidy to be paid monthly; and another monthly payment of £1 12s. per man, for the bread and forage of this mercenary army. The whole payment therefore, for eight months and a half, amounted to about the sum of £1,675,000 sterling: of this sum, Holland bound herself by a separate treaty to pay £400,000 as her quota of the whole subsidy. So well satisfied indeed were the contracting

powers with the advantageous terms of this treaty, that, although their high mightinesses pleaded their want of power to extend it beyond the current year, yet it was stipulated by a separate article, that their Britannic and Prussian majesties, being desirous to continue the effect of the aforesaid agreement until the end of the war, might enter into further concert, as well between themselves as with their high mightinesses, for the renewal of the present treaty for so long as the war should last, on the same conditions as are therein declared with respect to the troops, to their employment, and to the payment of the aforesaid subsidies, as well as to the providing bread and forage.

His imperial majesty came into Brabant to take upon himself the command of his army, under the immediate advice and direction of colonel Mack. His arrival in the Netherlands, and his inauguration as duke of Brabant, seemed to diffuse cordial joy, affection, and loyalty through all ranks of his people; the personal affability and condescension of his general conduct seemed to have secured him a renovation of that popularity, which had been so prodigally lavished upon the much-loved and revered Maria Theresa. During his stay at Brussels, he was very assiduous in attending to the real case and situation of the Netherlands; his consultations with his different ministers, Metternich, Trautmansdorf, and the chancellor Limpens, were almost daily; and before he went to the armies, his imperial majesty is reported to have declared to count Colloredo, that he had been deceived by every person, concerning the Brabanters, excepting his brother, prince Charles, and Metternich.

The emperor's arrival at the army diffused a general glow of confidence and ardour through the lines; and the frequent passing and repassing of artillery and ammunition appeared to announce the immediate siege of all the French frontier towns at the same time. The French general, however, was so far from being inactive, that, by the constant employment he afforded to the different commanders against whom he was acting, none of them could venture to quit their posts for the purpose of attending the imperial inauguration at Brussels. The first movement of our troops, after his imperial majesty had reviewed them on the heights near Cateau in Cambresis, was in eight different columns, preparatory to a general attack upon the enemy's lines, for the ultimate purpose of investing the small town of Landrecies. The attack succeeded completely, and with trivial loss on the part of the combined armies. "The signal success that attended these extensive and complicated operations has," said the duke of York in his despatches, "determined his imperial majesty to begin immediately the siege of Landrecies; and therefore the hereditary prince of Orange, who will have the direction of the siege, has moved with the greatest part of his camp from Bouvais, and taken a position so as to complete the investiture of the fortress, whilst his imperial majesty, with the grand army, covers the operations of the siege on the side of Guise, and that under my immediate command does the same towards Cambray." The siege of Landrecies was continued; and before they had opened the first batteries, an attack was advised to be made on the enemy, who then occupied the camp of Cæsar, in which we completely drove them back, and obliged them to retreat in great confusion into Cambray, with the loss of 1200 men killed in the field, and three pieces of cannon taken. The French, however, probably viewed this retreat of their men in a different light from his royal highness, who reported it. For he informs us, in his despatches of the next day, that "at day-break the next morning the enemy attacked him on all sides, and, after a short but severe conflict, he succeeded in repulsing them with considerable slaughter. The enemy's general, Chapuy, was taken prisoner, and we became masters of 35 pieces of the enemy's cannon. The behaviour of the British cavalry has been beyond all praise. The army under his imperial majesty was attacked at the same time; but they also repulsed them with great slaughter, and took 22 pieces of cannon." Such were the prosperous and flattering hopes at the opening of this campaign, when the bulk of the combined forces were in the open country of Cambresis, not above forty leagues from Paris, to which the road was open, without one fortified town to obstruct an army on their march, except St. Quentin and Peronne, both of which might be avoided, in case a free communication could have been

kept up and secured with that frontier, which the combined army then possessed. The most zealous advocate for the war could scarcely wish for a more favourable opportunity of marching an army to Paris, for the extermination of Jacobinism, than was now offered, and with such a protecting and formidable force as was at this time victorious upon the French territory. Had it been the desire and wish of the people of France to rise against their republican governors, as the people had been taught, and almost commanded to believe, within the walls of St. Stephen's, we should have seen deputations crowding in to our commanders from Cambray, St. Quentin, and other neighbouring towns, to be relieved and protected against their tyrannical rulers.

The turn of events towards the close of this month, was as various as it was interesting to the belligerent powers. The surrender of Landrecies may properly be said to have terminated our short and unimportant career of success on the continent. The previous loss, however, of Arlon, and the retreat of general Beaulieu, with 18,000 men, before the republican army of Jourdan, was the first of those successes, which I shall detail in the following melancholy narrative of the disasters attending the British arms. The French represented the successes of their army of the Ardennes as equal to their most sanguine expectations; they reported that they had fought for three days successively, and had killed above 1200 of the Austrians. Whoever reflects upon the steady conduct of the gallant veteran Beaulieu, and the intrepidity and conduct of the army under his command, will allow him the just tribute of praise for an orderly, though necessary, retreat; but he cannot deny the irresistible power of an enemy, determined to support a cause in which they had embarked every thing valuable and endearing in life.

CHAPTER XL.

GEORGE III.

[1794.]

Capture of St. Lucia and Guadaloupe—Message from his Majesty on the subject of the existing Discontents—Messrs. Adams and Hardy arrested—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Defeat of General Clairfait at Moucron—Duke of York attacked, and repels the French—General Defeat of the Combined Armies—Gallant Defence of Ypres—Glorious Victory of Lord Howe on the 1st of June.

THE island of St. Lucia surrendered to sir John Jervis, and major-general Dundas, who was directed by sir Charles Grey upon this expedition, with such troops and artillery as were thought necessary for the reduction of the island. In ranging the coasts, to the different points of debarkation, the ships were obliged to near the shore, and received many shots from the batteries with which the coast was lined; but, fortunately, not one drop of blood was spilt. The day after the grenadiers and light infantry had landed, and taken possession of some outposts and batteries, sir John Jervis and

general Dundas summoned Mourne Fortunee to surrender; they at first returned an equivocal answer; but upon observing a disposition for landing some battalions of seamen, they immediately submitted to the terms of capitulation. The capture of the island of Guadaloupe was soon after effected by the gallant officer sir Charles Grey, with infinite address and resolution, though not without some loss of the brave soldiers and seamen who co-operated with them on shore. They were no sooner landed than they were ordered to storm the fort Fleur d'Épée, a very strong situation to which the enemy had retired in great force and number. The troops were commanded not to fire, but to execute every thing with the bayonet. The first division which commenced the assault was headed by his royal highness prince Edward; the post was carried by storm, and the greatest part of the garrison put to the sword. This difficult and adventurous service was executed, according to the general's own words, "with such exactitude, superior ability, spirit and good conduct, by the officers that severally commanded those divisions, and every officer and soldier under them, as to do them more honour than he could find words to convey an adequate idea of, or to express the high sense he entertained of their extraordinary merit upon the occasion." This success put our troops in possession of Grand Terre. The general, without loss of time, embarked the greatest part of his troops for Basse-terre, in order to complete the conquest of the whole island. After the general had landed with troops, and made every necessary disposition to attack the most formidable redoubts of the enemy, D'Arbant, Grand Ance, and Anet; the two first were evacuated and set fire to, and the last was taken by assault, without the loss of a man. We also took, in like manner, their famous post of Palmiste; after which general Collot capitulated, surrendering Guadaloupe and all its dependencies, comprehending the islands of Marie-Galante, Desiderata, the Saints, &c. upon the same terms which were allowed to Rochambeau at Martinico, and Ricard at St. Lucia,—to march out with the honours of war and lay down their arms, to be sent to France, and not to serve against the British forces or their allies during the war. Thus ended the glorious expedition of these brave and able officers, sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis. It is with heartfelt satisfaction that the people read in the general's account, that "to the unanimity and extraordinary exertions of the navy and army on this service, under fatigues and difficulties never exceeded, his majesty and their country are indebted for the rapid success that, in so short a time, has extended the British empire."

Lord Hawkesbury, as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, had appointed Mr Reeves his steward to the duchy court of that county. The stentorian powers of this gentleman, in vociferating alarm, had been already tried, approved, and in part rewarded. Accordingly, the first official act of his zeal manifested itself in an unusual expedient, which could not fail of producing the desired effect. Presuming that the generality of a well-meaning and nervous multitude would judge of the malignity of a disorder by the multitude of advisers and drugs applied to the patient, he very wisely, upon this principle, issued forth from the manor and liberty of the Savoy a manifesto, on the 1st of the month, "that on the 8th the court would meet again, where such persons, being residents within the liberty, as were disposed to take an active part for preserving the peace and protecting their property, in case of any sudden emergency, would be invested with the authority of constables, the better to enable them so to do." A truly efficacious remedy against sedition and treason, where every man has authority to take up his neighbour on suspicion! The next effort of Mr. Reeves' zeal was the special mission which he deputed against Mr. Thelwall. This gentleman, it seems, was in the weekly habit of giving political lectures at his house in Beaufort Buildings. Mr. Reeves' zeal would not permit the sacred limits of the Savoy to be polluted and defiled by such democratic enormities; fourteen or fifteen persons were accordingly brought forward, to give evidence before the jury, to induce them to present his house as a nuisance. They, however, were more attentive to the rights and duties of juries, than to the manœuvring schemes of their political steward; and declared, that, having heard evidence, they saw no cause for presenting the meeting at Mr. Thelwall's as a nuisance. The example, however, of swearing in an indefinite number

of volunteer constables was followed by most parishes of the metropolis; thus incautiously affording sanction and opportunity to the evil-minded, (if such existed) by putting the staff into their hands.

These measures were of a trifling nature, of slow process, and little formed to satiate the cravings of those, who had convinced their sovereign that sedition and treason were stalking abroad in his dominions, and had rested the reality of the danger, at which the nation was alarmed, upon proof of the guilt of the delinquents who had conspired for its destruction. Accordingly, Mr. Dundas brought down to the house of commons the following message from his majesty. These royal messages, like the king's speeches to his parliament, are constitutionally considered as the words of his minister.

"George R.

"His majesty, having received information that the seditious practices which have been for some time carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with societies in other parts of the country, have lately been pursued with increased activity and boldness, and have been avowedly directed to the object of assembling a pretended general convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of parliament, and on principles subversive of the existing laws and constitution, and directly tending to the introduction of that system of anarchy and confusion which has fatally prevailed in France, has given directions for seizing the books and papers of the said societies in London, which have been seized accordingly; and these books and papers appearing to contain matter of the greatest importance to the public interest, his majesty has given orders for laying them before the house of commons; and his majesty recommends it to the house to consider the same, and to take such measures thereupon, as may appear to be necessary for effectually guarding against the further prosecution of these dangerous designs, and for preserving to his majesty's subjects the enjoyment of the blessings derived to them by the constitution happily established in these kingdoms.

"G. R."

On the same day, Mr. Hardy, the secretary of the *London Corresponding Society*, and Mr. Adams, secretary of the *Society for Constitutional Information*, were taken into custody, and examined before the privy-council. This regal annunciation of guilt was followed up by the arrestation and examination of several members of these societies, who appeared more particularly zealous in forwarding the ends of their institution.

Mr. Fox, upon occasion of the debate upon the message, expressed his extreme astonishment, that the men who had formed the report, men of talents, character, and information, should have thought it necessary to recommend so sudden, so violent, so alarming a remedy, and that upon facts notorious for years. It was strange, indeed, to inform that house, in detail, of every thing which had been passing, day after day, before the eyes of the ministry, unnoticed and with impunity; and now to call upon them for their peremptory judgment upon the probable effects of such events, and of the necessity of putting an end to them by the most violent means. Several other gentlemen of the same side opposed, with great strength of argument, this delivery over of the personal liberty, the property, and the lives of individuals to the power and will of the executive government, especially when advised upon such flimsy grounds as had been produced to the house.

The last month closed with the unfortunate defeat of general Clairfait at Mouceron, on the very day on which Landrecies surrendered; and seemed to turn the whole success of the campaign. Upon this, the duke of York was ordered by the emperor to march at midnight, with all the troops under his command, from Cateau to St. Armand, where they arrived extremely fatigued. According to Clairfait's account to his royal highness of this disaster, the attack was made by the French with infinite impetuosity, and the battle lasted from eight o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon; and though his troops behaved with much courage and resolution, yet no sooner was the order for retreat given than they fell into a confusion, from which it was impossible ever to rally them. The French, soon after this, attacked the duke of York at Tournay, with a body of 30,000 men; but, by the intrepidity and conduct of our troops, they were repulsed with great loss.

So determined were the French to clear Flanders, that within three days after their unsuccessful attack upon his royal highness, they again attacked in great force the corps of general Clairfait, who on the night before had crossed the Henle. This action was extremely violent and bloody, and lasted from one o'clock till eleven at night, when Clairfait succeeded in driving them back into the town of Courtray; yet, according to his royal highness' account, "not being able to take possession of the place, he retreated again, first across the Henle, and then behind the river Mandel; but being still very closely pursued by the enemy, he found himself under the necessity of continuing his march to Thielt, where he took up a position to cover Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend. His loss, he was sorry to say, had been very considerable." So resolute and determined did the French appear, to render themselves masters of all the Austrian Netherlands, that no check nor losses could damp their ardour. They forced the passage of the Sambre, and attacked general Kaunitz in a very strong position, which he had taken to cover Mons, between Roueroi and Binche. He had the good fortune to repulse them, with the loss of 5000 men, and obliged them to retreat again across the Sambre. His royal highness still retained his position at Tournay, and the emperor marched thither to his assistance. Here they planned their general attack upon the French lines, in order, by a joint co-operation with the troops under general Clairfait, to compel the enemy to evacuate Flanders. The attack was to be made in three columns; one under the command of the emperor and prince Cobourg, another under prince Charles and general Clairfait, and the third under the duke of York, general Otto, and colonel Mack. The French were too well prepared; they poured immense numbers of troops out of Lisle and Courtray; they succeeded in dividing our troops, and gained a complete victory; the loss, on the part of the allies, was excessive, both in men and cannon. The duke of York was obliged to fly, almost unattended, and repeatedly escaped only by the swiftness of his horse; never was a route and confusion more terrible; blame was of course thrown from one to another; all, however, seem to allow, that the ardour of the British troops had carried them beyond ordinary prudence or safety; they were actually surrounded, and would have been all taken prisoners had they not, with undaunted resolution, cut through an infinitely superior number of their enemy, with melancholy loss both of officers and men. The Austrian accounts say, "that the Hanoverians were the first to retreat; they created the general confusion, for their cavalry not only destroyed our foot, but threw the whole army into such disorder, that they became a helpless prey to the pursuing enemy. Their conduct proved more fatal than the hostility of the French." This terrible disaster spread alarm through the country; the allied armies, as they could rally and collect themselves, resumed their former positions near Tournay, Turcoigne, Lannoy, Roubaix, and Mourveaux. The emperor here received a powerful lesson upon the policy of continuing the war against the French republicans, whose downfal and extinction had been so often demonstrated to him upon paper by colonel Mack and others. The first attention of his imperial majesty, upon his return to Tournay, was not to order a march directly to Paris, but to soothe the dispirited and wounded hearts of his subjects. He therefore immediately published a bulletin, to contradict several exaggerated representations of the disaster, alleging, with truth, that *it is of consequence, immediately to counteract the dangerous effects of alarms that spread with such rapidity.*

Four days after this calamitous defeat, the French again attacked the combined armies, with an enormous force of upwards of 100,000 men. The attack began at five o'clock in the morning, but scarcely became serious till nine, when the whole force of the enemy fell upon the right wing of the combined army, in order, if possible, to force the passage of the Scheldt, and so invest Tournay. They firmly maintained their post till nine o'clock at night, when, with the reinforcements that were sent to them, they obliged the enemy to retreat, with the immense loss of 12,000 men, which his royal highness observed to be by no means improbable, as they were exposed for twelve hours successively to an incessant fire of cannon and musquetry. The spirit and conduct of general Fox, who commanded the British brigade on this occasion, were particularly conspicuous. The calamitous failure of our grand attack upon the French

lines, and the subsequent misfortunes, were somewhat allayed by this repulse of so superior a force, and by the accounts from general Beaulieu in Bouillon, where he had defeated the enemy, killed 1200, and taken 300 prisoners, with six pieces of cannon. General Kaunitz had also obtained a fresh victory over the enemy on the banks of the Sambre, where he had killed 2000, and taken 3000 prisoners, with more than fifty pieces of cannon. Great and important as these advantages might appear to the allies, the French were not checked by them; their numbers, their ardour, their perseverance, were unsurmountable. At this very time they marched an army of 40,000 men into the duchy of Luxembourgh, and obliged Beaulieu, immediately after his success at Bouillon, to evacuate Arlon, and fall back upon Marche, in order to cover Namur. From these different events we may usefully learn to reflect, of what slight avail are the personal bravery, resolution, and conduct of the most formidable army, in attempting the extermination of a people fighting upon one common principle, for the defence and maintenance of their rights and liberties. The history of France at this crisis, and of Spain after the imprisonment of Ferdinand, equally demonstrate the omnipotence of freedom.

Great was the nation's triumph upon her native element; but her disasters and failures on land proved a severe but wholesome lesson against attempting the extermination of an independent country. The emperor had, in his mournful account of the last victory before Tournay, sufficiently expressed his sentiments and feelings upon the situation of affairs at this crisis. Emphatically did he complain of his being "deeply affected with so many misfortunes and disasters; amidst the cries of victory he heard the groans of the wounded. The enemy had lost at least 6000 men; but the combined army could not have lost less than 2000 soldiers killed. The day after 2000 combatants have lost their lives, cannot, to a feeling monarch, be altogether a day of triumph." He soon after withdrew himself from the army. His confidential military adviser, colonel Mack, resigned, and attended his imperial master on his return to Vienna. He loudly complained of having been thwarted and crossed in all his designs. They both left the army under the experimental conviction of the absolute impracticability of the well-understood, though undefined, objects of the war.

Notwithstanding their repeated repulses by general Kaunitz, the French again crossed the Sambre, and threatened to surround his whole column; they had already thrice attempted the siege of Charleroi, and now actually opened the trenches before it. The hereditary prince of Orange attacked and defeated them with the loss of 7000 men and 32 pieces of cannon, which obliged them to retreat again beyond the Sambre, where they took up a position near Jocelies in order to cover the siege of Charleroi. The advantage was more than counterbalanced by the defeat of general Clairfait in West Flanders, who had in his column about 7000 Hanoverians and five regiments of British. Every movement of this brave and experienced, though unfortunate, officer seemed to serve merely to throw away men, and sow distrust and diffidence amongst the troops. The Hanoverians absolutely refused to obey him, and insisted upon being commanded by one of their own generals, either Walmoden or Hammerstein. This latter general was justly respected and beloved by the whole army, particularly since his spirited sortie at the head of the small garrison of Menin, where, in order to rescue a corps of emigrants from execution by their countrymen, he generously and valiantly cut his way through an army of several thousands of the enemy, who had surrounded that town. General Clairfait, on the other hand, complained of a want of bravery and conduct in the Hanoverians. It is certain, however, that not only the Hanoverians, but also the British troops, complained that general Clairfait had led them on, under the promise of co-operation, to a point in which they were totally exposed to the enemy, and would have been inevitably cut off, had they not made a very hasty retreat.

Never did a garrison make a more resolute and vigorous defence than that of Ypres. This town is the key to West Flanders; it was besieged by an army of 30,000 men, supported by a covering army of 24,000. The importance of this post was well known to the combined armies; general Clairfait suffered three defeats in five days, in endeavouring to raise the siege; and prince Cobourg was also checked in his attempt to throw succours

into the place from the main body of the army. The brave general de Salis held out till all his ammunition was expended, and several of his guns dismounted; he was then obliged to surrender, and the brave survivors of this long and bloody siege were made prisoners of war. The consternation into which the fall of Ypres threw the whole Austrian Netherlands, is scarcely to be described. Every individual, who possessed the means, quitted Ostend; the departure of prince Ernest was the general signal of alarm and flight: All the valuables of every description were shipped off, and the remainder of the garrison had orders to abandon it. The like consternation began at Brussels.

The emperor had left no expedient untried to save his territories in the Netherlands. He at last resorted to the persuasive means of personal presence and confidence. In his last proclamation of the 23rd of this month to the Belgians, when he exhorted them to rise *en masse*, which he published from Brussels, he spoke to them with the tenderness of a father, rather than with the authority of a sovereign; he had indeed found this latter useless. "Religion, constitution, property, the sovereign," said he, "who wears you all in his heart, who came among you without guards, who trusted himself to your love, who esteems you." The people of Belgium were as deaf to these entreaties as they had been to his former exhortations to raise levies for his armies. No sooner had general Clairfait been forced from his position of Deysne, and fallen back upon Ghent, than general Wahnoden was under the necessity of quitting Bruges, and joining general Clairfait's army. His royal highness, having intelligence of those movements, by which all communication with Ostend was cut off, and learning that the French had detached a corps to attack Oudenarde, found it necessary to quit his situation before Tournay, and march to Rendix for defence of the Scheldt. So completely had the French cut off all communications between the armies of prince Cobourg and general Beaulieu, that no intelligence whatever could be procured of the fate of Charleroi. A general attack, therefore, was determined upon by prince Cobourg, and was executed with great resolution; it proved at first successful, but ended in the total repulse of the prince's army. It was here that he first learned from a deserter, that Charleroi had surrendered on the preceding day. Upon this, prince Cobourg made a very orderly and judicious retreat, first as far as Marbais, and from thence to Nivelles, to cover the country as far as possible, and to protect Namur. The fate of the Netherlands was now fixed; and our cabinet sent out lord Moira, with that part of his army which had survived the expedition to the coast of France, (except the cavalry) in order to reinforce the duke of York. Immediately upon their landing at Ostend, they marched up the country to form a junction with his royal highness at Antwerp; colonel Vyse waited, in the mean time, at Ostend, to see all the artillery, stores, and baggage embarked for Antwerp, before it was ultimately evacuated. In the course of this month, his royal highness took an opportunity of communicating to his army the inhuman decree passed by the French convention, for giving no quarter to the British and Hanoverian troops. "He anticipated the horror and indignation, with which, he knew, his brave troops would receive this information. He reminded them, however, that mercy to the vanquished was the brightest gem in the soldier's character, and exhorted them not to permit their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their parts, which might sully the reputation they had already acquired in arms." His royal highness very fairly attributed the passing of this decree to the overbearing influence of the blood-thirsty Robespierre, and as handsomely as truly anticipated the effect of it upon the French army. "The British and Hanoverian armies will not believe that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget their characters as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree, as injurious to themselves as it is disgraceful to the persons who passed it." This horrid decree never was put in execution; and it was repealed after the death of Robespierre.

Though fortune had not been propitious to the arms of the confederates, the success of England on her appropriate theatre, unincumbered by her allies, was uniform and triumphant. The channel fleet, which during the last summer had performed nothing worthy of the reputation of its veteran commander, put to sea in the spring, in search

of an enemy who had hitherto eluded pursuit. Lord Howe was particularly solicitous on the present occasion to vindicate the honour of his country, and to rescue his own character from unmerited reproach; and the powerful armament now under his command left no doubt relative to the result of the contest.

The anxiety of the French government for the fate of a convoy expected from America, with the produce of the West India islands, induced the convention to equip a fleet of 26 sail of the line for its protection; of which the command was given to admiral Villaret. On the 28th of May the rival fleets descried each other at the same time, in latitude 47° 33′ N. and longitude 14° 10′ W.; the wind blew strongly from the south-west, accompanied by a boisterous sea, and the French possessed the weather-gage. Villaret, however, endeavoured as much as possible to form a regular order of battle on the starboard tack; a circumstance that greatly facilitated the approach of the English. As the conduct of the enemy indicated an intention to avoid an action, the British commander displayed the signal for a general chace; and, to prevent their escape, detached admiral Pasley to make an impression on their rear. That officer, on the close of the day, came up with the Revolutionaire, a three-decked ship of 110 guns; but his topmast being disabled during the action, lord Hugh Seymour Conway, in the Leviathan, gallantly advanced, and received her fire; and as soon as it was dark, captain Parker, of the Audacious, having arrived close to the rear-ship, which was supposed to be the Revolutionaire, before engaged, fought her within the distance of half a cable. The Revolutionaire now attempted to board her assailant, and, having failed, made sail before the wind, after having been supposed to strike her colours. The Audacious herself was so severely crippled, that the captain, pursued by two of the French ships, menaced by nine sail of the enemy's line, stationed to windward, and, fired upon occasionally by a frigate and two corvettes, returned to Plymouth Sound.

In this manner terminated the first day's action, which, considering the frail condition of many of the French ships, rendered almost unserviceable by age or long-continued service, was regarded by the people of England as highly derogatory to the naval reputation of England.

The rival fleets remained within sight of each other during the whole night; the English, which was now reduced to 25 ships, on the starboard tack, and in a parallel direction with the French, who were still to windward; but on the next morning the English tacked by signal, and with some degree of irregularity, with a view of making an impression on the enemy's rear. After many intricate manœuvres, in which the English maintained the weather-gage, the action terminated without any decisive advantage to either side; and a fog, that interfered during the night and the greater part of the ensuing day, prevented the renewal of the engagement. In the mean time, rear-admiral Neilly joined the commander-in-chief of the French fleet, with three sail of the line, which enabled him to detach his crippled ships, and to form an efficient force of 26 ships of the line, 12 frigates, and 8 corvettes. The force of the English, on the 1st of June, amounted to 25 ships of the line, 5 frigates, and 8 sloops, or cutters. The dawn exhibited the French line to leeward, drawn up in order of battle, and prepared to renew the contest. The British admiral, perceiving that there was time sufficient for the various companies to take refreshment, made a signal for breakfast; a measure which, by procrastinating the commencement of the action, induced the enemy to believe, that the British were disposed to decline the engagement. But their hopes were fallacious. In about half an hour, lord Howe, relaxing the usual sternness of his countenance into a smile, gave orders for steering the Royal Charlotte alongside of the French admiral. His command was obeyed; and, by an extraordinary display of seamanship on the part of his master, he was enabled to assume a most excellent position, and to contend with advantage against a vessel of far superior strength and size. While some of the English commanders penetrated the line of battle, and engaged to leeward, others occupied such stations as enabled them to contend with their antagonists to windward. So close and severe was the contest, that the fate of this day depended but little on the exertion of nautical skill. Yet upon this occasion, when the drapery of the three-coloured flag not unfrequently mingled with

that of the British cross, the superiority of the English seamen was eminently conspicuous. Disciplined into war, the steady arm, the undaunted eye, the animated countenance, denoted that they were familiar with the element on which they fought. And while the shot of the enemy occasioned but little bloodshed on decks which were not crowded by useless men, every broadside spread death and despair through the crowded ranks of their antagonists.

In about fifty minutes after the action had commenced in the centre, admiral Villaret determined to relinquish the contest. Several of his ships were already dismasted, one of them was about to sink, and six were captured. He crowded off with all the canvass he could spread, and was followed by nearly all the ships in his van that were not completely crippled. The enemy had, as usual, chiefly aimed at the rigging, and the victors were thus disabled from pursuing the vanquished. The British endeavour to destroy the effective force of the enemy's ships; the French to secure the means of safe and easy flight. The Queen Charlotte was prevented from capturing her antagonist, La Montagne, by an unlucky broadside from Le Jacobin, which rendered her nearly unmanageable. The slaughter of the English was comparatively trivial. Captain Montagu, of the Montagu, was the only commander who fell in the engagement. Vice-admiral Graves, the honourable G. Berkley, and captain J. Harvey, were wounded; and rear-admirals Pasley and Bowyer, with captain Hutt of the Queen, lost their legs. Hutt and Harvey died on their return to port. Pasley and Bowyer were created baronets, and each received a pension of £1000 per annum. Admirals Graves and Hood were honoured with the peerage. Too much praise, indeed, cannot be given to the officers for skill, or the men for courage; and had not the bravery of the French seamen, and the firmness of their commanders, far surpassed every former display of these qualities in naval conflicts, the prowess, coolness, and tactical expertness of the British navy would have obtained a more immediate and still more decisive result.

The loss of the French, in consequence of the mode of action to which I have alluded, was nearly four times that of the English, who had 272 men killed, and 787 wounded. That of the enemy has been estimated at 1300 killed, and 2380 wounded. On board the six captured ships there were 690 killed, and 580 wounded; while on board the six English ships that suffered most, there were only 125 killed, and 335 wounded. Notwithstanding the disastrous result of this engagement, the French obtained the object for which the fleet had been equipped; but the splendour of the victory elevated the maritime renown of our countrymen, and swelled the hearts of the people with exultation. The skill and energy of the officers, the courage and activity of the men under their command, were loudly applauded; and confident hopes were entertained, by the sanguine public, of the total ruin of the French navy.

CHAPTER XLI.

GEORGE III.

[1794.]

Thanks voted to Lord Howe—Failure of our armies on the Continent—Conduct of the Allied Powers—Fall of Robespierre—Evacuation of Liege, and retreat of the Combined Armies—Disastrous Retreat of the English from Holland—Trials of Tooke, Hardy, &c. at the Old Bailey—Their Acquittal—Close of the Campaign in Holland.

A VOTE of thanks, of both houses of parliament, had most deservedly passed to lord Howe, for the singular services rendered to his country on the 1st of June. It is generally understood, that the talents and bravery of this able seaman were called forth by the personal interference of his majesty, and not from that influence which had removed this deserving veteran from the head of the admiralty-board, to make room for a successor that would, from family and other considerations, be more submissive in modelling the appointments of the navy to the trim of the present system. Lord Hood was of the family compact; and it was judged, that the acquisition of a new crown was as deserving of the thanks of parliament as the crippling of the navy of a republican enemy. Accordingly, Mr. secretary Dundas moved, "That the thanks of the house be given to lord Hood, for the important service he has rendered to this country, by his able and gallant conduct in his expedition to Corsica." Opposition was made to the motion, both in the commons and lords. As the most flattering compliment that could be paid to the gallant admiral lord Howe, his majesty, with a great part of his family, made an excursion to Portsmouth, to view the conquering and the captured fleet.

EVERY day, and almost every hour, of this month (July) opened fresh proofs of the increasing success, strength, and influence of the French republic. The citizens of Bruges invited the French into their town, under an unqualified surrender. Even Tournay, which had retained more regard and respect for the combined powers than any other town of the Netherlands, received the French troops with the most jovial marks of joy; liquor was brought to the gates through which they made their entry. Health and prosperity were drank, and shouted in loud accord by the army and citizens. Mons, after a fresh defeat of prince Cobourg, was entered at one gate by the French, whilst the Austrians retired unmolested out of the opposite gate. Prince Cobourg had, after the evacuation of Mons, attempted to make a stand in the forest of Soignies, where he had raised several batteries, and rendered the posture very formidable. They were assailed and carried by the bayonet. The prince, after losing above 7000 men, and finding it impossible to repel the enemy, ordered a retreat, which was well accomplished, through Brussels and its environs, in the night. He had previously directed the magistrates of that town to enjoin the inhabitants, under pain of death, to confine themselves to their houses, fasten their doors, and block up their windows. In solemn and dejected pomp, the collected remnants of this army, which had, during the last and former campaigns, suffered the most various turns of fortune, marched through Brussels. This singular order of the general spoke more forcibly than a volume of manifestoes, the feelings and the sentiments of the

Brabanters, at the retreat of the imperial armies, and their separation from the house of Austria. The citizen volunteers maintained, notwithstanding this order, a strict guard to prevent disorder or plunder till the arrival of the French, who entered at one gate as the Austrians were departing from the opposite.

General Beaulieu evacuated the city and citadel of Namur, upon the fortifications of which, immense sums had this very year been expended. The imperialists retired towards Maestricht and Liege. The armies of lord Moira and the duke of York for some time kept up a line of communication to cover Antwerp. Mechlin, Louvain, and the whole of the Netherlands was evacuated, and quietly possessed by the French.

The army under lord Moira had undergone incredible hardships since their disembarkation at Ostend; they marched without tents or baggage, and suffered extremely from the heat and dryness of the season. The commander had endeared himself to the affections of the men in a most extraordinary manner; they almost adored him; they ever beheld him the foremost in difficulties and dangers; he slept in the open air, like the meanest soldier in the ranks; and anticipated in his example every order he issued to the lines. Upon his lordship resigning the command to general Abercrombie, within three weeks after his landing, he published an address to his army, which bespeaks the most honourable feelings. Immediately after his resignation, the French pressed with such impetuous force upon the British lines, that his royal highness was under the necessity of retreating to the strong position of Breda. He happily effected it without loss. The prince of Orange, about this time, made an address to the United Provinces, to rally the zeal of all those true lovers of their country, that wished to preserve its independence against the Gallic invaders, and destroyers of all order and government. He pledged to them his own existence, and summoned all the powers and vigour of the states to withstand the enemy. The danger he allowed to be imminent, when an irresistible enemy had so effectually brought the late defensive system into the most alarming operations of offence. A garrison was thrown into Maestricht, and the town was declared to be in a state of siege. By orders from the court of Vienna, the imperial army was making good its retreat into Germany. Their march was for a time interrupted by the melancholy reports of the defeat of the combined armies on the Rhine, and the accounts of blood, slaughter, terror, flight, and confusion. The troops were exhausted by six days' successive fighting, without eating for nineteen out of the twenty-four hours. A combined army of 100,000 men was driven, by the renovated impetuosity and daily vigour of the fresh troops, across the Rhine; and the victorious French threatened even Manheim and Mentz. The first impression of these bloody victories terrified the inhabitants of the surrounding country from their homes, and the consequent confusion was neither to be conceived nor described. The French issued proclamations for insuring the security of their persons, and the protection of their property, which brought back the greater part of these affrighted fugitives. On the borders of Holland, the town of Sluys was closely besieged, and the brave governor rejected the summons to surrender with a spirit and dignity rarely to be found in the armies of Holland, though worthy of the primitive founders of that republic. The important fort of Lillo, which commands the navigation of the Scheldt, was evacuated, and abandoned by the garrison.

The present advanced stage of the campaign; the close of a session, unexampled for the violence of the measures proposed, and the unqualified submission of the majority by which they were adopted; the secession of the great leaders of the Whig party, and their coalition with those whom they had opposed for the last ten years, formed a singular coincidence of circumstances, and arrest our attention to the relative situation of Great Britain and the French republic. With the full invigoration of their respective powers, we now began to feel the effects of a fair trial of skill, strength, and energy. The impetuous and rapid advances of the republican armies had brought the British forces to the humiliating necessity of introducing into their tactics the hitherto unknown process of perpetual retrogradation. I am as unwilling to presume that the Jean de Brie of the British cabinet had actually despatched any of his missionaries to Paris, to demolish the executive government of France, as I am to believe that

any of the originally proposed corps of assassins had been despatched to England upon a similar errand. A full experiment, however, was now made of the effects of an attempt to overthrow the existing government of the French republic, by the destruction of their leaders. The zeal of the earl of Mansfield could scarcely at this time have given a larger commission to the captain-general of his destroying legion, than the removal of the blood-thirsty leader and soul of the convention, Robespierre, with his party. This must have been the prelude or first act of the insurrection or rebellion, which, it was maintained in the British house of peers, ought to be encouraged and insured at any price. In the downfal of this Jacobin leader of the French government, did its enemies foresee the sure dissolution of its whole system. Europe, however, saw Robespierre, with nineteen of his associates, and sixty-eight municipal officers in his interest, executed in one day, for affecting a power which the nation had not granted—and the energy of the republic invigorated, not palsied, by their fall. It was therefore concluded, that the French government had now acquired a solid basis; that the spirit of that government had generally pervaded every rank of people; and that, whatever differences of party might exist in France, the whole nation was unanimous, even to enthusiasm, in resisting the revival of monarchy, and opposing the invasion of foreign powers.

It is astonishing that so violent a change as might have been expected from the death of Robespierre, and the extinction of his party, should not have produced the slightest effect upon the conduct of any of the combined powers, even in the first uncertain moments of their joy and expectancy from the great event; no aid, support, nor encouragement given to the royalists to take advantage of the critical moment; no offensive effort attempted to impress the republican armies with a hope or prospect of delivering themselves from the late, and the dangers of relapsing into future tyranny: but all was retreat, cession, and despondency, from every quarter of the confederacy. The execution of Robespierre took place on the 28th of the preceding month.

The French soon began to verify the alarming predictions and fears of the emperor; they took a very critical advantage of the movements of the imperial and Prussian generals, marched in three columns, and with little resistance took possession of Treves. This position enabled them at once to keep a check upon Luxembourg, and to menace Coblentz, where there was no adequate force to oppose them, and from whence the Austrians were removing all their stores and magazines. A system of toleration, freedom, and protection of property was now fully adopted by the French, as they extended their conquests. They had no sooner entered Treves than they established a municipality: they broke in upon no property whatsoever, and left the different corporations, and all civil and religious institutions as they found them.

The fall of the sanguinary Robespierre produced no other effect within the republic, than the change of a system of blood and terror into that of moderation and apparent equity. It was asserted in the convention, that Robespierre inhumanly exposed the armies, whenever he could, to the most wanton slaughter, in the hope of their meeting with some check or disaster, which might enable him to work the downfal of his rival colleagues. By this change of principle in the government, the executive power of France acquired a sudden invigoration and energy, which exceeded expectation and almost belief. Robespierre's orders for attempting to storm the captured towns of Valenciennes, Condé, Le Quesnoy, and Landrecies, were still unrevoked; he had allowed for the sure sacrifice of 6000 men in the attempt. This change in their system of government naturally produced a temporary inactivity in the remoter parts of the republic; but it was of short duration. And now, by moderate and not inefficient measures, the army of the north made themselves masters of each of these towns, and also of Nieuport, but with the loss of little blood to the republic.

Sickness began to force the British troops from their unhealthy position before Breda. The temporary inaction of the French government, immediately after the death of Robespierre, had allowed them an unexpected respite, of which they might have profited, had they taken up a position in its nature tenable; preparations were made, and a

pontoon bridge thrown over the Meuse at Grave, to enable them to retire in safety upon the first advance of the enemy towards Nimeguen. By the fall of Valenciennes, Le Quesnoy, Landrecies, and Condé, a very large part of the enemy's army was now at liberty to operate against the allies. There had been for some time a dearth of intelligence from our armies on the continent, when the expectations of the nation were suddenly damped by the publication of an extraordinary gazette, the usual herald of joyful tidings to the people, announcing the melancholy necessity of flying before the enemy, almost without resistance. A cautious and prudent retreat may command the admiration, and even gratitude, of thinking men; but the report of a British army flying before the enemy is little flattering to a British ear, little congenial with British spirit: no man could read the account of the duke's situation, without humiliation and regret.

General La Tour commanded a very large body of Austrians in and about Liege; they were attacked and defeated with very heavy loss by general Jourdan, notwithstanding the strong positions they had seized in that uneven and mountainous country; the principality of Liege fell into the possession of the French, to the great joy and exultation of the commonalty, who could scarcely be restrained from falling upon the Austrians as they were retiring from the town. General Clairfait, who, since the resignation of prince Coburg, commanded the army, had kept for some time his position between Liege and Maestricht, awaiting the determination of his court, either to retreat into the hereditary states of his sovereign, or to attempt another co-operation with his maritime allies. For ten or twelve days previous to the evacuation of Liege, he had been almost daily attacked by the French, and mostly to his disadvantage. General Kray, with the troops under his command, was forced to retreat to Maestricht, in consequence of the movement of general Clairfait towards Aix-la-Chapelle.

To the English nation the state of domestic politics was of more importance than the vicissitudes of the campaign. By the direction of a justice, (Mr. Ford) a warrant was procured from the duke of Portland for arresting John Peter Le Maitre, a native of Jersey, and an apprentice to a watch-maker, and William Higgins, apprentice to a chymist; and Smith, a bookseller, and Beck, a sadler, were also taken up; Upton, a watch-maker, was the approver. The charge, supported only by the testimony of Upton, was, that these apprentices had formed the project of attempting to assassinate his majesty with a poisoned dart, that was to be blown through a brass tube, inserted in a walking-stick to prevent suspicion. The arrow, which was produced to the privy-council, was examined by Mr. Mortimer, the goldsmith, and reported by him to be a most ingenious piece of mechanism. The prisoners were almost daily examined before the privy-council, and commonly in the presence of the attorney and solicitor-general, Mr. Ford, and others. The examinations were carried on till the opening of the special commission, and the charge delivered to the grand jury. The actual result of these examinations was the confinement of Upton the approver. He was known to have vowed vengeance against Le Maitre and Higgins at a committee of the same society, from which he had been expelled for mal-practices; he was known and proved to have acted as a spy to government. The whole of this tremendous plot was artful and malicious. The innocent victims, however, of Upton's iniquity were still confined; their discharge might have cleared away the impressions which their accusation had created, and the habeas corpus act was still suspended.

October. The first bill of indictment presented to the grand jury included twelve persons, against all of whom they found a true bill. The lord chief-justice had said in his charge, that high treason was the greatest crime *against faith, duty, and human society;* consequently, the persons found guilty of it must be persons dangerous to the welfare of the society in which they move and act at large. Yet it is a singular circumstance, that, notwithstanding the heinousness of the offence, and that his majesty was empowered, by the late statute suspending the operation of the habeas corpus act, to secure and detain such persons as he suspected were conspiring against his person and government, four of those against whom the bill was found were still permitted to be at large. Mr. Holcroft, one of them, some time after the bill had been found, resisted his friends' most urgent importunities, and

the fairest opportunity, to make his escape. His conscious innocence induced him to make a voluntary surrender of his person, which was reluctantly accepted of by the court; so little dangerous to the government and constitution were these state delinquents in the eyes of their very persecutors! It is a circumstance replete with portentous consequences, when high treason is trifled with, as if swords, racks, and poison were introduced as play-things to a nursery. The grand jury afterwards found separate bills against four other persons, which were all the bills returned. The feelings of the public were unusually engaged in the impending fate of the state prisoners. The emotions of those who reflected upon the subject were as uniformly opposite as the operations of the magnet. The weight of prejudice against them was in exact proportion to the credulity of the multitude duped into the belief of the minister's assurances; insomuch that the papers in the pay of the treasury seldom spoke of the prisoners but as guilty of high treason.

The exertions of the Britsh cabinet conduced as little to the success of our arms on the continent, as the additional power and prerogative given to the stadtholder by the states of Holland. That country began to despair of the protection either of the British or Austrian arms; and inundation seemed now the only security against the numbers and impetuosity of their invaders. The swelling of the rivers by the autumnal rains favoured much this mode of defence, and promised success from the opening of the sluices, which, upon experiments in the late summer, had been found generally to fail. A very powerful party in that country was known to be averse to the measure of inundation, as well as many other measures of the court party. Fearing, therefore, that opposition might be effectually made against this plan, if it should be debated or attempted, the party of the stadtholder procured an act of the states to be passed, by which he was invested with almost dictatorial powers of providing for the safety of the republic. He could not, however, succeed in making the country rise *en masse*, and he dared not attempt to drown them by opening the sluices. The province of Zealand, foreseeing the dangerous consequences of persisting in the war, proposed to the states-general to negotiate for peace. They were too generally influenced by the stadtholder, and he too powerfully guided by the warlike councils of the British cabinet to listen to so prudent a proposal.

The success of the French was every where uninterrupted excepting at Bois-le-duc, where the inundation arose to about four feet for five or six miles round the town. The French abandoned it, and left several of their cannon in the water. Soon after this, however, the inhabitants rose and refused to submit to the horrors of a siege; and when the waters were let off, they obliged the governor to surrender the town without firing a shot. General Clairfait was again defeated in a general engagement, with immense loss of men, ammunition, and baggage; and he was forced to cross the Rhine with the utmost expedition, and in great confusion. The enemy pressed so close upon him, that he had not the opportunity of collecting his broken and dispersed troops till he had crossed that river. It was found advisable, while the British army was encamped under the walls of Nimeguen, to send the heavy baggage and artillery across the Waal to Arnheim on the Rhine. It was intended to make a vigorous stand in the island of Bommel-Waart, which is reckoned one of the strongest positions in Holland. It was so well fortified with batteries and redoubts, and so amply supplied with troops, as to bear the appearance of a regular fortress. In an attack which the enemy made upon the advanced posts of the duke of York's army, the 37th regiment was surprised and almost entirely cut to pieces. Major Hope and about 50 men only escaped. About 30,000 of the enemy crossed the Waal, according to the duke's account, and another very considerable body of them at the same time crossed the Meuse between Ruremonde and Paulo, who had already taken possession of Cleves.

The Hollanders, finding how ineffectual their resistance was against the French, and sensible of the dangers and miseries to which a prolongation of the war would expose their country, used every argument with our ministers to inforce the necessity of negotiating a peace. Our cabinet, which had originally involved them in the war against

their inclination, was not very likely to accede to any proposal for terminating it on account of their reluctance to carry it on. Peace would by no means suit the present operations and views of the British cabinet. Though their foreign projects on the continent seemed to have failed in every particular, yet the trial of the conspirators was still depending; and no measure of their general system was to be abandoned, until the success of this prosecution was insured. The Hollanders, however, placed their safety and interest in different objects from those which directed the councils of the British cabinet: they now gave open warning that they should take the liberty of treating for themselves. Their movements, however, both in peace and war are usually tardy. Such was the foresight of the Hollanders, with respect to the ultimate issue of the invasion of their country, such their horror of the fatal politics by which they had been forced into this calamitous warfare, that the mercantile body of that nation, unable to resist the influence of the court party, which was deaf to negotiation, sent, as the last resource in their desperate position, a deputation to our minister to request permission to deposit their treasures and stores in England, without paying the duties *ad valorem* at our custom-house.

THE meeting of parliament had been fixed for the month of November, and the minister had been so indecently precipitate as to bring forward a bill, which asserted the existence of the conspiracy, even before he condescended to submit to the select committee the investigation of the proofs of that assertion. The opening of the case on the first of the trials took up nine hours. In order to preserve the appearance of candour and fairness, the counsel of the prisoners were admitted for one short hour only, to look over the enormous mass of written evidence, which could not be completely read in a week. Mr. Hardy's trial lasted the uncommon length of eight days; that of Mr. Horne Tooke six days; and that of Mr. Thelwall five. If it be allowable to judge of the impression which the verdicts of acquittal operated on the judges who tried the prisoners, from what they expressed in court, the levity, contempt, and censure, with which they were subsequently treated in the house of commons, were little congenial with the sentiments of the bench. The lord chief-justice, Eyre, in summing up the evidence upon the close of Mr. Hardy's trial, told the jury what was equally applicable to all the trials, and ought to regulate the sentiments of the nation upon the effect and result of these verdicts. "It must be a satisfaction to the mind of every honest man, that this cause has been happily so conducted, and has been proceeded upon with so much patience and temper, as that your minds may have been sufficiently informed upon the subject to enable you to discover its true merits, and to pronounce a verdict, which, in the first place, will be satisfactory to your own minds, and, being satisfactory to your own minds, cannot but be satisfactory to your country."

WHEN two of these prisoners had been acquitted by the verdict of their country, ministers perceived, that the only effectual check to the success of their manœuvres was the incorruptible firmness of an English jury. There were still confined several other prisoners, against whom bills of indictment had been found, for being concerned in the general conspiracy. Having failed in their first attempts, they despaired of succeeding better with others, against whom they had no more to charge. They accordingly acquitted the rest of the prisoners, without bringing any evidence against them; and when they were brought to the bar, one of them, Mr. Holcroft, attempted to make an address to the court and the jury, but was not permitted to do so by the lord president, who assured him that he had been dealt with most honourably, and had suffered neither hardship nor injustice. The severity of close imprisonment; the anxiety of a commitment for the highest of all civil crimes; and the deprivation of the comforts and advantages of society, are evidently *hardships*; but how far they are unjust can only be determined upon the grounds of evidence, by which the prisoner was charged and committed. If his prosecutors, without any pretence of error or mistake, without any fresh discovery, or any degree of exculpation, found it expedient, under such an alarm of danger, to acquit him without trial, it is undeniable that, even in their eyes, he was not guilty; and it is not to be questioned, whether it be unjust to oppress an innocent man.

upon such slight evidence as cannot induce even his prosecutors to bring him forward to trial. Government had now brought to trial two of the conspirators, whom they thought most guilty. They had been acquitted: and it began to appear advisable to prosecute no more. After so much avidity to criminate, their desisting to prosecute bespoke to demonstration that no conspiracy existed; unless it can be proved, that treason may exist without a traitor, a conspiracy without conspirators.

It will now be necessary to recur to the narrative of military operations. It was no longer found advisable to make a stand at Nimeguen. Some few days before the evacuation of it, our troops made a very spirited sally from the town, which answered no other end than to sacrifice several hundreds of our brave soldiers. By some mismanagement they were broken into parties; and by their eagerness, in the dark, to pursue the enemy, they were unwarily drawn under their batteries, from which they suffered very severely. Scarcely had our men returned into the town, when the French recommenced their fire, with redoubled ardour, from the very works, which they had sallied out to destroy. Accounts vary as to our loss in the general retreat. It is, however, certain, that many lives were lost in the town, in the most inglorious contest in which British soldiers were ever engaged. Some of the British troops, when the resolution of evacuating the town was known, began to plunder the houses of the inhabitants; these resisted, and called the Dutch troops to their assistance; and, in this conflict for plundering our allies, upwards of 100 lives were lost. Yet it is not to be imagined, that this conduct of our men, though unjustifiable, was unprovoked on the part of the Hollanders. Their treatment of all the troops in British pay was that of enemies, not of allies. The aversion of the Dutch nation to the war was fully known from its beginning; the consequences, therefore, of forcing them into it were sufficiently clear to bring the responsibility of them home to the advisers. The duke of Brunswick, it was said, was strongly urged to take upon himself the defence of Holland; he came as far as Arnheim, whither his royal highness had retreated; but, upon seeing the real situation and disposition of the country, he quickly returned to Germany. Immediately upon the duke's return, lord Malmesbury arrived with the more pleasing commission, under the great seal of England, to conclude and sign the treaty of marriage, between the prince of Wales and the daughter of his highness, princess Carolina Amelia Elizabeth.

Every measure adopted in Holland bespoke the immediate and necessary abandonment of it by the British. Its fate was precipitated by the folly of one party, as much as it was forwarded by the exertions of the other. In Amsterdam, the citizens and burghers were disarmed, every political publication prohibited, every popular meeting declared criminal, and many staunch friends to the people, and the original constitutional rights of the Dutch republic, were committed to gaol. The states of Friesland, on the other hand, declared openly, what many others privately and strongly felt, that it was the interest of the Dutch republic to negotiate with France, break off their alliance with Prussia and England, and sacrifice the private interests of the family of Orange to the public welfare and interests of the states-general. Success every where attended the exertions of the French. Maestricht surrendered; on the Rhine, Coblentz had been taken, though Mentz still held out. In Spain, the government had to no purpose attempted to raise the people of Biscay and Navarre in a mass; and the Spanish army received so complete a defeat near Pampeluna, as to throw the whole kingdom into the utmost consternation. Above three-score vessels were taken by the French during this month, notwithstanding our maritime superiority.

Under the full conviction of the impossibility of success did his royal highness resign the chief command of the British army on the continent. From the December. want of concert, energy, and fidelity in our allies, all offensive measures had been long relinquished; and from the extreme reluctance of the Hollanders to oppose the French, and the hatred which, upon all occasions, they manifested to the British troops, defensive operations were become as disheartening as they were desperate and ineffectual. With whatever levity or apathy the humiliations and sufferings of an army can be treated, by the powers which sacrifice the blood and

treasure of a people to their own folly, avarice, or ambition; yet the brave soldier, who even courts glory for his country's cause, sickens and retreats from the scenes of wanton bloodshed, when he can no longer prevent his valiant comrades from falling ingloriously to the advantage and triumph of an insulting enemy.

Whatever degree of merit could have accrued to our ministers, for the conquests made by sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis in the West Indies, the whole was now more than cancelled by the supineness with which they suffered their remaining force in the islands so to dwindle by disease, service, and accidents, as to be absolutely incompetent to defend our captured possessions. The original force, which was intended to be sent out with sir Charles Grey, was 10,000 effective men; instead of this number, the actual force, which he landed in the West Indies, scarcely exceeded the one half the amount; insomuch that, when he returned to Europe, he did not leave 3000 men behind him to defend thirteen islands. Above 1000 of the British troops in the West Indies were posted in Guadaloupe, and soon made themselves masters of the whole island. Very serious alarms were apprehended for the safety of the remaining part of the conquests in the West Indies.

Although it was well understood that the states of Holland had actually commenced a negotiation for a separate peace with France, yet, as it was known that it had been attempted against the wishes and advice of the stadtholder, the French armies rather increased than relaxed their exertions; and the favour and partiality which, on all occasions, they showed to the Dutch prisoners evidently proved, that they no longer looked upon them as their enemies. When the town of Grave surrendered, the French granted to the Dutch troops the honourable terms of marching out with their arms and ammunition, with full liberty of serving against them as soon as they pleased; all their prisoners that were taken at Nimeguen were permitted to go at large upon their parole, and actually received allowances for their maintenance equal to their respective appointments in their own service. The only effectual stand made by the combined armies was at Mentz. This unfortunate city, from its situation, has, during the present war, been constantly exposed to its severest calamities. The elector was the most desirous of peace of any of the Germanic body; he had not only made a proposition for it in the diet of Ratisbon, but had used all his interest, though in vain, to engage their imperial and Prussian majesties to order their respective generals to enter, without delay, into a negotiation with the French. There was a garrison of 20,000 men, well supplied with all provisions in the city, who seemed as determined to defend it to the last, as the besiegers were to take it by storm. The latter made five different attempts to take the place by assault, in each of which they were repulsed with the loss of several thousands of their choice troops. The French still continued in great force before Mentz; yet they sent a considerable body of their troops to threaten the town of Manheim with a bombardment; this the inhabitants so much dreaded, that they sent a deputation to the elector palatine, offering to pay an exorbitant sum of money for a cessation of hostilities, in order to save their city from ruin. The elector returned for answer, that, for the security of the empire, it was found necessary to defend Manheim to the last extremity. The French, in the mean time, laid close siege to the contiguous fort du Rhin, which, with the artillery, ammunition, and garrison of 3000 men, they summoned three several times to surrender. This the Austrian general at length found it necessary to do, upon condition that the town of Manheim should not be bombarded. The French affected at this time to disclaim any intention to carry their hostilities beyond the right bank of the Rhine.

The fate of Holland was now determined. The French spread a general alarm along the whole line of British posts. In one point they crossed the Waal, surprised and cut to pieces the Hanoverian posts, and retired before the British troops could come up with them. By this manœuvre it appeared that this river was no check to their progress, whenever they chose to advance into the country. The French, however, waited for the setting in of the frost, in order to complete the total reduction of Holland; and it is not improbable that they delayed on purpose their grand irruption, lest in the alarm the Dutch ships of war might be carried out of

the Texel and the other ports, presuming that the intenseness of the frost would, as the case has happened, completely block them in. When they began their grand movement, no stand was even attempted to be made against them. The Dutch troops every where surrendered, the British made the best of their way towards Germany, the stadtholder and his family escaped in bye-boats to England, and Holland became an easy and bloodless prey to the French.

CHAPTER XLII.

GEORGE III.

[1795.]

Opinions of the English Legislative Bodies—Mr. Sheridan moves for a Repeal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill—Discussions on our Conduct towards France—Enquiry proposed into the Conduct of Ministers—Acquittal of Mr. Hastings—Payment of the Prince of Wales's Debts—Further Disasters in Holland—Flight of the Stadtholder—Renewal of the Campaign—Establishment in France of the Directory—Naval Operations—Capture of the Cape of Good Hope—Death of the Dauphin of France—Surrender of Trincomale—Discontents of the English Nation—Personal Violence offered to his Majesty—Consequent Proceedings in Parliament.

THE successes which had attended the arms of France in the late campaign, the disaffection of one of our most powerful allies, and the recent failure of the English government in their endeavours to suppress the ardent expression of popular feeling, did not counterbalance in the opinion of the legislative bodies, or of the exalted circles of society. The dangers arising from the machinations of democracy were always present to their minds, and they deemed it essential to the safety of all kingly governments, effectually to counteract the contagious example of France, by the restoration of monarchy in that country. Actuated by these sentiments, which formed the leading topics of his majesty's speech at the opening of the session, by the hope of subsidizing Austria to a series of firm and strenuous exertions in the common cause, and by a conviction that the experience of democratic tyranny, and the pressure of taxes in France, would favour the efforts of the royalists, the friends of the ministerial party gradually increased in firmness and in numbers, and the address was carried by a large majority.

AN attempt was made by Mr. Sheridan to procure a repeal of the bill which suspended in particular cases the operation of the *habeas corpus* act. He was apprehensive that some of the advocates of that suspension would be inclined to continue it even in time of peace, and would then allege the necessity of guarding against the dissemination of French principles; but he hoped 1795. that this idle pretence might not be suffered to prevail in so unconstitutional a manner. He denied the reality of the plot on which the suspension was professedly founded, and deprecated a recurrence to "that most

dreadful of all wars, a war of plots and conspiracies." He lamented the encouragement given to spies and informers, as disgraceful to any government. He reprehended the secretary at war for the intemperance of his language and conduct, and severely blamed the other members of the cabinet for having directed the prosecution of men whose guilt merely consisted in following the path which their present adversaries had trodden. Mr. Windham replied with warmth to the strictures upon his character, and vindicated the suspension upon the grounds of serious danger. Mr. Erskine contended, that the late verdicts had, did not merely by probable inference, but almost directly and technically, disproved the conspiracy alleged in the charge; and therefore the pretence for the suspension no longer existed. Serjeant Adair was convinced of the seditious views of the societies, and not wish that the privilege of *habeas corpus* should be so soon restored. Mr. Fox said, that the pretended plots had no existence, but in the imaginations of the deluders and the fears of the deluded; and that, from the great difference between the present state of Britain and that of France before the revolution, as well as from the different habits and feelings of the people, there was no real ground for supposing that any considerable number of persons, or any respectable portion of the community, would aim at the ruin of the constitution. The motion was then rejected by a great majority; and a bill for prolonging the suspension was soon after introduced, and carried through both houses, not without warm debates.

When earl Stanhope proposed a resolution, disclaiming all desire of interfering in the internal affairs of France, the earl of Abingdon vindicated this interference as a favour to that nation, and, forgetting his own eccentricity, accused the mover of insanity. Lord Auckland disapproved the motion; and, in a review of the state of affairs, steered between the extremes of presuming that peace might be obtained at any time, and of conceiving it to be utterly unattainable. The earl of Mansfield justified such an extent of interference as was required by a regard to our own security; and the house (by 61 against one) rejected the proposition.

A motion from Mr. Grey, recommendatory of a negotiation, gave an opportunity for an animated display of the eloquence of both parties. That gentleman, apprehending, from some expressions of the minister, that the war was intended to be carried on *usque ad internecionem*, deprecated the general adoption of such alarming sentiments. His own opinion was, that it was the duty of the cabinet to treat for peace without delay; but he did not mean to move precisely to that effect; his aim was to put this country and France in a negotiable state. He wished the house to consider, how far the object of the war on our part was attainable, and how far, under the present circumstances, it was politic to continue it. Our court seemed to derive hope from the decline of the resources of France, and from the chance of a counter-revolution. Much had been said of the approaching exhaustion of the French finances; but no wise statesman would, merely on that ground, conclude that a people struggling for supposed freedom would soon relinquish the contest. While iron could be found in the bowels of the earth, and grass upon its surface, there was no end of the resources of a nation inflamed with enthusiasm in such a cause. Even our resources, great as they were stated to be, would be inadequate to the task of forcing a government upon such an enemy; and our allies were not in a condition to give us effectual assistance. With regard to an anti-republican revolution, there appeared not the smallest chance of any event of that kind. Undoubtedly there were many traitors to the existing government, who were willing to aid us; but the great body of the people appeared to be attached to the republican constitution. These considerations rendered a prosecution of the war highly impolitic; and he trusted that every friend to this country would maintain the same opinion. He then moved for a declaration from the house, representing the present form of government in France as not precluse of a negotiation for peace. Mr. William Smith supported the motion by a reference to the American war, which, by the ill-founded confidence of the court, had been unfortunately prolonged after it ceased to afford any hopes of success. Mr. Pitt moved an amendment, declarative of a determination to concur with his majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the war, (as such conduct alone could justify the expectation

of permanent security and peace) and expressive of a reliance on the desire which he had "uniformly manifested, to effect a pacification on just and honourable grounds with any government in France, under whatever form which should appear capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other countries." He allowed that he sincerely wished for the restoration of monarchy in France; but denied that the re-establishment of the old system, or the prevalence of any specific form of government, had ever been stated by the king or the parliament as an indispensable preliminary to peace. Security was the grand object of our concern in the war; but, at present, we had no chance of obtaining it. The instability of the power of the ruling party, that revolutionary spirit which had not yet subsided, the total absence of true moderation of sentiment, the decline of religious principles, and the virulence of animosity against our government, precluded the hope of a secure peace. Sir William Young lamented, that such sentiments as the amendment contained had not been sooner promulgated. Mr. Powys was a zealous advocate for the invigorated continuance of a contest with regicides and atheists. Mr. Fox was pleased to find that the tone of the cabinet was less imperious than it had been, and that sentiments, for which the members of opposition had been reviled as Jacobins and traitors, were now adopted by the ministers of the crown, after they had put into the mouth of his majesty declarations which breathed the spirit of internecine war. Yet he did not think that all the members of the cabinet agreed with the premier in this change of sentiment, or that it was sufficient to restore to him the confidence of the people. It would be more agreeable to them that a treaty should commence without delay, than that we should wait for what the ministry would consider as a capability of maintaining the due relations of peace and amity. Two divisions followed; in one, a majority of 183 opposed the motion; in the other, the amendment was sanctioned by a plurality of 164 votes.

Lord Grenville proposed a declaration exactly resembling that which the commons had adopted, when the duke of Bedford had moved that no form of government which might prevail in France ought to prevent a peace, when it could be concluded without the loss of honour, and without detriment to the interest or security of the country. The duke of Norfolk preferred this motion to the secretary's amendment, which, he said, would increase the obstacles to negotiation. The bishop of Llandaff wished that the grounds of the war had been more clearly developed. He was disposed to think that it might have been avoided, if our court had offered its mediation at the close of the year 1792. The idea of checking the progress of democratical opinions struck him as a very insufficient reason for the war; and he thought it more advisable to leave France to take care of itself, than to waste our resources in a continuance of hostility. Our constitution was too firm to be easily shaken by the efforts of Jacobins; but, if we should obstinately persist in the war, our security might be greatly diminished. He was therefore friendly to the duke's motion, which, on the other hand, lord Hawkesbury controverted as leading to insecurity. The lord-chancellor said, that the motion might be variously construed, and that the amendment, being more definite, was more worthy of being adopted and recorded. Lord Auckland wished that the close of the secretary's proposition might be rendered less ambiguous. The bishop of Durham (Dr. Barrington) declaimed against French atrocities, and earnestly recommended a continuance of the war; to which the house, by a majority of 73, agreed.

The same spirit which dictated this determination induced each house to assent to a considerable loan for the service of the emperor, that he might be enabled to employ 200,000 men against the French. Mr. Fox said, that the non-compliance of the king of Prussia with his engagements, as he had not employed against the French the army which he was bound by treaty to bring into action, ought to operate as a caution against all advances of money to German princes; and he had no confidence in the efficacy of the proposed loan; but sir William Pulteney entertained a high opinion of its probable utility. Lord Grenville had so much reliance on the promised exertions of his imperial majesty, that he would rather consent to make a present of the desired sum, than lose the chance of expected benefit. The

marquis of Lansdown disapproved all connexions with German princes; but lord Hawkesbury and other peers were more credulous and confident.

Mr. Grey and the duke of Bedford soon renewed their pacific proposals, in more precise terms. Mr. Dundas, thinking that the late declarations were sufficient, moved the previous question; and a majority of 130 appeared for the ministry. The duke of Grafton supported the motion for peace; but lord Mulgrave (brother to the commodore) coolly ridiculed that unseasonable humanity which lamented the miseries of war in a crisis of extraordinary danger. The duke of Leeds was desirous of a speedy negotiation: the earl of Carlisle opposed it as unlikely to be effectual. On a division, the court prevailed by a majority of 86.

The abolition of the slave-trade was again recommended by Mr. Wilberforce, who affirmed that recent information tended to establish his conviction of the impolicy of this traffic. Mr. Barham and Mr. East dreaded the ruin of our plantations from the adoption of the proposed measure; but Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt ridiculed such apprehensions, and again condemned the atrocity of the system. By a majority of 17, however, the hopes of the friends of humanity were disappointed.

The critical state of the nation impelled Mr. Fox to propose an enquiry into the conduct of ministers. He admired our constitution in theory; but, if the executive power should persist in a wild and wanton profusion of blood and treasure, and the house of commons should be so insensible to disaster and disgrace, as not to enquire into the causes of our misfortunes and the circumstances of the country, it would be idle to contend that we enjoyed the practical benefits to which we were entitled by our form of government. In examining our resources, he reposed little confidence in our supplies of men, which, he thought, would fail much sooner than those of the enemy. With regard to money, our burdens had been so severely augmented, and our trade and manufactures were so sensibly on the decline, that new demands would be found extremely oppressive. Our resources in point of foreign connexion were not very considerable or important; and the common cause was not likely to prosper in the hands of our present allies. How far we might reckon justice among our resources, was the next point. To impress on the world a high idea of our justice, was a point of some moment; and the prevalence of such an opinion might have been of great service to our cause. But it did not appear that the credit of this quality, or that of wisdom, could be claimed by our ministers. Having noticed their various errors, and particularly referred to their late treatment of the Irish, Mr. Fox moved that the house should form a committee to examine the state of the nation.—Mr. Pitt said, that such an enquiry was unnecessary, as the topics which it would embrace had been already discussed, and that it would also be improper, as it might tend to unseasonable disclosures. He replied, in his plausible manner, to the chief points of the preceding speech, and then moved for an adjournment. Mr. Sheridan strongly recommended an enquiry, as he thought it might lead to peace; but a majority of 156 decided against it.

A similar proposal was made to the peers by the earl of Guildford, who took a review of ministerial misconduct, and was by no means sparing of his censures. Lord Grenville vindicated himself and his associates with spirit, and aggravated the miseries of the French nation. The marquis of Lansdown urged the ill success of the war as a forcible reason for enquiry. The duke of Richmond protested against an enquiry, as it would embarrass the executive government without tending to any good purpose; but, if a motion had been made against our continental connexions, he would have supported it. After other speeches, not remarkable for novelty, the earl lost his aim by a majority of 90.

Even some of the minister's friends expressed an inclination for peace, when Mr. Wilberforce moved, that the circumstances of France were not such as ought to preclude a negotiation. But Mr. Windham was of opinion, that we had at this time a more flattering prospect of success than in any former stage of the war, and that our continued efforts of hostility would be more productive of a secure peace, than any present overtures of that kind; and the motion was rejected by the superiority of 115. The earl of Lauderdale, having moved to the same effect, was answered by lord Grenville, and could only procure eight votes for peace

The long trial of Mr. Hastings was now brought to a conclusion. After the peers had investigated former modes of proceeding, the lord-chancellor discussed the Benares charge. He considered Mr. Hastings as having acted against Cheyt Sing under the influence of personal resentment, and under the unwarrantable idea of possessing an unlimited right of exaction in times of emergency; and therefore concluded that the commons had made good that article of accusation. Lord Thurlow disputed this opinion, and vindicated the governor-general in elaborate detail, but not always on constitutional principles. The earl of Caernarvon strongly contended for his delinquency; while the earl of Mansfield, the marquis of Lansdown, and the bishop of Rochester, maintained his innocence and extolled his services. The decision of the committee, on different parts of this charge, was favourable to Mr. Hastings.

In the consideration of the other charges, lord Thurlow was the chief defender of the governor-general. He maintained that the resumption of the jaghirs, on the part of the nabob, was a measure of sound policy; that the steps taken by Mr. Hastings to compel that prince to execute a scheme which, though it was originally proposed by himself, he was afterwards unwilling to enforce, were meritorious rather than criminal; and that his consent to the seizure of the treasures involved no criminality, as they were public property. The lord-chancellor condemned the concern of Mr. Hastings in those measures, and denied that the begums or their eunuchs had been guilty of rebellious acts. Lord Thurlow entered very fully into the charge respecting presents, controverting the statements and conclusions of the managers. The chancellor also differed from the prosecutors with regard to the early presents; but he agreed with them in the subsequent part of the charge. The archbishop of York ridiculed this branch of accusation as frivolous, and lamented the ill return made for the splendid services of Mr. Hastings. The article of contracts did not appear to lord Thurlow in that criminal light in which the managers viewed it; and the bishop of Rochester, though he thought there was something objectionable in the opium contract, did not consider that point, or any other part of this charge, as criminal; but the chancellor contended that, in most of the contracts and agencies, Mr. Hastings had been profuse and improvident, and was also guilty of disobedience to the express orders of the directors.

When every part of the accusation had been disallowed by the committee, the report was reviewed by the house; and, after some debates on the mode of proceeding, it was resolved that the question should be separately put on sixteen points. The greatest number of peers who voted the defendant guilty in any one respect, did not exceed six; the votes of innocence, in some of the charges, were twenty-six—in others, twenty-three—in one, nineteen. The chancellor then intimated the decision of the court to Mr. Hastings, who received it in silence, bowed, and retired from the bar.

The propriety of this sentence was chiefly disputed by the advocates of strict justice. The public in general, entertaining less rigid notions, seemed to be pleased with the acquittal of one who had conducted the affairs of his government with spirit and success, and who, though he had perhaps, on some occasions, disregarded the duties of refined morality, the dictates of virtuous policy, or the sentiments of humanity and moderation, had promoted the interests of his employers, secured their authority, extended and established their dominion.

The settlement of the affairs of the prince of Wales occasioned some dispute and altercation. But before we state the particulars of the adjustment, it is proper to inform our readers, that his royal highness, in compliance with the desire of his parents, had contracted a matrimonial alliance with his cousin, the princess Caroline of Brunswick. The duke of York had, some years before, espoused a lady of higher rank, the daughter of the king of Prussia, the more immediate object of his uninfluenced choice. Both connexions were approved by the public; and each princess was received, on her arrival, with loud acclamations.

On the marriage of the heir apparent, the king appealed to the "liberality and affection of his faithful commons," for the grant of a proper establishment to the prince and his bride; adding, that the benefit of an eventual settlement "must fail in its most desirable effect, if means should not be provided to

extricate his royal highness from the encumbrances under which he laboured to a great amount." It was proposed, that a part of the income which should be settled upon him, and also the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, should be appropriated to the discharge of his debts. The smallest annual sum that could fairly be allowed for the support of princely splendor, said Mr. Pitt, would be £138,000, including the produce of the duchy. The debts being £630,000, £25,000 ought to be annually subtracted from the income, and divided among the creditors; and, to prevent the contraction of new debts, no arrears should be allowed or claims admitted beyond each quarter of the year. He moved that the additional sum of £65,000 *per annum* should be granted to the prince, making in all an annual revenue of £125,000, besides the rents of the duchy of Cornwall, valued at £13,000.

After the termination of all parliamentary business, the session was closed (June 27th) by a speech from his majesty, in which he acknowledged the zealous and uniform regard which both houses had shewn to the wishes of the people; and the prudent, firm, and spirited support which they had continued to afford him in the prosecution of a just and necessary war. The efforts of the English ministry, however, were more strenuous than successful. The duke of York having quitted the British army, and the army itself having retired as the republicans advanced, the allies called a council of war on the 4th of January, at which it was determined to desert their positions on the river Waal. On the 10th of January, general Pichegru crossed the Waal at different places, and attacked the position occupied by general Walmoden, between Nimeguen and Arnheim. Equally unprepared for effectual resistance and for flight, the sickness of the combined army daily increased with the extreme severity of the weather, and no preparations having been made for their relief or accommodation, they were conveyed in *by-landers*, a small kind of vessel, down the Rhine, destitute of provisions, unaided by medical advice, with a scanty covering, and a miserable allowance of straw. The French took possession of Utrecht without opposition. Rotterdam surrendered on the 18th, and Dort followed the example on the succeeding day. The provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht, and Zealand were subjected to the dominion of France, and became the victims of the invader's rapacity. A supply of clothes and provisions was demanded for the army, and a pledge was given, on the part of the French republic, for the faithful repayment of the value; a pledge which, it is needless to observe, was not redeemed.

1795.

The situation of France, at this period, was such as to inflame the ambition and gratify the pride of a nation already too confident in its own superiority. A list of recent conquests and victories was printed and affixed to a tablet in the hall of the convention, and copies were sent to the armies. In the mean time, the British army was closely pursued by the republicans, consisting of 30,000 men. The former reached Deventer on the 27th of January, after one of the most distressing and fatiguing marches that was ever experienced by a retreating army. These marches were generally performed through ice or snow, mud or water, often up to their middle. On the 10th of February, they crossed the Vecht, which divides into two parts the province of Overyssel; and, on the 12th, they passed the Ems at Rheine. On the 24th, a body of French came up with them, and an engagement ensued; in which the British acted with so much firmness, that they were enabled to retire with inconsiderable loss. Resuming their march, with little interruption, they at length arrived in the county of Bremen, about the close of March. Assailed in every direction, they manfully fought their way through the provinces of Utrecht, Guelderland, Overyssel, and Groningen, almost destitute of necessaries, and encumbered with a heavy train of artillery, baggage, and waggons loaded with the sick and wounded. This dreadful trial of courage, patience, and military skill, lasted upwards of two months, and deservedly excited the admiration of Europe.

The savage barbarity of the Dutch boors to our suffering countrymen, was strongly and fortunately contrasted by the kind and cordial reception which they received from the inhabitants of Bremen, and they left that friendly and hospitable town with feelings of the most lively gratitude. On the 24th, they cleared the mouth of the Weser, and arrived in a few days at their respective places of destination.

During these movements of the hostile armies, a memorable revolution had taken place in the states of Holland. The stadtholder, perceiving how strongly the tide of popular opinion flowed against him, found his person no longer secure at the Hague. He therefore determined to withdraw from the provinces; with some difficulty he escaped from the infuriated populace, beneath the escort of his guards; and embarking (January 19th) at Schoeveling, with his son, arrived safe in England. On the following day, Pichegru, having been honoured by an invitation from the chiefs of the French party, entered Amsterdam amidst the acclamations of the multitude New magistrates and municipal officers were then appointed by a general assembly of the citizens; the example of this opulent city was followed by Haarlem, Leyden, and other towns; the Dutch admiral, stationed with a squadron off Zealand, hoisted the French flag; and the frontier fortresses of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Williamstadt, in compliance with a proclamation issued by the prevailing party, admitted the entrance of French troops.

His Prussian majesty, the most zealous advocate for the commencement of the war, was the first who deserted the common cause, when the general welfare required his most strenuous exertions. He expected, when he took the field in the cause of monarchy, to acquire glory and dominion at an easy rate; and, disappointed in his hopes, his spirit of enterprise gave way to his passion for luxurious inactivity. Tired of a fruitless war, alarmed at the dangers which it presented, and anxious to receive the support of France in the completion of his views on Poland, he accepted the pacific overtures of the French government. Baron Goltz was despatched to Basle to treat with the French minister, Barthelemy, on the terms of peace; and, after some obstructions, occasioned by the death of the Prussian ambassador, Monsieur de Hardenburg, his successor, concluded a treaty highly favourable to the interests of France. He engaged to leave to the French the occupation of the Prussian possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and to postpone every definitive arrangement, with respect to these provinces, till a general pacification should be concluded between France and the empire. The example was followed by the landgrave of Hesse; and the grand duke of Tuscany, violating his engagements with the coalition, promised to observe a strict neutrality, and acknowledged the French republic. A correspondence was opened with the chiefs of La Vendée, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the government, Charette, and the other leaders of insurrection, by which the insurgents, on condition of acknowledging the republic, and delivering up their arms, were pardoned, assured of the free exercise of their religion, and indemnified for their losses. Charette was appointed to the command of 2000 republican troops.

A correspondence was afterwards opened between the Chouan chiefs, who had not made their peace with the state, and the emigrants in England; and a plan was concerted for causing a diversion in favour of the allied armies, by a descent on the coast of Brittany. In pursuance of this design, sir John Borlase Warren sailed with a squadron to the French coast, and debarked 3000 men, chiefly emigrants, in the bay of Quiberon. Their force was in a short time augmented to above 10,000 men; but the army was no sooner formed, than their fate was decided. Without discipline, subordination, or conduct, they were reduced to the necessity of contending with a body of forces under Hoche, an officer of experience. Being taken by surprise in their camp (July 20th) they were all cut to pieces or made prisoners. Many of the emigrants made their peace, by uniting to disarm their officers, and exclaiming, *Vive la Republique!* and count de Sambreuil, and several other persons of distinction, who had rashly embarked in this hazardous and ill-timed enterprise, were condemned as traitors, and shot at Vannes.

After vast exertions to provide for the ensuing campaign, by enormous taxes, and by the confiscation of the property of emigrants, and traitors to the state, it was opened with active operations before Luxemburg, which had been invested in the preceding autumn. The place is of unusual strength, and was defended by a strong garrison under general Bender, an officer of distinguished character. They sustained the vigorous assaults and the severe bombardments of the besiegers with exemplary bravery; but when the general saw that no prospect of relief remained, he thought it advisable to save the

lives of his men by a capitulation, which enabled him to withdraw his garrison to Germany, rather than sacrifice his troops by a resistance, which could only terminate in unconditional surrender.

The Rhine was destined to be the scene of renewed hostilities, and on that river the ablest generals on each side prepared to display their genius. Mentz was now the grand object of the French government: the possession of that fortress would greatly facilitate their intention to make the Rhine the boundary of their dominions, and its situation at the junction of that river with the Maine, would secure them an opening into the empire.

After some months of inaction, general Jourdan (September 6th) renewed his operations with the reduction of Dusseldorf. Clairfait, who was obliged to continue his retreat before him, was anxious to form a junction with Wurmser, who was stationed at a considerable distance on the south of the Maine, that they might be enabled, when united, to confront their enemy, and counteract his designs. To prevent the execution of this plan, Pichegru, who had already gained possession of Manheim, posted a strong body of forces to intercept Clairfait's march, and enable them to prosecute their purpose of investing Mentz. This movement brought on an action between that division and Clairfait's army, in which the French were successful, and drove the Austrians from their posts. But while they were gratifying their passion for plunder, in which they had been too much indulged, the Austrian cavalry came suddenly upon them, and so completely routed them, that, after an ineffectual attempt to rally, they were forced to retreat precipitately to Manheim. The success of the Austrians on this day (October 26th) changed the fortune of the campaign. Clairfait, who had received strong reinforcements, surprised the camp of Jourdan, which was covering the siege of Mentz, compelled him to decamp in haste, leaving part of his artillery behind him, and harassed his retreat to Dusseldorf, where he repassed the Rhine, by continual skirmishing in his rear.

Pichegru, in the mean time, was equally unsuccessful in the prosecution of his part of the plan. He had ordered the army engaged in the siege of Mentz to be strengthened, and was hastening from Manheim to assume the command, and to bring the Austrians to a battle. But while he was preparing for the execution of his design, he had the mortification to receive intelligence, that the besiegers had been so vigorously attacked by a strong body of Austrians, supported by a sally from the garrison, that they were driven from their works, and forced to retire, with the loss of their artillery. Clairfait, pursuing Jourdan's retreating army across the Rhine, formed a junction with Wurmser, and recovered the districts of the palatinate, which lie on the west side of that river, between it and the Moselle: Pichegru was constrained to repass the Rhine, in order to co-operate with Jourdan in checking the progress of the Austrians, who were now meditating the recovery of the Luxemburg; and Manheim, though guarded by a strong garrison, which he left for its defence, was reduced (November 23rd) by the Austrians. Happily for the wearied and exhausted troops on both sides, a severe season put an end to active hostilities, and afforded them a period of refreshment, while their respective governments were meditating new plans for the prosecution of the war.

The internal proceedings of the French republic were at this time more determined and energetic than the operations of the armies. The leaders of the convention had endeavoured to prolong their power by a decree; which provided for the continuance of two-thirds of the assembly in their legislative capacity. This ordinance gave great offence to the advocates of the right of popular election, whose disgust was inflamed by the suggestions of the aristocratic party. The citizens, rising in a body, mustered all their sections, and had taken possession of several advantageous posts in various parts of the city, when Buonaparte, then at Paris, was placed at the head of the conventionists. A battle ensued near the Thuilleries, which was fought with desperate fury for four hours. Undaunted by the unexpected appearance of a considerable military force, the citizens displayed much courage in the engagement; but they were at last obliged to yield to the superior address of their antagonists, supported by artillery, with which they themselves were unprovided, and commanded by an officer, who enhanced the merit of his past services by his behaviour at this critical

juncture. This victory proved decisive of the contest. Confident in their present strength, and yet fearing the eventual effects of that national odium which they were conscious of having incurred, the members of the convention, Tallien, Freron, and other advocates for coercion, procured the appointment of a commission of five persons, who were empowered to deliberate on the measures proper to be adopted for the safety of the country. This proceeding defeated its own purpose, by the alarm which it excited in the convention. The moderate party made a firm and effectual opposition to their designs. The commission of five was annulled; a new constitution was finally adopted; and the convention dissolved itself. By the new constitution, 500 men in the prime of life were to form one legislative council; and 250 above forty years of age were to compose another assembly, or council of antients. Five directors, chosen by the legislature, were to be entrusted with the executive power. The new directors were not men of honour, humanity, or virtue; but some of them possessed considerable abilities. Carnot, who had superintended the military department, was one of the number; the four others were Barras, Rewbell, La Reveillere Lepaux, and Le Tourneur. All were regicides, but Le Tourneur was the least violent of the whole body. Under the auspices of such a government, the French people flattered themselves that they were at length rescued from those evils, which they had so long endured from the tyranny of successive factions; and their prepossessions were confirmed by the circulation of a decree, proclaiming the unrestricted exercise of religious liberty.

Amidst these scenes of disorder, the Bourbon dynasty in France, which had been for ages so illustrious, was terminated by the death of the dauphin, Lewis Charles, the only surviving son of Lewis XVI., in his twelfth year. His death was attributed to the scrophula by those who opened his body, but the persecutions which he suffered, and the squalid and comfortless state in which he lived, evidently hastened his dissolution. His uncle, Lewis Stanislaus Xavier, now assumed the title of Lewis XVIII. and issued a proclamation to animate the friends of his family, but the disasters sustained by the English and the emigrants at Quiberon, rendered all his efforts to extend the number and influence of the royalists unavailing.

The disasters of the war having considerably reduced the maritime force of France, the naval transactions of the summer were casual and unimportant; but the vast extent of British commerce gave our enemies a great advantage in predatory warfare. Fleets were fitted out from Toulon and Rochefort, which made considerable prizes on the West Indian trade, and their ports were filled with vessels of different descriptions, which had fallen into the hands of their privateers and cruisers.

The only memorable exploit of the enemy was performed by admiral Richery, who captured, off St. Vincent, great part of our Mediterranean fleet of sixty sail, richly laden, under convoy of three ships of the line and four frigates. Among the most important actions of the year, must be numbered the engagement of the Blanche, of 30 guns, with the La Pique, of 38; in which the French ship was forced to strike, after a desperate engagement, which proved fatal to the English commander, captain Faulkner. Admiral Hotham, being stationed in the Mediterranean with fourteen ships of the line, fell in (March 14th) with a French fleet of fifteen ships, laden with troops and stores destined for Corsica, and frustrated for a time the enemy's plan, for the recovery of the island by capturing two of their vessels, and compelling the rest to take refuge in Toulon.

The gallant retreat of admiral Cornwallis, with five ships of the line, before a force considerably superior to his own, evinced the skill of the admiral, and the usual coolness of British seamen. For a considerable time he had been cruising off Belleisle, where he captured some valuable merchant-ships; but, standing in with the land near the Penmarks, on the 16th of June, the Phaeton frigate made a signal, that an enemy's fleet was in sight, consisting of no fewer than thirteen line of battle-ships. The French, about nine the next morning, commenced the attack, which the British vigorously repelled, keeping up a running fire during the whole day. Admiral Cornwallis accomplished his escape from his perilous situation by a singular manœuvre. The repeating frigate hoisted a flag, purporting that a large British fleet was in sight, and the French commander, understanding,

the English signal thought it prudent to retire. On the 23rd of the same month, (June) the French squadron did actually fall in with a superior British fleet under lord Bridport. The engagement, which commenced at an early hour in the morning, continued till three in the afternoon, at which time three large ships of the enemy struck their colours, and the rest of the squadron, by keeping close on shore, escaped into L'Orient. In the month of October, the French seized thirty merchant-men freighted from the Mediterranean and the Levant, with a ship of the line, which formed part of the convoy. In the West Indies, they recovered the whole of Guadaloupe, successfully attacked the fort of Tiburon in St. Domingo, and became masters of St. Eustatius. Their restless commander, Victor Hughes, excited the most dangerous insurrections among the negroes and people of colour in the British islands, St. Lucia was evacuated by Stewart, the governor-general, and it was with much difficulty that Grenada, Dominique, and St. Vincent's were preserved. The Dutch states, however, were severely chastised for their enmity to England by the loss of the cape of Good Hope, which was reduced by an armament sent out (September 16th) for the purpose, under the command of admiral Elphinstone, lieutenant-general sir Alured Clarke, and major-general Craig. On the 14th of July, the Dutch governor, having not only rejected, in the most peremptory terms, the proposals which had been made to him, that the settlement should place itself under the protection of Great Britain, but having also acted in a manner demonstrative of such hostile dispositions, as to justify a suspicion, which was conveyed to major-general Craig, of an intention to set fire to Simon's Tower, from which all the inhabitants had been obliged to retire by his order, the major-general, in concurrence with the admiral, deemed it expedient to prevent the execution of his purpose, by landing and taking possession of the place, which he accordingly did, with a part of the 78th regiment and some marines, amounting together to about 800 men.—The Burgher militia, and Hottentots, who occupied the surrounding hills, continually fired upon the British patroles, while the latter were restrained by the directions which they had received not to commit any act of hostility towards the Dutch troops.—Hostilities being, however, thus commenced, and the period approaching when they might reasonably expect the arrival of some troops and stores, which had been requested of the governor at St. Helena, it was an object of consequence to dispossess the Dutch forces of the post which they occupied at the important pass of Muizenberg, as by it a more ready communication would have been opened with the country. Accordingly a detachment of seamen was landed, which was formed into two battalions, and on the morning of the 7th of August the whole moved forward to the point of attack.

1795.

The post of Muizenberg being extremely strong to the front, and covered by a numerous field of artillery, against which the British general had not one gun to oppose, his principal reliance was upon the fire from the ships, which being properly disposed of, produced every effect which could be expected. The enemy were driven from two twenty-four pounders, which were directed towards the sea, and abandoned the post before general Craig could arrive near enough to profit completely from the success, as they carried off all their artillery, except the two heavy guns above-mentioned, and one brass six-pounder, with two eight-inch howitzers.

The enemy having, however, taken post on an advantageous ridge of rocky heights, very strong, and difficult of access, a little beyond the camp, the advanced-guard, under the command of major Moneypenny, of the 78th, supported by a battalion of that regiment, attacked and drove them from thence with the greatest spirit, although, in addition to the strength of the ground, the enemy were further protected by cannon from the opposite side of the Lagoon, which covers the post of Muizenberg towards the Cape Town. In this affair, which terminated only with the day, the activity and spirit of the light company of the 78th were conspicuously displayed. On the following morning, the enemy having drawn out their whole force from the Cape Town, they advanced with eight field-pieces to attack the British, but finding them strongly posted, and being themselves fired upon from the pieces they had left behind the preceding day, they desisted from the attempt, and retired after some skirmishing. On the 9th, a reinforcement of 352 rank

and file, with some field artillery, arrived from St. Helena.

At this period the future operations of the army became an object of most serious consideration.—On the one hand, as the enemy appeared numerous, and disposed to an obstinate defence, for which they had had ample time to make the best preparations, general Craig could not but be sensible that the force under his command was, in point of numbers, inadequate to the attempt of reducing them; and he had little to rely on to counterbalance the disparity. He possessed no cattle nor carriages for the transport of ammunition or provisions, and a communication of twelve miles was to be kept up, to be furnished with either, at least till he could open a shorter one with the ships that the admiral might send to Table Bay, for which the season was still very unfavourable. On the other hand, though these difficulties were sufficiently discouraging, yet the arrival of general Clarke, under whom lieutenant-colonel Ferguson served, was uncertain, and the state of general Craig's provisions was such as to render the possibility of his stay, till it should happen, very doubtful.

Under the above circumstances, general Craig determined to make an attempt by night on the most considerable of the enemy's out-posts, in the hope that a severe execution among the Burgher militia might intimidate them, and produce events to his advantage. It took place on the 27th; but, unfortunately, notwithstanding every effort on the part of lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie, who commanded, it failed, from the intricacy of the roads, and the timidity and ignorance of the guides, while it served only to produce among the enemy a degree of vigilance, which soon convinced general Craig of the impracticability of any further attempt by way of surprise.

On the morning of the 1st of September, the enemy having lined the mountains above the British with Hottentots and Burgher militia, commenced a fire of musketry upon their camp, which, from the total want of effect a former attempt of the same nature had experienced, was little attended to, till unfortunately the piquet of the reserve, being too much occupied with covering themselves from it, neglected their front, from whence the enemy poured in considerable numbers, and forced them with some loss. Captain Brown, with the 78th grenadiers, advancing, however, to their support, the enemy were immediately driven down the hill again, and the ground of the piquets re-occupied.

It was now agreed upon between general Craig and admiral Elphinstone, to wait six days longer for the possibility of the arrival of general Clarke, and that, if he did not appear by that time, general Craig should then advance, and, under every disadvantage of numbers and situation, try the fortune of an attack, which, however hazardous, they deemed it their duty to make, before the total failure of their provisions put them under an absolute necessity of seeking a supply elsewhere.

On the morning of the 3rd, however, the enemy, encouraged by the little success which had attended the attempt of the British on the 1st, meditated a general attack on their camp, which in all probability would have been decisive of the fate of the colony: they advanced in the night, with all the strength they could muster, and with a train of not less than 18 field-pieces. Some movements which had been observed the preceding evening, had given a suspicion of their intention, and the British were perfectly prepared to receive them. They were on their march, and considerable bodies began to make their appearance within the view of the British, when at that critical moment the signal for a fleet disconcerted them, and the appearance of 14 sail of large vessels, which came in sight immediately after, induced them to relinquish their enterprise, and retire to their former posts. General Clarke came to an anchor in Simon's Bay the next morning.

General Clarke immediately disembarked the regiments, artillery, and necessary stores, and forwarded them to the advanced post, as fast as possible, where, through great exertions, as much provision was collected as might enable them to sit down before the town, and go on till they should communicate with the British ships in Table Bay, or draw some assistance from the country behind them; and having made the best arrangement they could for transporting provisions, guns, stores, ammunition, and necessary articles of every kind, by the only means in their power, men's labour, the British troops marched on the 14th from Muizenberg, leaving a sufficient

detachment for the protection of their camp and stores, at that place. The enemy could see all their motions, and the country through which they had to pass for several miles, being very favourable to the sort of warfare that it was the business of the enemy to pursue, (many of them being on horseback, and armed with guns, that kill at a great distance) the British general had reason to think his troops would be greatly harassed, and suffer much on their route. This loss, however, from the precautions taken, and the shyness of the enemy, fortunately proved less than might have been expected, having only one seaman killed, and seventeen soldiers wounded, in the progress to the post of Wynberg, where the enemy were in force with nine pieces of cannon, and had determined to make serious resistance.

General Clarke formed the army from columns of march in two lines, and made a detachment from his right and left, to attack both their flanks, whilst, with the main body and artillery, he advanced against their centre. The enemy found themselves so pressed by the British, and at the same time alarmed by the appearance of commodore Blaukett with three ships the admiral had detached into Table Bay, to cause a diversion on that side, of which they were very jealous, that they retired with the loss of a few men, from the British cannon, before the troops could gain the top of the hill, from whence they followed them close for two miles; but dark coming on, and great part of the troops being much fatigued, by the burdens they carried, and a march through very swampy ground, general Clarke determined to halt for the night, with the intention of prosecuting his march at day-light next morning.

In the mean time, an officer arrived with a flag of truce, and a letter from governor Slyskin, requesting a cessation of arms, for 48 hours, to arrange and offer proposals for surrendering the town; but the British general did not think it prudent to grant more than 24, in which period every thing was settled, agreeably to articles of capitulation, whereby the regular troops, that formed the garrison, became prisoners of war, and the British were put in full possession of the town and colony.

Trincomale was taken in the month of August, and before the end of October the island of Columbus, many Dutch settlements in Ceylon, Malacca on the peninsula of that name, Chinsura in the bay of Bengal, and Cochin on the coast of Malabar, surrendered to the English. These successes would have been received by the English nation with universal exultation, had not the scarcity of corn and the pressure of taxes excited the murmurs of the people. So great was the agitation of the country, and so numerous were the petitions against the continuance of war, that it was deemed advisable to assemble the legislature early in the autumn, on account of the critical situation of national affairs. The populace, assembling round the state-coach, as the king was proceeding to Palace Yard, indulged in angry acclamations, expressive of their abhorrence of the war, their aversion to the premier, and their antipathy to kingly government. They threw stones at his majesty's carriage; and a bullet was discharged from an air-gun near Palace Yard, which penetrated the window of that edifice.

The speech from the throne, the purport of the address, the objections of the opposition, and the answers in justification of the present measures, breathed the same spirit as those of the preceding session, and therefore need not be related. A proclamation was issued, (October 31st) offering £1000 for the discovery of any individual guilty of the outrages against his majesty's person; and all magistrates and well-affected persons were enjoined to exert themselves in suppressing unlawful meetings, and preventing the circulation of seditious writings.

These measures were a prelude to the more important proceedings of the legislature. On the 6th of November, the earl of Grenville brought in his bill for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government, against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts. On the same day, a bill was brought into the house of commons, by Mr. Pitt, for the prevention of seditious meetings. The merits of those bills were discussed with great vehemence. In the debate on the latter, the premier indirectly acknowledged the unconstitutional nature of his bill, by resting its justification on the absolute necessity of such an expedient to restrain the proceedings of assemblies, whose opinions and discourses were inimical to

good order, and obedience to government. It was proposed that, previous to the assemblage of any popular meeting, notice should be given to the magistrates, who should attend upon the occasion; and if any seditious views were betrayed, should seize the guilty on the spot. To obstruct him was an act of felony, and if the meeting did not disperse at his command, the penalties provided by the riot act should be inflicted on the refractory. There was, he observed, another species of meeting, consisting of persons who attended public lectures on political subjects. The lecturers were persons notoriously disaffected to government, and the doctrines they delivered were calculated to instil the most pernicious principles of resistance and rebellion to the established powers. In order to obviate this difficulty, the act against disorderly houses should be applied to meetings of this kind, whenever they exceeded, by a stated number, the real family of the house. He was answered by Mr. Fox, who displayed in the strongest terms, and the most energetic eloquence, the formidable tendency of the bill. After some strictures on the number of persons (50) to whom the bill had limited all future meetings, he continued, "Behold the state of a free Englishman; before he can discuss any topic which involves his liberty or his rights, he is to send to a magistrate, who is to be present at the discussion. That magistrate cannot prevent the meeting; but he can prevent their speaking, because he can allege, that what is said has a tendency to disturb the peace of the kingdom." Notwithstanding the eloquent appeal of Mr. Fox, so critical and so perilous were the times, that it was thought advisable, by a great majority in both houses, to make a sacrifice of the dearest rights of the people to the public safety; and the bill, after repeated discussions, received the legislative sanction.

1795.

CHAPTER XLIII.

GEORGE III.

[1796.]

His Majesty's Message—Charges against Ministers—Mission of Lord Malmsbury to Paris—His precipitate Departure—Campaigns in Germany and Italy—Ascendancy of France—Dissolution of the British Parliament, and Proceedings of its Successor—Death of Catherine of Russia—Descent on Ireland—Capture of Dutch Settlements—Victory of Captain Elphinstone.

THE premier embraced the opportunity presented by the recent change in the constitution of France, to deprive the domestic factions of their chief ground of censure, and to conciliate the approbation of the dispassionate by declaring, that the nature of the French government was no longer a bar to the commencement of a negotiation. The message of his majesty to the house of commons informed them, that "the crisis which was depending at the close of the present session, has led to such an order of things in

France, as will induce his majesty, conformably to the sentiments which he had always declared, to meet any disposition for negotiation on the part of the enemy, and with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, and to conclude a treaty for a general peace, whenever it can be effected on just and suitable terms for himself and his allies." Mr. Sheridan endeavoured to detract from the merit of this declaration by ascribing it to a desire of influencing the members against Mr. Grey's proposed motion for peace, founding his opinion on its inconsistency with the minister's former sentiments and conduct respecting the war. To this the minister replied by observing, that "no opportunity had offered to encourage ideas of peace; which, however, had not been prevented by the mere existence of a republic in France, but by a total absence of any species of regular government. The change now was manifest: the new constitution was contrary to the principle of universal equality; the French had now a fixed form of government, admitting of distinctions in society, and their legislature was not constructed on principles purely democratic. The amendment to the address, proposed by Mr. Sheridan, was rejected; and the same issue attended Mr. Grey's subsequent motion for peace.

The latter gentleman, on the 10th of March, after descanting on the embarrassments of the financial department, moved, "that the house should resolve itself into a committee to enquire into the state of the nation. Mr. Jenkinson, in answer to the purport of the motion, referred to the flourishing state of our commerce, the increase of our resources, and the establishment of the sinking fund. Mr. Pitt vindicated his own conduct in terms of triumphant expostulation, which were severely felt by the minority; and the debate was continued with unusual asperity of language and sentiment. The minister accused the opposition of supporting the confidence of the enemy by gross misrepresentation, and they accused him, in return, of positive and wilful delusion. Not all the eloquence, however, of Mr. Fox, nor the sarcasm of Mr. Sheridan, appeared to make the slightest impression on the ministerial members; and when the resolutions moved by the ministers, respecting the new loans and the additional taxes, were (May 1st) put to the vote, they were carried without a division of the house. The opposition were discomfited, but not discouraged. Mr. Grey renewed and multiplied his charges, and moved them to be sufficient grounds of impeachment; but the premier vindicated his conduct with his usual plausibility and success, the motion being dismissed by a majority of 209 to 38. Nothing memorable occurred during the remainder of the session, which closed on the 19th of May, and soon after the parliament was dissolved.

The negotiation with France was the great important object of public curiosity. In consequence of a proposal from Mr. Wickham, the English envoy at the Swiss cantons, to M. Barthelemy, the French minister at Basle, a reply was received from the directory, importing that they were willing to treat; but that the retention of the Austrian Netherlands, now annexed by a formal decree to the French republic, was an indispensable condition. After some previous correspondence with the French directory, lord Malmsbury was sent to Paris, and was received with a coolness, ominous of the failure of his mission. In the course of the negotiation, the French government, who had been elated by the recent victories of Buonaparte, said that the overture of the English was occasioned by the failure of the British court in an attempt to re-unite the king of Prussia in the confederacy against France. The strength of the allies was at this moment reduced, many of the enemies of the republic were converted into friends, and they were encouraged by representations of the discontents existing in the British kingdoms, to look forward to success of a partial invasion. The difficulties arising from the temper of the French were enhanced by the proposed restoration of the stadtholder; and a want of sufficient powers in lord Malmsbury to treat for the allies, and his refusal to treat separately, were adduced as pretexts of remonstrance and delay. Having listened to the ambassador's requisitions, and secured to themselves the merit which the negotiation would give them in the eyes of the people, the directory began to assume a more lofty tone. After the conference had been continued eight weeks, they required the whole of lord Malmsbury's demands to be stated to them in twenty-four hours; and, on his replying that this pre-

cluded all future negotiation, they derided his commission as inadequate to its ostensible purpose, and ordered him (Dec. 10th) to depart in forty-eight hours.

The republican directors were preparing for a vigorous campaign, when their powers were menaced by a conspiracy. Babœuf, Drouet, Laignelot, and other turbulent men, directed by ex-deputies, were the intended agents in this plot, in which both Jacobins and royalists were concerned. Their views were pointed to the overthrow of the directory and the new constitution, and to a re-establishment of the code of 1793; but the plot was directed before the conspirators were ready for action, and Babœuf and some of his accomplices were put to death. The sequel of the scheme may here be mentioned, though it occurred four months afterwards. About 500 armed men advanced to the camp of Grenelle, near Paris, intending probably to court the soldiery to a junction with them. They were quickly repelled with loss, and totally defeated. Three members of the late convention (Huguet, Iovoques, and Cusset) were tried by a military committee, for a concern in this violent scheme, and capitally punished.

May 10.

General Jourdan was still employed in Germany, to maintain the cause of the republic. About the close of the spring, he detached Kleber to attack the prince of Wirtemberg, who was stationed between the Sieg and the Lahn. The French fought with such impetuosity and vigour, that the prince was driven from his post with considerable loss. He retired to Uckerah; and, when Kleber was preparing to surround him, hastened to Altenkirchen, where he was exposed to a fresh attack. The French were again victorious; and their success drew the archduke Charles to the Lahn, that he might check their career. Near Wetzlaer he assaulted a strong position, which Le Febvre had chosen, and, by repeated efforts, obtained the advantage. He soon after compelled Jourdan to repass the Rhine, and sent about 12,000 men, under Kray, to harass Kleber, who was retiring with twice that number toward the Sieg. The French general hoped to overpower his antagonists; and his confidence for a time seemed to be well-founded: but the courage and firmness of three of Kray's battalions signally contributed to turn the tide of victory. Unshaken by the numerous artillery of the enemy, they rushed upon nine battalions with fixed bayonets, and, by defeating that part of Kleber's army, furnished the Saxon and Austrian cavalry with an opportunity of rallying. Those who so lately exulted in the hopes of triumph, now made a hasty retreat toward Dusseldorf.

An invasion of Suabia was undertaken by the gallant and active Moreau. The fort of Kehl being weakly garrisoned, a small part of his force reduced it without the aid of cannon. He improved the works of the place; and then advanced with alacrity, expecting to divide the imperial army of the Upper Rhine. Of the three divisions of his army, the strongest was that which Desaix conducted. When this officer had attacked general La Tour with advantage at Renchen, he was joined by Moreau, who engaged the same commander near Rastadt, and, after a long conflict, dislodged him from a strong post. Latour, as he was retiring, was gratified by the enlivening presence of the archduke, who stationed himself at Etlingen to observe the movements of Moreau.

Encouraged by the departure of Charles, Jourdan again crossed the Rhine; and, driving the Austrians before him, also passed the Lahn; between which river and the Maine the French forced all the posts of their adversaries, who, retiring to Frankfort, were soon dispossessed of that city. The archduke was now apprehensive of great danger, from the eventual co-operation of Jourdan and Moreau; and, to avoid it, he determined upon a speedy engagement with the latter general. He had made judicious arrangements for that purpose, when Moreau attacked him in every point of his position. Keim, who commanded the left division of the Austrians, repelled four assaults; but being at length outflanked, he retreated to Pfortzheim. Charles had baffled the attempts of the enemy on his right and in the centre; but the retreat of the rest of the army, and the seizure of the mountains on his left, rendered it expedient that he should quit the field. After various skirmishes, the movements of the archduke were still retrograde, and the troops that opposed Jourdan also continued to retreat, maintaining, however, a communication with the grand army.

Near Allersheim, Charles expected, by a

general action to arrest the progress of Moreau, but the bad state of the roads, in consequence of intervening rain, so retarded the advance of his columns, that the French general had time to prepare completely for his defence. The Austrian centre prevailed, until the right had been severely treated; yet the latter division was on the point of being reinforced and rallied, when intelligence of the progress of Jourdan to a junction with Moreau induced the archduke to desist from the conflict, although he found that his left wing had been very successful.

Turning his eye to the operations of Jourdan, who threatened an irruption into Bohemia and Upper Austria, the heroic defender of Germany hastened from the Danube to the Naab, and prepared to crush the bold invader. He sent three columns against the front of the French army, and directed four others to turn it upon the right and left. Jourdan, however, was not disposed to await the dangerous experiment. He precipitately retired to Amberg, where his pursuers routed a part of his discouraged host. At Sultzbach he sustained further loss. Still harassed, he reached the Maine by forced marches, and halted near Schweinfort.

To facilitate the expulsion of the enemy from Franconia, general Hotze seized the town of Wurtzburg, and maintained the post against an impetuous attack from Jourdan. Retiring to Kornach, the republican commander resolved to await, in a favourable position, an assault from the archduke. The Austrians, by a vigorous charge, compelled the French cavalry to retreat, but were themselves disordered by the fire from the batteries erected upon a chain of hills. The heights were at length forced, and Jourdan was defeated, with only the loss of about 800 men on the part of the victors, while 5000 of the French were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The well-stored citadel of Wurtzburg was now obliged to surrender; and the Austrians improved their success by a diligent pursuit of the routed foe.

If the French had not acted with iniquitous violence, the miseries of their retreat would have excited the compassion of their adversaries. Fatigue, hunger, and the hostilities both of the soldiery and the incensed peasants, harassed and greatly thinned the retiring army, or rather the fugitive parties. The circle of Franconia was soon freed from its licentious invaders; and the works of Dusseldorf secured the vanquished general and the remains of his force.

When Charles left the banks of the Danube, he had entrusted general La Tour with the defence of Bavaria. Moreau passed the Lech, but was prevented, by the arrival of a strong detachment which the archduke sent, from penetrating beyond the Iser. Having intimidated the elector into a retreat from his capital, he granted to that prince the indulgence of an armistice, on condition of the gradual payment of ten millions of livres, and the immediate or speedy delivery of a great quantity of corn, articles of clothing, and works of art. Intent on this accommodation, the French general neglected the concert which policy required him to maintain with Jourdan; and for some weeks he had no knowledge of the movements, either of that officer or his brave antagonist. He was over-reached on this occasion by the secrecy and circumspection of Charles; and when he was informed of the defeat of Jourdan, and apprehended the return of the archduke, he began to be sensible of the necessity of a retreat In eluding the approximation of his adversaries, he manifested ability and judgment; but his celebrated retreat deserves more distinct notice than such general remarks would include or convey.

When Desaix had been attacked with success in preparing to join Moreau, whose rear-guard had also been defeated, the commander-in-chief retired to the Lech. To repel his pursuers, he again pushed forward, until the danger of being surrounded drove him back to that river. He intended to take the route of Ulm, and pass through the duchy of Wirtemberg; but when the Austrians obstructed his course to Stutgard, he turned off to Biberach. Driven from this town, he marched from the north-west; and failing in an attack of the van-guard of La Tour near Schussenreid, made a bold effort against the whole force which that general personally commanded. He defeated the right wing near Riedlingen, and constrained the left and centre to retire. The corps of Condé being ordered to cover the retreat, performed that service with distinguished spirit, and prevented the ruin of the army. About three thousand five hundred of the Austrians were

made prisoners on this occasion, and five hundred lost their lives.

This victory did not so far encourage Moreau, as to prevent a renewal of his retrograde movements. He divided his army into three columns, which retired in parallel lines, the right and left opening the passage into the Black Forest, and the centre keeping Latour in check. Desaix dislodged general Petrusch from some important posts; but the retreat was still exposed to great difficulties. Two passages presented an alternative, and each was so guarded as to be pregnant with danger. Moreau preferred the *Valley of Hell*, not deterred by the appropriate and formidable name. His centre routed the defenders of the pass, and reached Freyburg, which the Austrians in vain endeavored to preserve. The rest of his army also effected a retreat to that town, while La Tour hovered on the rear.

The archduke now re-appeared on the Upper Rhine, and finding Kehl too well guarded to be taken by a *coup de main*, ordered it to be blockaded. He then advanced towards the Black Forest, and, with La Tour and his chief associates, formed a line from the river to St. Peter's valley. The position of the Brisgaw was now bravely contested. After some partial conflicts, in one of which the duke d'Enghien signalised his courage, a general action took place. The Austrian right wing, conducted by La Tour, attacked Kentzingen; but, being twice repelled, did not succeed before the archduke had made a furious charge at the head of the grenadiers. The centre, under Wartensleben, assaulted the heights near Malmertingen, and forced them by vigour and perseverance. Petrusch, with the left wing, encountered serious difficulties, which, however, did not prevent him from dislodging the well-posted enemy. The woods above Keimbach were seized by Meerfeldt. Prince Frederic of Orange turned the right of Moreau; and Nauendorf at Waldkirch baffled the personal efforts of the able commander.

Retiring to the southward, along the Rhine, Moreau made choice of Eckenheim, Steinstadt, and some intermediate villages, for a new position. The selection was allowed to be judicious; but the strength of the line did not effectually secure it. The Austrians ultimately forced it; and the French then retreated to Huningen, where they passed the Rhine in the face of a vigilant foe, and saved even their artillery and baggage.

After this admirable retreat, the attention of Moreau was directed to the preservation of fort Kehl, which, under the archduke's eye, was subjected to a vigorous siege. The general having sent Desaix with a reinforcement to the garrison, that officer impetuously sallied out, and took three of the redoubts erected by the besiegers; but after both parties had sustained considerable loss, he returned wounded to the fort. The siege was continued for seven weeks; and the Austrians, during that time, lost about 10,000 men by the fire of the garrison, fatigue, and disease.

The war was carried on with extraordinary vigour beyond the Alps. The directory earnestly wished, not only to force the king of Sardinia into a peace beneficial to France in point of territorial acquisition, but also to dispossess the Austrians of the Milanese, and abridge their power in other parts of Italy. For the accomplishment of these wishes, an officer who had great courage, but little experience, was placed at the head of a numerous army. This was Buonaparte, who, in the vicinity of Savona, reviewed his forces, and prepared them for action. As he seemed to threaten the city of Genoa, a detachment of the allied army advanced to the suburbs; and Beaulieu, who had been sent to take the chief command of the Austrian troops, made arrangements for the attack of the whole French line. The success of the plan depended chiefly on the exertions of Argenteau, who was ordered to assault three strong redoubts, raised one above another. He forced two of the number, but failed in the attack of the third. Beaulieu was not unsuccessful near Genoa, as general Cervoni fled before him; and Colli, who commanded the troops of the Sardinian prince, made some progress near the Tanaro, until the apprehension of losing his communication with the Austrians, in consequence of the dexterous movements of Buonaparte, constrained him to fall back. Being outflanked by the French, Argenteau was routed at Monte-nottè; and the rest of the army also found it expedient to retreat.

Elated with this victory, Buonaparte took

the earliest opportunity of acquiring fresh laurels. At Monte-lezino he broke the concert between the Piedmontese and the Austrians, and, having defeated the former, attacked the latter with energy. He did not, April 14. however, easily triumph over them. Colonel Wuckassovich distinguished himself on this occasion by his courage and firmness, and considerably thinned the ranks of the battalions which assailed his division. About 6000 men in the vanquished army were killed, wounded, or captured.

1796. The victorious general now marched toward the Tanaro, and, during four successive days, assaulted a position which the Piedmontese had chosen. They then abandoned it in the night, and, being closely pursued, were encountered near Mondovi. Unable to withstand the superior number of the enemy, they formed a strong line behind the Stura, from Coni to Cherasco. The safety of Piedmont in general, and of its capital in particular, depended on the preservation of this line of defence. The ill fortune of the allies, in this campaign, so depressed the spirits of the king of Sardinia, that he had not the courage to continue the war. He found his troops precluded from Austrian aid, and did not expect that they would be able long to maintain their defensive post. Even a dishonourable peace he thought was preferable to hostilities that might be ruinous. He therefore sent plenipotentiaries to treat with the French commissaries at Genoa; and, in the mean time, a truce was solicited and obtained from Buonaparte, who haughtily demanded, in return for his condescension, the surrender of three fortresses, and other favours Of the treaty of peace, which soon followed the armistice, the terms May 15. were humiliating and disgraceful to the unfortunate king. He was obliged to cede to the republic the territories of Savoy, Nice, Tende, and Beuil; to put the French in possession of Coni, Exilles, Susa, Alessandria, and other towns and fortresses, until a general peace should be concluded; and was prohibited from erecting or repairing any fortifications near the frontiers of France. Thus was Victor Amadeus punished for his hostility to a dangerous and formidable revolution.

The secession of the Sardinian prince from the confederacy, rendered defensive measures, on the part of the Austrians, particularly expedient, until considerable reinforcements should arrive from Germany. Retiring behind the Po, Beaulieu selected a favourable position, where his troops rested upon their arms. The armistice with Victor had allowed to the French a free passage through the Piedmontese principality; but instead of taking immediate advantage of the indulgence, they marched into the dominions of the duke of Parma, and passed the Po near Placentia. A truce was granted to the duke by Buonaparte, who, when Beaulieu had retreated to the neighbourhood of Lodi, in the Milanese, advanced to the conquest of this flourishing territory. The bridge of Lodi was so well fortified, that an attack was deemed desperate by all the field officers whom the general consulted on the occasion; but the May 10. grenadiers, rendered fearless of danger by potations of *eau de vie*, stormed the post. When they had been repeatedly driven off with great loss, the aid of a reinforcement achieved the dangerous work. The retreat of Beaulieu being protected by a body of Neapolitan cavalry, he did not lose so many men as the French, of whom above 3500 were killed or wounded.

This victory was followed by the acquisition of Milan, and by a series of spoliation and outrage, committed in that city and in the other towns of Lombardy. Multiplied acts of tyranny and violence excited a spirit of vengeance; and the inhabitants rose in arms against the detested intruders. In the capital the insurrection was quickly suppressed; but at Pavia, where the French garrison had been overpowered and disarmed, the personal exertions of the general were supposed to be necessary. He forced open the gates, and diffused through the place the atrocities of massacre. He would have totally destroyed the city, if he had not found the garrison safe. In other towns and districts, many unfortunate objects of suspicion were seized, and put to death by military ruffians.

As the effects of the battle of Lodi had driven the Austrians into the bishopric of Trent, and left the Italian states defended only by native troops, Buonaparte exerted his influence over the grand duke of Tuscany, insisting on the expulsion of the English from Leghorn, and the exclusion of their

ships from that port; and the supreme pontiff of Christendom was subjected to the arrogant and rapacious tyranny of one who pretended to be a devout son of the catholic church. He was required to purJune 23. chase the favour of Gallic forbearance by the disgraceful surrender of Bologna and other towns, the grant of twenty-one millions of livres, and the donation of 300 manuscripts and pictures. The last species of pillage was particularly injurious to the feelings of the Italians; but the duke of Modena was also compelled to surrender his most valuable treasures of art, and required to pay £450,000 for a cessation of hostilities. The duke of Parma felt the rigours of republican rapacity, but the king of Naples obtained for a while the gratification of a truce, without being obliged to pay for the indulgence. While Mantua remained under a partial investment, Leghorn was seized by a detachment, the effects of obnoxious persons were subjected to confiscation, and Vaubois remained with a garrison to intimidate the inhabitants.

While the Italian princes were averting the vengeance of France by prudential measures, the court of Vienna, supported by British subsidies, renewed its struggle for the recovery of its dominions, by sending reinforcements of troops, commanded by their ablest generals, into Italy. Alvinzi, who was entrusted with the command, entered the Trentino with such a force, as enabled him to recover the capital of the principality. Buonaparte advanced from the environs of Mantua to meet him; and, Nov. 15. after attacking general Provera with success, assaulted a well-posted division near Arcola, a village situated on a morass, on the maintenance of which, Alvinzi chiefly rested for his defence. Augereau and his subordinate generals, observing that their troops began to recoil at the firm resistance of the brigade which guarded the bridge, led them on to the attack, but they were repulsed, and several of their number disabled. On the following day, the rage of slaughter again prevailed, without any signal advantage to either party. After another night of little rest, Augereau's division attacked Arcola, and met with a repulse. Buonaparte observed that, while the other divisions were engaged, the Austrian left wing, protected by marshes, was still unbroken. By his orders, Hercules, an officer of distinguished valour, came on their rear at full gallop, with a small brigade of horse, the trumpets at the same time sounding a charge. The Austrians, imagining that they were attacked by a larger force, gave way, and were completely routed. This overthrow reduced the third Austrian army raised for this destructive war to a mere wreck; and the French had reason to lament the loss of a great number of their ablest veterans.

The British monarch shared the misfortunes of his allies and friends in Italy. The Corsicans listened to the suggestions of French emissaries, took arms in various districts, and received military aid from their celebrated compatriot, the conqueror of the Milanese. After ineffectual attempts to reclaim them from their attachment to France, the English retired from Corsica, and the authority of the republic was acknowledged in the island.

The empress Catherine of Russia, after finally succeeding in the subjugation of Poland, had engaged to espouse the cause of Great Britain against France; but her attention was at this moment diverted to a nearer and more domestic object. She endeavoured to secure the attachment of the young Gustavus of Sweden, by a marriage between him and Alexandrina Polowna, her grand-daughter, whose charms and virtues he admired. Repairing with his uncle to St. Petersburgh, the day of nuptial celebration was arranged; but when he found that, in the marriage contract prepared for his approval, the free exercise of her religion was demanded, he refused to sign it, as incompatible with the laws of Sweden, and returned to Stockholm. The event produced an evident effect on the health and spirits of the empress. She had retired into a private apartment; her protracted absence surprised her attendants, and, on entering the room, they found her extended on the floor, speechless and insensible. She languished until the evening of the following day, and expired in the 68th year of her age, and the 35th of her reign. She was succeeded by Paul, her only offspring, whose person was not more deformed than his talents were unequal to the duties of his station.

Actuated by the dread of republican

force, or influenced by the counsels of his minister, Don Ferdinand of Spain concluded an offensive alliance with France, and, October the 5th, declared war against Great Britain, attempting a vindication of his conduct by charging the court of St. James's with breach of faith, with prosecuting a contraband trade with his American subjects, and with designs hostile to his interests. In conformity with this declaration, Don Ferdinand commenced hostilities, notwithstanding his premier, *the Prince of Peace*, in answer to a letter from the Russian empress, dated on the very day with his hostile manifesto, assured her that his sovereign would fulfil whatever he had promised, for the benefit of the common cause. His Portuguese majesty, influenced by motives of a different character from those of his feeble and hypocritical neighbour, but conscious of his weakness, resolved to derive all possible advantage from the neutrality which she had adopted, declared Lisbon a free port, under the superintendance of a general comptroller, ordered warehouses to be built for the accommodation of foreign merchants, and invited them to resort to his capital by the grant of unusual privileges.

On the 26th of October, his Britannic majesty opened the new parliament, in a speech, in which he adverted to the measures adopted for effecting an honourable peace, and intimated, that in case hostilities were continued, our chief hopes of final success depended upon the perseverance of the emperor and our own naval exertions, which had enabled our commanders to make successful efforts in the West Indies, to protect our growing commerce, and to blockade the fleets and ports of the enemy. The address, as usual, was merely an echo of the speech; and on its being carried, the house formed itself into a committee, "to take into consideration that clause which alluded to the intention of the enemy to attempt an invasion of these kingdoms." After some animadversion it was agreed, that a levy should be made upon the different parishes throughout the kingdom, forming a militia of reserve, and the supplies were liberally granted. The acquiescence of the house of commons and of the people in the measures adopted, might have been less prompt and generous, had not considerable anxiety been excited by intelligence, that 25 ships of the line and 15 frigates, with transports for 25,000 men, commanded by general Hoche, was preparing to descend upon the coast of England. The fleet, however, did not sail from Brest till the 18th of December, and the weather proving tempestuous, several of the ships were driven on the rocks at the mouth of the harbour, and wrecked or rendered unfit for service. Notwithstanding this disaster, admiral Bouvet, after weathering a storm, which dispersed his fleet, pursued his voyage with seven ships of the line and ten others, and anchored in Bantry Bay. The storm continuing, and general Hoche, who had left France in a frigate, not having arrived, the admiral, after waiting several days in imminent danger, set sail and returned to Brest, but with the loss of two additional ships and three more frigates. The mortification of the French at the calamitous issue of this enterprise, was aggravated by the sacrifices made to its equipment. France had engaged to assist the Dutch states with a squadron, for the recovery of the Cape, and the protection of their other settlements; but, instead of applying the money transmitted from Holland to its destined purpose, they diverted it to this armament, and, in consequence of their dishonesty, Ceylon, and the Dutch settlements on Malacca, and at Cochin and Chinsura, fell without resistance into the hands of the English. A fleet was afterwards equipped by the states, to recover the Cape; but was attacked by admiral Elphinstone: three of its ships were captured, after a short chace, and the rest escaped to a friendly port.

1796.

CHAPTER XLIV.

GEORGE III.

[1797.]

Resumption of pacific Negotiations with France—Their Failure—Mutiny in the Fleet—Victory off Cape St. Vincent—Expeditions to Teneriffe and Trinidad—Battle of Camperdown under Admiral Duncan—Campaigns in Italy and Germany—Subjugation of the Roman, Genoese, and Venetian States—Armistice of Leoben—Treaty of Campo Formio—Death of the King of Prussia—Convulsions in Paris—Deportation to Cayenne—The French evince Demonstrations of invading England—Secession of the Opposition from their Parliamentary Duties.

THE policy of the English ministry had, within the last two years, been evidently modified by the repeated disappointment of their plans, the difficulties attending their financial measures, and the murmurs of the people. They assumed a tone of moderation and of acquiescence in the suggestions of their opponents, not less grateful to the people at large than honourable to themselves. A spirit of mutual accommodation appeared to pervade the hostile factions; and the ministers, anxious to deserve the popularity they had unexpectedly obtained, determined to make one more attempt to secure the blessings of a secure and honourable peace. Within six months after the negotiations at Paris had been broken off, they made overtures for their renewal, by a note to M. de Croix, the French minister for foreign affairs. The assent given to this overture by the directory was accompanied by a proposition to treat definitively with Great Britain, without adverting to the general interests of Europe; a proposition by which France, on former occasions, had succeeded in seducing the members of the coalition from the common cause in which they were embarked, and was contrary to the principles on which the British government had uniformly acted. But that no obstruction might arise to the discussion of this and other important questions, and to the progress of conciliatory measures, no refusal was given to the stipulation; but the eventual compliance was to depend on the progress and tendency of the negotiations. These preliminaries being acceded to by both parties, lord Malmsbury met the French plenipotentiaries, Le Tourneur, Maret, and Plevil, at Lisle; but, before these ministers would enter on the principal business of the congress, they brought forward certain "*insulated* points," as conditions preparatory to a treaty. Of these, the first was a demand, that the king of Great Britain should henceforward desist from assuming the title of king of France; the second, that the ships seized at Toulon should be restored, or an equivalent be granted for them and for those which had been destroyed; and a third, the renunciation, on the part of Great Britain, of all its mortgages upon the Netherlands, in consequence of money lent to the emperor. The difficulties arising from these requisitions having been in some degree removed by the concessions and explanations of the French ministers, the conferences were opened. Their duration was short. The French republic demanded, that to it and its allies Great Britain should restore all the possessions which had passed into the hands of the latter power since the beginning of the war; and it appearing from lord Malmsbury's

answer, that he was authorised to treat on no other principle than that of reciprocal compensation, he was required to depart in 24 hours.

Sept. 16. 1797.

The disappointment of the nation, in its hopes of peace, was augmented by the gloomy aspect of our financial situation, and by the indications of latent rebellion in the sister kingdom. The magnitude of our remittances to the allies had occasioned a scarcity of specie; and the people, alarmed by the prospect of general bankruptcy, made a violent run upon the country banks. The effects of their precipitance, or precaution, were soon extended to the metropolis, and serious apprehensions were entertained for the stability of the bank of England, which had exhausted its specie by advances to the state. To avert its impending fate, an order was issued by the privy-council, prohibiting the directors of the bank from issuing any cash in payment till the sense of parliament should be taken on the subject, and "proper measures adopted for maintaining the means of circulation, and supporting the public commercial credit of the kingdom at this important juncture." Committees, in the lords and commons, were immediately appointed to examine into the state of the bank, and the causes which rendered the orders of council necessary. Each committee made a favourable report, stating, that the funds applicable to the discharge of the engagements of the bank, exceeded those demands by £3,826,890, without including a debt of £11,686,800 due from government, yet each recommended a continuance of the late prohibition, as the repeated applications of individuals for money might otherwise deprive the bank of the means of supplying the cash requisite for the public service. A bill was therefore introduced for confirming the restriction; and to render it less inconvenient, notes for sums so small as £1 were put into circulation, but might be refused as an illegal tender. By these expedients the nation was rescued from the disasters which must otherwise have ensued to the state and nation, and commerce resumed its wonted and invigorating functions.

Feb. 26.

In the midst of our pecuniary embarrassments, the government was alarmed by a mutinous disposition, which made its appearance in the navy. The spirit of mutiny was first discovered in the fleet lying at Portsmouth, by anonymous letters addressed to lord Howe, first lord of the admiralty. The smallness of the pay was the motive adduced for the expression of discontent, and its justice could not be denied by any one, who compared the prices of all the necessaries of life with those which they bore in the reign of Charles II., when the present rates of seamen were established.

The admiralty returned no answer to these letters, and the seamen entered into an unanimous agreement, that no ship should lift its anchor till a redress of grievances should be obtained. In pursuance of this compact, they refused to obey the signal of lord Bridport, commander of the channel fleet, and appointed a meeting of delegates in the cabin of lord Howe, who drew up a moderate and respectful petition to the house of commons. His lordship interposed in their behalf; and, an act of parliament having been passed for an augmentation to the payment and allowance of seamen, tranquillity was restored.

It was hoped that the compliance of government, sanctioned by the legislature, would have prevented any further tumults; but these reasonable expectations were wholly disappointed by a fresh mutiny among the seamen of the Nore, who insisted on a greater freedom of absence from ships in harbour, a more punctual discharge of arrears, a more just distribution of prize-money, and a general relaxation of the rigours of discipline. On the 6th of June, the fleet at the Nore was joined by the Agamemnon, Ardent, Leopard, and Iris men of war, and the Ranger sloop; all of which ships had deserted from the squadron of admiral Duncan, who addressed the remainder of his fleet in a speech, which did equal credit to his talents, his patriotism, and his virtue, and which so deeply affected the crews, that they declared their resolution to abide by their admiral in life or death. Notwithstanding, therefore, the defection of so considerable a part of his force, he repaired to his station off the coast of Holland, determined to provoke, if possible, the enemy to battle.

The leader and director of the mutineers, under the title of president of delegates, was Richard Parker, a man of daring spirit, and respectable native talents. When admiral Buckner, who commanded at the Nore, in-

formed the mutineers that their demands were inconsistent with good order, offering them at the same time the royal pardon, Parker replied, that they were unanimously resolved to keep possession of the fleet till the lords of the admiralty should repair to the Nore, and redress the grievances which had been laid before them. A deputation of the lords of the admiralty was therefore sent to the Nore, and heard the complaints of the mutineers, but no advances were made towards an accommodation. The mutineers, when they found that their propositions were rejected, provided themselves with necessaries by the seizure of two store-ships, and interrupted all communication between London and the sea, by mooring four vessels across the mouth of the Thames.

The strong disapprobation with which the mutineers were regarded by the public in general, and the remonstrance of their naval comrades at Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Spithead, accelerated the suppression of the disturbances. A returning sense of loyalty, and the hope of obtaining that indulgence which the lords of the admiralty were authorised to grant at their discretion, produced a separation of some of the ships from the rest, not without the violence of contest, and the mutiny gradually subsided. It was thought necessary, for the national safety, to inflict a severe punishment on the most criminal of the persons concerned, as examples to deter others from similar enormities. Parker, and some other ringleaders, were tried by a court-martial, sentenced to death, and executed; others were more slightly punished, and the rest received the royal pardon. The seamen, who had been absurdly accused of acting under the influence of democratic principles and machinations, returned to their duty, and testified their loyalty and their prowess by future victories over the enemies of their sovereign and their country. On the 14th of February, a memorable action took place off St. Vincent, between a Spanish fleet of 27 sail of the line, commanded by Don Joseph de Cordova, and a squadron of British ships of war, under sir John Jervis, (now lord St. Vincent.) Conformably to the plans of the French and Spanish ministers, the most considerable part of the Spanish navy was designed to effect a junction with the French fleet at Brest; and, after being joined by a numerous squadron of French ships of war, they were intended to form collectively a fleet of 70 sail, which might by its preponderance dispute with success the naval superiority of England. Owing to some delay or misconception in their plan, the combined fleet amounted to no more than 27 ships. Sir John was so fortunate as to reach the enemy before a regular line was formed to oppose him; and, by skilfully crossing the line, he separated one third of the fleet from the main body. The intrepid Nelson and Trowbridge, in the Captain and Culloden, highly distinguished themselves during the whole of the action. For some time their ships were engaged with six of the Spanish vessels, and were only saved from capture by the assistance of the Blenheim, and of the Excellent, captain Collingwood.

Commodore Nelson, when his ship was disabled, proposed to board the San Nicholas, and his orders for the purpose were executed with promptitude and alacrity. The cabin-door of the Spanish vessel was forced by some marines; and captain Berry, rushing upon the quarter-deck at the head of his brave companions, obtained possession of the ship. When all opposition in the San Nicholas was subdued, the San Josef was boarded, and commodore Nelson received the swords of the Spanish officers. In the mean time, that part of the Spanish fleet which had been separated from its main body, had nearly rejoined it, with four additional ships, and formed a collective force more than equal to that which remained of the British squadron, after so severe an engagement. Had the conflict been renewed, there remained to the Spaniards 13 ships uninjured, while every one of the fifteen originally composing the British squadron, had already suffered in the unequal contest. The British admiral drew up in compact order, expecting the most vigorous efforts on the part of the enemy to retake his lost vessels; but the Spaniards, though so powerfully reinforced, did not dare to come into close action. When the conflict ceased, four ships of from 74 to 112 guns were prizes to our fleet. Of the British, 73 were killed and 227 wounded; while, in the captured vessels alone, the loss amounted to 600. The conduct of the victorious admiral was honoured with general applause, and he was advanced

to the peerage by the title of lord *St. Vincent*, the name of the cape near which he triumphed.

This victory, so honourable to the British flag, was rendered more flattering and satisfactory to the nation by its consequences; and the exultation of the people was augmented by intelligence, that the Spanish fleet was blockaded in the bay of Cadiz. Many weeks had not elapsed after the victory of St. Vincent, before Nelson was employed to insult and harass the Spaniards on the Cadiz station. That brave officer sustained a severe conflict with the commandant, who sallied out upon him with his gun-boats, but was repulsed with loss; and two days afterwards Nelson began to bombard the city, and obliged the Spanish admiral, for safety, to warp his largest men of war as closely as possible to the shore. The contest might have been more decisive in its result, had not commodore Nelson been elevated to the rank of admiral, and despatched on an expedition against Santa Cruz, in the isle of Teneriffe. The plan of the enterprise was more creditable to the energy of the ministers, than to their judgment. The naval force employed consisted only of four ships of the line and three frigates. The troops destined to make the descent were formed into two divisions, and their movements were made under cover of the night, that they might take their enemy by surprise. So great, however, was the surf, that it was with much difficulty the boats were able to approach the shore. The first division, under Nelson, was overpowered by the forces which lined the batteries and houses near the Mole. The other division, under captain Trowbridge, forced their way into the town; but, to their surprise and alarm, found it garrisoned by 3000 troops. Trowbridge, perceiving his perilous situation, despatched captain Hood with a message to the governor, "that if he would allow him without molestation to embark his people, and furnish him with boats for that purpose, to supply the place of those which had been stoven, the squadron before the town would not molest it." On the governor's refusal, and his demanding that they should surrender prisoners of war, captain Hood informed him, that if the proffered terms were not instantly accepted, the town would be fired. On this message being transmitted the governor complied, and humanely ordered the wounded English to be received into his hospitals. It is by actions like these that the contests of civilized nations are distinguished from those of barbarians, and that the inevitable miseries of war are palliated by the courtesies and the benevolence of polished humanity. Captain Trowbridge now marched with his men, their colours flying, to the head of the Mole, where they re-embarked in their remaining boats, and in those provided by the Spaniards. In this manner terminated an unfortunate expedition, which cost the lives of many of our ablest seamen. Among the wounded was Nelson himself, who lost his right arm. An expedition to Trinidad in some degree atoned, to the disappointed nation, for the failure of the present enterprise. Four Spanish ships of the line and a frigate being observed in a bay, nearly ready for sailing, dispositions were made to obstruct their escape. In the night, one of the vessels was set on fire, three others were soon after involved in flames and destroyed, and one of 74 guns was taken by the English. The troops under sir Ralph Abercrombie landed without opposition, the chief town was not defended, and the governor tamely resigned the whole island. The same success, however, did not attend an attempt upon the island of Porto Rico. The troops were unable to force a passage to the islet on which the capital was situated, and retired, after an ineffective bombardment of the town.

July 3.

After the mutiny in the British fleets had been subdued, admiral Duncan and his squadron kept their station off the coast of Holland. The Dutch states, in obedience to the desires or the injunctions of their imperious allies, equipped a fleet consisting of 15 ships of the line, intended to join that of Brest in its invasion of Ireland. The Dutch squadron had not left the coast of Holland before it was descried by admiral Duncan, who, with sixteen ships, placed himself in such a situation as to prevent his return to the Texel. Early in the morning of the 11th of October, the Dutch fleet had formed in line of battle, about nine miles to leeward, between Egmont and Camperdown. The British admiral came immediately to an engagement, with his characteristic spirit, and the address which results from a perfect

knowledge of naval tactics, broke the enemy's line by his first movements, and prevented a retreat by getting between them and the shore. A furious conflict ensued, in which each captain singled out his antagonist. Duncan chose the Dutch admiral. Their ships were nearly three hours alongside of each other, and De Winter's was reduced to a wreck before he struck to his brave rival. The vice-admiral of the Dutch was opposed to admiral Onslow, and yielded to the same fate as his senior in command. When the battle had raged about four hours, victory declared for the British fleet; eight of the enemy's ships of the line and four smaller vessels being captured. The loss of men on both sides, in this bloody and well-fought battle, was considerable. In the British squadron it amounted to 700, and in the Dutch to twice that number. When the victory was decided, the hero, pious as well as wise and magnanimous, ordered the crew of his ship to be called together, and kneeling at their head, solemnly and pathetically offered up his praise and thanks to the supreme Disposer of all events. In reward for his important services, admiral Duncan was created lord viscount Duncan of Camperdown, and baron Duncan of Lundie; honours not less deserved by his private virtues than by his professional talents.

The misfortunes of France and her allies on the watery element presented a striking contrast to the successes of her military operations. Buonaparte once more prevailed over the skill and courage of Alvinzi at Rivoli; the artillery of the republicans carried death and destruction into the ranks of the Austrians, and the survivors retired in confusion. The contest was renewed the following day, equally to the disadvantage of the Austrians. In consequence of this result, the whole corps of Provera, protecting Mantua, was captured, and the further defence of that city being no longer possible, general Wurmser most reluctantly agreed to its surrender.

Jan. 14.

1797. On the pretext that the pope had sanctioned by his spiritual benediction the aggression of the enemies of France, and had refused to listen to overtures of peace from the republic, Buonaparte invaded the ecclesiastical states, defeated the troops of his holiness at Fuenza, obtained possession of Cesena, the pontiff's native town, subdued the province of Romagna, and over-ran the duchy of Urbino. The invaders having plundered the chapel of Loretto, proceeded to Tolentino, where a treaty was signed with the plenipotentiaries of the humiliated pope, on such conditions as the French general condescended to dictate. The people, indignant at being thus surrendered to the tyranny and rapacity of the French, assaulted in various places the insolent intruders. But their efforts were ineffectual. Their resistance only tended to exasperate their invaders, to alarm the pontiff, and to aggravate the evils, of which they so justly and so bitterly complained, by affording a pretext to the most severe and rigid measures of coercion and oppression.

The archduke Charles, after the loss of Mantua, formed a chain of posts from the mountains of the county of Bormio to the mouth of the Piave, while Lusignan was defeated by Massena at Belluna, after bravely resisting for fifteen hours a far superior force. The right wing of the French army, under the immediate direction of Buonaparte, forded the Tagliamento, captured Gradisca, and subdued the territory of Friuli. The left, commanded by Joubert, after defeating general Kerpen, obtained possession of the greater part of the Tyrol. Having invaded Carinthia, Massena defeated Charles at Tarvis. Laubach, the capital of Carniola, was taken; the province of Styria was threatened with an irruption; and the circle of Austria trembled to its centre.

The acknowledged partiality of the Venetian government to the cause of Austria was a sufficient motive for actual hostilities on the part of the French republic; but the treachery of several members of the senate rendered the employment of military force unnecessary. After the capture of Verona, the city of Venice was occupied by French troops; the constitution was subverted, and an executive directory, under Gallic influence, assumed the administration. The state of Genoa was revolutionized with equal facility; and the Cisalpine republic, which the French general had erected on the ruins of the duchy of Milan, was enlarged and strengthened beneath his auspices.

Affecting a spirit of peace and philanthropy, the French commander, in the very

moment of victory, assured the archduke that nothing was dearer to his heart than the restoration of tranquillity to Europe, and the renewal of a friendly alliance with the house of Austria. He invited the archduke to unite with him in putting an end to the present contest, and declared "that he should be prouder of the civic crown, to which he should thus become entitled, than of the melancholy glory resulting from the most brilliant exploits in war." The archduke readily consented to become the mediator of peace, but said, that he could not enter upon a negotiation till he had received further powers. Buonaparte, suspecting that his rival sought occasion for delay till he should be joined by a reinforcement which he expected under general Spork, instantly put his army in motion. He had advanced as far as Judenburg in Styria, when commissioners arrived from the court of Vienna. An armistice for ten days was in consequence agreed to, upon terms very advantageous to the new republic, but such as the conqueror might be expected to dictate. The posts which he occupied in Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, and Tyrol, together with the strong and important fortress of Gratz, were to be retained by the troops of France, till a general pacification should be concluded. On the same day, which was distinguished by this preliminary agreement, general Hoche commenced hostilities on the Lower Rhine. He forced an entrenched camp at Newiedd, while Championet dislodged the garrisons of Altenkirchen and Uckerath. The Austrians could now no longer maintain the conquest in this quarter; the several divisions of the French forces drove them from all their posts, and Hoche's army was within a few hours' march of Frankfort, when intelligence arrived, that preliminaries of peace had been signed at Leoben in Styria. Never before had the house of Austria been so humbled as by this treaty. By its execution, the emperor left the republic in possession of the Austrian Netherlands, and relinquished his right to his hereditary states in Lombardy, which became a part of the Cisalpine republic. Territories, which had been esteemed the most valuable gems in his diadem, were now transferred to a formidable rival, who, by their acquisition, extended her own enormous frontier, added to the naval and commercial importance of her dependants, and obtained a natural barrier on the side of Germany.

April 7.

April 18.

The success of Moreau was not less rapid than that of Hoche, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the Austrians to oppose his progress, he passed the Rhine, repulsed the imperialists at Diersham, and reduced fort Kehl, before the despatches from Leoben arrested his career.

The failure of the negotiation with England did not obstruct the conclusion of a definitive treaty with Austria, which was signed at Campo Formio on the 27th of October, and by which the emperor, in consideration of his various and important concessions, was invested with the sovereignty of Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, the city of Venice, and other territories. It was also agreed, that a commercial treaty should be concluded between the contracting powers, and that a congress should be opened, within a month, at Rastadt, composed solely of the plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire and the French republic. By secret articles, the left bank of the Rhine was allowed as a boundary to France; a part of Bavaria was assigned to the house of Austria; and the princes injured by these arrangements, were to be indemnified by the grant of other territories within the empire. The cession of Venice to the house of Austria was peculiarly disgraceful to both of the contracting parties. By agreeing to share the spoils of the Venetian states, the emperor virtually sanctioned the system of aggress and spoliation adopted by the French republic; and the government of France openly guaranteed a numerous population and an extensive country to the yoke of a prince, whom they had frequently taught the Venetians to regard as a despot and an oppressor.

1797.

To the decision of the congress of Radstadt the Prussian monarch looked forward with anxiety, as the only means, after the peace of Campo Formio, of obtaining a compensation for having violated his treaties, deserted his confederates, and indirectly supported the interests of the common enemy. But he did not survive to advance his pretensions to indemnity. He had long been held captive in the soft trammels of luxurious

pleasure, by Madame de Lichtenau Rietz; and, while he suffered himself to be amused with hopes of recovery by the *illuminati* who shared the ascendancy with that favourite lady, he fell a victim, in his 54th year, to a lingering disorder, occasioned by licentious excess. He was succeeded by his son, FREDERIC WILLIAM III., the present monarch of Prussia.

Nov. 17.

To trace with minuteness the obscure intrigues and temporary revolutions, which occurred in the capital of France during the present year, would require a volume of itself, and would not repay the labour of compilation or perusal. It may be sufficient to mention, that after much alarm, and many vehement discussions, the good people of Paris were informed, that the state was endangered by the intrigues of royalists, and that exile would be imposed as a mild punishment for men, whose guilt deserved all the rigours of the law. The individuals marked out for this punishment were sixty-four in number, chiefly deputies, among whom were Pichegru, Des Molieres, Boissi d'Anglas, La Riviere, Bourdon, Pastoret, Villaret Joyeuse, Simeon, Rovere, and Lafond. Both assemblies joined in the vote of exile to the province of Guiana, which they sarcastically described as "a fine country, so that there was nothing very alarming in the proposed transportation." The prisoners were cruelly treated in their passage, and many of them fell victims to the insalubrity of the climate. Barthelemy, Pichegru, Ramel, Willot, and four others, at length escaped to the colony of Surinam, and some of the fugitives found their way to England. As a consequence of the late proceedings, the places of Carnot and Barthelemy in the directory were supplied by Merlin and François de Neufchateau.

THE re-establishment of internal order, and the conclusion of an advantageous peace with the continental enemies of France, might have been expected to satisfy the exorbitant ambition and soothe the malignant passions of the French directory. But success, while it augmented their ability to prosecute hostilities, administered to their appetite for continual warfare; and they determined to employ the extensive and formidable resources, which were left by recent events at their undivided disposal, to the destruction of the only power which yet remained to counteract their injustice and rapacity. Menaces of invasion were circulated in the official papers, and in the speeches of the public functionaries. Troops were assembled on the frontiers of France and Normandy, and Buonaparte was ordered to take the command, that the haughty islanders might be severely chastised and effectually humbled. While preparations were expedited in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, with every demonstration of earnestness in the prosecution of the design, the English parliament resumed its deliberations.

IN the speech from the throne, the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation were attributed to the evasive conduct, the unwarrantable pretensions, and the inordinate ambition of the French, and in particular to their inveterate animosity against these kingdoms. Thus compelled to persevere in hostilities, his majesty had the satisfaction of knowing, that the country possessed means and resources proportioned to the nature and demands of the contest. The state of the war would admit some diminution of charges, but a heavy expence was still unavoidable; and the true value of any temporary sacrifices could only be estimated by comparing them with the importance of effectually supporting the public credit, and convincing the foe of the continued spirit and undiminished power of the nation. After the address had been unanimously voted, the papers relative to the conferences of Lisle were examined by both houses, and received their approbation. Had the conduct, indeed, of his majesty's government been less judicious and conciliatory, in the late negotiations, than it actually was, they might have commanded the approbation of the senate, in consequence of the absurd secession of Mr. Fox, the duke of Bedford, and the other leaders of opposition, from parliamentary attendance, alleging the inutility of contending against hired majorities. They forgot, in the mortification and enthusiasm of the moment, that the election of a member of parliament presupposes his attendance on his public duties, that by retaining the privileges of members without performing their functions, they were virtually annihilating the rights of their constituents, and precluding the claims and exertions of more active or less timid candidates. It is not by the mere display of numbers on an

important question that an able and spirited opposition benefit their country, but by the diffusion of their sentiments through every class of the community, by the example which they present to embryo patriotism, and latent eloquence; and by repressing or shaming, even when they are unable to overcome, the imbecility, the folly, or the profusion of an obnoxious ministry.

CHAPTER XLV.

GEORGE III.

[1798.]

Plans of National Defence—Duel between Messrs. Pitt and Tierney—Affairs of Ireland—History of the Rebellion—Invasion of that Country by the French, who are discomfited and taken prisoners—Reception of Buonaparte at Paris—The Expedition to Egypt—THE BATTLE OF THE NILE.

THE proceedings in parliament, at the commencement of the year were chiefly directed to the means of national defence. Ten thousand additional seamen were voted by the commons, the habeas corpus act was again suspended, and a bill was introduced to ascertain how many male adults, were willing to act in a military capacity. The supplies were augmented to £28,490,000, and in the sequel were advanced to 35 millions. Among other expedients of finance new duties were imposed on tea and salt; all who used armorial bearings were compelled to pay for that distinction, and the funded capital was reduced by the redemption of the land-tax. A bill was passed for the more effectual manning of the navy, and in order to check the treasonable and seditious efforts of the public journals, it was enacted, that the names of the editor and printer of every newspaper should be registered in the stamp-office. In the debate on the propriety of the bill for manning the navy, Mr. Pitt expressed his sentiments in language so vehement, as to produce a challenge from Mr Tierney: and a bloodless duel was the consequence. The pious supporter of religion and social order selected the *Lord's day* for this illegal combat!

IRELAND was a subject of frequent enquiry and animadversion; but ministers represented the circumstances as too critical for public discussion; and, on the 22nd of June, parliament was prorogued. Before the prorogation, the storm that had long been gathering in Ireland at length burst out, and the sister island became a scene of rebellious uproar. Having seen the fatal effects of coercion, that was attempted towards the colonies, the British minister, from the latter years of the American war, adopted towards Ireland a much more liberal and enlightened system of policy. The penal statutes against the Roman catholics were repealed; they held their land on the like terms with the protestants; they enjoyed, in short, every right and franchise in common with the former, saving only the offices of state, and the privilege of sitting in parliament. The Irish catholics deemed themselves injured by

the restrictions which continued, instead of being favoured by the relief bestowed; and desired a participation in the privileges that were still withheld. The protestants, considering the catholics as still unaltered, conceived that the admission of a sect, so superior to their own in number, to an equality of privileges, would be eventually a surrender of their own acquisitions and possessions; outnumbering and overpowering them in parliament, the catholics might claim and recover the possessions of their ancestors, of which they very naturally deemed the protestants usurpers. The lower classes of catholics, grossly ignorant and superstitious, and governed by their priests, were inflamed with the greatest rancour against the protestants, whom they abhorred as heretics, as well as detested interlopers. These were their relative sentiments at the time the French revolution began to agitate all the neighbouring countries. Whatever sentiments might be entertained of the concomitant excesses, the revolution itself was imputed to the obstinate perseverance of the old government in its abuses. When the extraordinary events happened on the 10th of August, 1792, which overturned the French monarchy, the hopes of the reforming parties, both in England and Ireland, were equally elated; they now thought their wishes would infallibly be accomplished, and that the dread of the people would operate so powerfully upon their rulers, that these would hardly venture any longer to reject their demands, with such terrifying consequences before their eyes, arising from the king of France's opposition to popular demands. To promote the changes which they desired, certain persons formed a society, to which they gave the name of *United Irishmen*. This institution, projected and organised by Wolfe Tone, proposed to connect the whole Irish nation together, with a professed purpose of a general melioration of their condition, by a reform of parliament, and an equalization of catholic with protestant privileges, without any exceptions civil or political. The plan of union was formed on unity of object, connexion of instruments, and a co-operation of means, that combined secrecy of proceeding with efficacy of counsel and conduct. No meeting was to consist of more than twelve persons; five of these meetings were represented by five members in a committee, vested with the management of all their affairs; from each of these committees, which were stiled "baronial," a deputy attended in a superior committee, that presided over all those of the barony or district. One or two deputies from each of these superior committees, composed one of the whole county, and two or three from every county committee composed a provincial committee. The provincial committees chose in their turn five persons, to superintend the whole business of the nation; they were elected by ballot, and only known by the secretaries of the provincial committees, who were officially the scrutineers. Thus, though their power was great, their agency was invisible, and they were obeyed without being seen or known. Whether the designs of these associates were originally to effect a complete separation of Ireland from Britain, has not been ascertained as a fact; but there is no doubt that in the progress of their concert they had formed such a project, and that parliamentary change, and catholic emancipation, were only pretences with the heads and principal agents of this confederacy, in order to unite the greater numbers in the execution of their designs. The protestants, persuaded that, whatever their purpose might be, the ferment which they were agitating must be inimical to the existing establishments, under the protection of which they held their privileges and property, formed counter-associations, and assumed the name of *Orangemen*, in honour of king William, the vindicator of protestant security, and the establisher of protestant property and power in Ireland. The Orangemen proposed to disarm the catholics. Bodies of these associated to resist the attempts, and assumed the name of *Defenders*. Between the Orangemen and Defenders various feuds took place, accompanied with great disorder, ferocity, and depredations, with some bloodshed on both sides. The United Irishmen did not immediately amalgamate with the Defenders, who were rather violently outrageous than systematically designing. In them, however, they saw ready and willing instruments, when their own deep-laid schemes should be mature for open and avowed execution. Neither the prevalent broils, nor the several machinations, were unknown to the French rulers; they despatched one Jackson, a

native of Ireland, and a protestant clergyman, but now an emissary of France, as a spy to Britain and to Ireland, in order to sound the dispositions of the people. Jackson, in Ireland, formed a connexion with Wolf Tone, Hamilton Rowan, and some of their associates, and proposed a plan of insurrection, in order to facilitate a French invasion. In England, Jackson had trusted his schemes to an intimate friend, one Cockayne, an attorney. This person communicated the projects to Mr. Pitt, and undertook to accompany his friend to Ireland, in order farther to discover his intentions and plots to government, from which he was to receive the sum of £300, if, through his means, the capital conviction of his friend should ensue. Cockayne, being thus engaged to accompany his friend to Ireland, and pretending to participate in the plot, was introduced to Rowan and other conspirators. A plan was formed for concerting a French invasion of Ireland; Jackson wrote several letters to correspondents abroad, explaining the state of Ireland, and the outlines of the project. The letters being sent to the post-office, Cockayne, who had perused them all, gave information to government; the letters were seized; Jackson was tried; Cockayne was the sole oral evidence; but the papers coinciding with his evidence, rendered the case so clear, that the jury, without hesitation, found the defendant guilty. Jackson was condemned to die; but by suicide anticipated execution. By this discovery the correspondence with France was suspended: Tone and Rowan made their escape. Lord Fitzwilliam was now arrived in Ireland, commissioned, as he conceived, to terminate all disputes in that country, by making the concessions which the Roman catholics demanded. Such also was the general persuasion of the Irish themselves; but as it was frustrated, and lord Fitzwilliam recalled, the discontents became deeper and more extensive than ever. From this time the United Irishmen proceeded with more despatch and decision in their arrangements; a military organization took place in the several provinces; arms were procured, pikes fabricated, and every preparation was made to enter upon the execution of their schemes. The chiefs, and men of superior abilities and weight, who had now joined the association, intended nothing less than a thorough revolution, and an abolition of all church establishments; while the common people sought principally to be discharged from the payment of tythes and ecclesiastical dues to the protestant clergy; in order to obtain which, it was easy to persuade them that a total change of government was necessary. The activity of the leaders was indefatigable, and most extensively successful; those of their numbers who had absconded, on the discoveries made by or through Cockayne, were now in France, and had settled a correspondence between their Irish associates and the French government. A proposal was made, by which the French were to assist the Irish with a considerable body of forces, to enable them to throw off their connexion with England, and form themselves into a republic. The offer was accepted; and lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Arthur O'Connor were appointed to settle the terms of a treaty. For this purpose they went to France, met general Hoche in the summer of 1796, and arranged the business of the projected invasion, which was destined to be executed the following November. In the latter end of autumn, intelligence arrived from France, that the expedition was deferred till the following spring, when England should be invaded at the same time. Hence it happened, that when the French armament arrived off the coast of Ireland, towards the close of the year, the Irish that were to second them, being wholly unapprised of their coming, were in no state of preparation, and the determined spirit of loyalty, displayed by the friends of government, awed its adversaries; the French, therefore, had not landed, but had returned to their own coast. The government was indeed very vigilant, and had, long before this, procured an act to be passed, authorising the magistrates to proclaim martial law, in case of imminent danger. A proclamation accordingly was made, and put in force at the arrival of the French. The disappointment of this expedition did not discourage the conspirators from prosecuting their plans. The chiefs of the Irish association sent Dr. Macnevin, an able man, of great importance in the combination, as minister to France. He informed the French government, that if they would invade Ireland, the numbers ready for insurrection were immense; that

150,000 would rise in Ulster alone. He also laid before them a plan of attack, demanded from them a supply of arms and money, and particularly recommended, that the French plenipotentiaries, then treating at Lisle with lord Malmsbury, should be instructed to make a dismemberment of Ireland from England a condition of the peace; he solemnly engaged, that all advances made for the service of Ireland, and all the expences already incurred, should be reimbursed as soon as affairs were settled, and its independence secured. France agreed to their other requests, but the government declared its inability at the present to supply them with money. Meanwhile this conspiracy proceeded with such secrecy, that, though the penetration of the Irish government discovered strong grounds for suspicion, yet no precise information was procured; they did not, till the month of April 1797, obtain certain intelligence of the transactions that were carried on in many parts of the kingdom. Government learned that, on the 14th, a number of seditious people were to meet at a house in Belfast; on this information, it was entered by a party of the military, and two of the association committees were found actually sitting; their papers were seized, and sufficient documents appeared, to bring at once to light the nature and extent of the plot in agitation. This important discovery led to others in various places, and the danger and magnitude of the conspiracy were clearly ascertained. Government immediately employed precautions of every kind; enforced the act against illegal conventions; searched for arms, and seized great quantities. In operations requiring military force and summary execution, where there is a collision of attack and resistance, bloodshed is unavoidable; but the malcontents set the example of violence, by plundering houses, and murdering the innocent inhabitants. The soldiers were not slow in retaliation, nor always discriminating in punishment. Both parties of Irishmen were inflamed by reciprocal suffering, and the acts of both bore the stamp of infuriated passion, and unrestrained licentiousness. The conspirators, first in recent trangression, were the most atrocious in barbarous acts; but their advocates imputed their conduct to the indignant resentment of men that had suffered long under systematic oppression, and in endeavouring, by the most violent exertions, to break their chains on the heads of their oppressors, little cared though these oppressors should be crushed in the struggle. Ireland was now a scene of disorder, robbery, and massacre. In this situation of things, the Whig party, consisting chiefly of men of similar sentiments, both in general and temporary politics, with those of Messrs. Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, and their coadjutors in England, in May proposed the conciliatory measure of parliamentary reform. In contentions between government and numerous bodies of the governed, conciliation is generally the soundest policy, if adopted before the passions be violently inflamed, and the projects matured. Conciliatory measures, when adopted, appeased America; and, it the system had been uniform, there is a moral certainty, that the war and all its dreadful consequences might have been prevented; spontaneous sacrifice, on the part of the French monarchy, if offered at the first appearance of a spirit of liberty, might have preserved the greater part of what, by too long tenacity, it was compelled to relinquish; but conciliation, to be effectual, must be offered in the early stage of discontent, before resentment contracts inveteracy, and concerted resistance requires force. After rigid rejections of suppliant petitions, concession offered to men in arms, appears either the retraction of precipitancy, or submission of fear; and instead of restoring confidence and attachment, encourages revolt by representing it likely to succeed. Lenient measures were then too late; government and the legislature acted wisely in rejecting them at so advanced a period of the conspiracy; thwarted in this attempt, the Whigs withdrew from parliament.

Ireland was at this time in a deplorable state; the occupations in civil life were deserted, and the people were intent every where on preparations for war; those who were peacefully disposed could promise themselves no security; they were plundered by the malcontents, who collected in numerous armed bodies, and committed every species of outrage and devastation. Proclamations were issued, threatening severe punishments on the offenders; but they were as little regarded as the offers of pardon to those who forsook the rebellious associations.

The conspirators expected a general insurrection, to take place in the summer of this year, and to be seconded by France. In July, they received information that two armaments, one from Holland and the other from Brest, were ready to sail for Ireland, whenever they could elude the British fleets; they therefore postponed the intended rise, and waited with impatience for the arrival of the promised auxiliaries; but the defeat of the Dutch fleet, in October, was a fatal blow to their hopes. France, they knew, had for maritime effort trusted chiefly to Spain and Holland, and their expectations from both had been blasted by Jervis and Duncan. But another fortunate circumstance for the British interests in Ireland was, that the objects of the malcontents and the French republic were totally different. The Irish conspirators sought the formation of their country into a republic, independent of Britain, and also of France. The French proposed to subdue Ireland, and to form it into a government like the Batavian republic, dependent on themselves. The Irish, considering their own object, desired the directory to send 10,000 men, who would be a very efficient body of auxiliaries, without being dangerous to the principals. The French, to promote their purpose, proposed to send 50,000 men, which, they did not doubt, would be able to model the whole island according to their views and pleasure. Finding the Irish, however, averse to their plan of invasion, they turned their attention to objects which they deemed more advantageous and more practicable. They now, therefore, received the propositions of the conspirators with great coolness; and the Irish, despairing of any effectual assistance from the French republic, prepared for an insurrection, without waiting for co-operation from the continent. In the spring of 1798, they employed themselves in dispositions for war; and meanwhile, in every part of the country, were guilty of the most savage atrocities. The benevolent spirit of lord Moira, still hoping the conciliation might be effectual, proposed pacificatory measures; but government assured his lordship, that any proffers of the kind would be unavailing, and lord Moira's conciliatory motion was rejected. Such was the secrecy of the chief conspirators, that, though the plot was discovered, yet the names of the plotters were not found out. At last one Reynolds, who had become an United Irishman, reflecting on their atrocious designs, was struck with remorse, and communicated their intentions to a friend, who prevailed on him fully to disclose the business and agents to government. On this discovery, fourteen of the chief delegates were seized in the house of Mr. Oliver Bond. Lord Edward Fitzgerald escaped; but, being afterwards discovered, he resisted the officers sent to apprehend him, in the scuffle was mortally wounded, and died a few days after. The remaining conspirators, now grown desperate, proposed a general insurrection, to be executed in the night of the 24th of May; but captain Armstrong, a militia officer, who had insinuated himself into their confidence, and pretended to be an accomplice, apprised government of their designs. The two Sheares of Dublin, Neilson of Belfast, and several other chiefs, were arrested on the 23rd of May, and the metropolis was put into a state of perfect security against any attempt. The conspirators, thus deprived of their leaders, though scantily provided with arms and necessaries, determined, notwithstanding, to execute their project of general insurrection. They began rebellion on the 24th of May, by attacking Naas, a town fifteen miles from Dublin; but they were repulsed by a body of Irish militia under lord Gosford. A band of insurgents, at the same time, took possession of the heights of Kilcullen; but they were dislodged by general Dundas, and between one and two hundred were killed and taken. To detail the various engagements which took place in this warfare, would exceed the space which the plan of the history allows; I shall therefore confine myself to the chief agents, operations, and results. The insurgents, fighting with undisciplined courage, were frequently victorious over smaller numbers; but inflamed by their furious priests, where they prevailed, exercised a savage barbarity, unknown in the annals of civil society. The regular soldiers of the loyalists were not numerous; but the Irish militia fought with distinguished fidelity, valour, and effect, against the rebels. The English militia, being at their own instance permitted, by an act of parliament, to assist their loyal fellow-subjects, several

regiments crossed the channel, and were most powerfully instrumental in supporting the cause of government. To pass over desultory skirmishes, the first great scheme of rebel operation was in the counties of Carlow and Wexford; a large body of them having been repulsed at the former place, being reinforced, proceeded to Wexford, amounting to 15,000; part of the garrison marched out to give them battle, but they were surrounded and entirely defeated. In a few days after, the insurgents took the town of Wexford, and a great number of prisoners. In their farther progress, being repulsed and infuriated by revenge and priestly instigation, they murdered their prisoners in cold blood. General Lake, on the 21st of June, gained a complete victory, the consequence of which was, that this tumultuary insurrection was entirely crushed. In the north of Ireland, a rebellion also broke out; but the insurgents were completely overcome at Ballynahinch, and the whole rebellion was quelled before the end of June. After that time various scattered parties, taking refuge in the fastnesses and mountains, invested the adjacent country, but were rather marauding banditti, that disturbed the police, than insurgents that rebelled against the government. The most formidable of these parties was commanded by the daring and noted adventurer, Holt, who at length surrendered himself to government. The discovery and seizure of the principal conspirators prevented this rebellion being carried on with efficient concert. In the south, it consisted of detached multitudes, driven by their priests to desperate valour and savage cruelty; in the north, chiefly inhabited by protestant dissenters, it was by no means so general in extent, nor so merciless in operation. The rebellion in Ireland appearing, both to the viceroy and to his majesty, to require a lord-lieutenant, who could act in a military as well as civil capacity, lord Camden therefore requested to be recalled, and the king appointed marquis Cornwallis his successor. The rebellion being finished, the new viceroy adopted a plan of mingled firmness and conciliation, which, executed with discriminating judgment, tended to quiet Ireland, and prepare matters for a permanent plan, to prevent the recurrence of such pernicious evils, and to promote the industry and prosperity of the country. The inattention of the French to the affairs of Ireland by no means arose from supineness; they were occupied with very grand and soaring projects. Their power was at this time enormous; Holland, Spain, and Italy, were appendages of the French empire; Austria was prostrate at its feet; the mountains and fastnesses of Switzerland had not escaped the invading ambition of this potent neighbour; unprovoked by aggression, the republicans had entered, pillaged, and revolutionized these brave cantons. Ireland they saw was inaccessible to their schemes of subjugation; England, always terrible, was, in the year 1798, become a nation of soldiers. From Caithness to Kent and Cornwall, the united nations were in arms; internal conspiracies were quashed, and all hearts and hands were joined in defiance of the French. The leaders of opposition, who had so often predicted the evils that would arise from a persistence in the war, were among the readiest to meet the enemy, if he invaded Britain. Buonaparte was aware that Britain contained more formidable opponents than he had ever encountered; the defiles and precipices of the Alps and Appenines, guarded by myriads of Austrians, fighting for their *masters*, could be surmounted; but the plains of Sussex and Kent, containing hands and hearts of free-born Englishmen, fighting for *themselves*, would, he well knew, be impassable. Convinced of the hopelessness of any direct attempt upon England, the French government and the general formed a very grand scheme of conquest, which would ultimately extend to the richest possessions of Great Britain.

Before the minds of men were recovered from the agitation, into which they were thrown by the rebellion in Ulster and Munster, their attention was called to disturbances of a very alarming nature in the county of Connaught. The agents of the Irish rebels at Paris, deluded by their own passions, and deceived by the representations of their partisans in Ireland, had persuaded the directory that the British nation was ripe for revolt, and that if a French fleet should appear off the coast, the flames of rebellion would instantly burst forth. In compliance with these representations, general Humbert was sent with about 1500 men, on board three

frigates, to make a descent on the north of Ireland. That officer, appearing in the bay of Killala under English colours, easily effected a landing, having repulsed a small body of men, who were hastily assembled to oppose him. The bishop's palace, to which the fencibles and yeomen retired after their repulse, being incapable of defence, was occupied by the French commander, who assured the bishop, that he came to give the Irish liberty, and free them from the English yoke. He then hoisted a green flag in the front of the palace, with the Irish words, "Erin go bragh," *Ireland for ever!* and invited the people to join his standard, as the means of acquiring political and religious freedom. The difficulties attending the enterprise of the French general were not surmounted by his repeated appeals to the patriotism and piety of the nation. To alienate Ireland from the sister country, it was necessary to conciliate the protestants, as forming a large proportion of its numbers, while the catholics could only be seduced to espouse the cause of France by the assurance of an absolute ascendancy in church and state. The latter were dissatisfied on perceiving the lukewarmness of their allies with respect to religion, and the French general was disappointed on discovering the obstacles opposed to his success. Leaving, however, the castle of Killala under the protection of colonel Charost, he advanced with all possible despatch to Castlebar, and reinforced by 3000 rebels, repulsed a body of forces brought against him by general Lake. Their triumph, in consequence of this victory, which was attended with considerable loss on the part of the loyalists, was of short continuance. On the approach of an army conducted by lord Cornwallis, finding himself greatly outnumbered, Humbert embarked precipitately for France.

Aug. 28.

The effects of this repulse were rendered more complete by a subsequent event at sea. Admiral sir J. Borlase Warren, falling in with a French squadron of one ship of the line and eight frigates, freighted with troops and stores for Ireland, captured the Hoche man of war, and several frigates, and the remainder, except two, fell into the hands of the English. Such was the result of an invasion, which can only be ascribed to the erroneous impressions entertained by the French government of the general disposition of the Irish people, and their mistaken confidence of the prevalence of catholic disaffection.

The accounts received, of the state of Ireland, were productive of very able and animated debates The mutinous disposition of the peasantry, whether protestant or catholic, was assigned as a reason for coercive measures, and lord Grenville ascribed the disturbances to an extended and connected plan between France and the conspirators. On the other hand, the extreme distress of the nation, and the hardships which they endured, were painted in glowing colours by lord Moira, and others, who had been eye-witnesses of their miseries. The opposition, in both houses, recommended a change of system, and the adoption of lenient instead of coercive measures. But on a motion being proposed, that his majesty might be empowered to "take all such measures as might be necessary, to disappoint or defeat any designs or enterprises of his enemies, and as the exigency of his affairs might require," an address of approbation was past by a large majority. The same success attended the exertions of the minister in the establishment of a tax on income, as a substitute for a triple assessment. The measure was strenuously opposed, chiefly by the advocates of the mercantile interest, who justly and powerfully disputed the propriety of subjecting the merchant's and the tradesman's property and accounts to the scrutiny of a tax-gatherer. These and other reasons, for the rejection of the measure, were outweighed by a conviction of its general expedience; and in the ensuing year, the bill was adopted as a permanent resource of finance.

1798.

In the mean time, the British ministers were employed in endeavouring to revive the coalition. They had reason to expect, that the new king of Prussia would abandon the policy of his father, and join the confederacy. A change of councils in the court of Russia was propitious to their views, and a negotiation for an offensive alliance was immediately opened with the cabinet of Petersburgh.

The military operations of the English were confined to an expedition under major-general Coote, which landed in the neighbourhood of Ostend, and prepared to destroy

the sluices of the Bruges canal. The service was executed with trivial loss; but as the wind and surf prevented the re-embarkation of the troops, it became necessary to form a defensive post on the sand-hills. An attack was made on the invaders, by a force which far outnumbered them; and, though they fought with distinguished courage, their front was broken, and their flanks completely turned. In this perilous situation, their commander, who was wounded, called major Burrard to a consultation, and it was resolved, that a general surrender should take place. About 50 men were killed in the conflict, and about 1100 submitted to captivity.

May 20.

The exultation and unanimity of the French people, at this period of the war, presented a striking contrast to the discontents so prevalent in the British empire. In the applauses and confidence of the French nation, Buonaparte received the great reward of all his toils, of all his perils, and of all his victories, in the applause of his fellow-citizens, and the grateful acknowledgments of the government he had served. He had quitted Paris almost as a simple individual, without fame, distinction, or notoriety, and he was about to return, the conqueror and pacificator of Europe. Had he lived in the times when the Roman generals returned to their country in triumph, he would have been attended by the armies which shared his victories, by the spoils of conquered nations, and by vanquished princes, tied to his chariot wheels; but in civilized times these indecent spectacles are out of fashion, and Buonaparte was too modest, or too prudent, to revive them. He set out from Italy with the simple equipage of a private gentleman, attended only by two generals, two aides-de-camp, a secretary, and a physician. At Geneva he dined with the French resident, and, having been expected for some time, relays of horses were waiting for him on the road, and immense crowds of people were in earnest expectation to behold him. At Moudon, where he had slept the night before, he was received with great honours by the celebrated colonel Weiss, the bailiff of the place, a man well known by his political and philosophical writings, by his zeal for liberty, and mistaken admiration of Buonaparte. Near Avenche his carriage broke down, and he was obliged to walk for some miles. One among the crowd of spectators, which had assembled to see him, speaks of him thus: "I had an opportunity of being very near to him, and he seemed to me to be always talking to those around him as if he was thinking about something else; he has the mark of great sense in his countenance, and an air of profound meditation, which reveals nothing that is passing within; he seems constantly big with deep thought, which will some day or other influence the destinies of Europe. A burgess of Morat observed with astonishment the figure of the general. *How small a stature for so great a man*, cried he, loud enough to be heard by one of his aides-de-camp. *He is exactly the height of Alexander*, said some one. *Yes*, said the aid-de-camp, *nor is that the only trait of resemblance.* He left Geneva on the 22nd of November, in the evening, and arrived the next night at Bern. At Faubroun, a little village nine miles from Bern, he supped with a large party, who had out of respect and curiosity accompanied his train; and after that he went on to Soleure. All the towns through which he passed in the night were illuminated. At Basle he stopped some hours, walked round the town, and received a long and fulsome address from the burgomaster. In passing through Lausanne, they had prepared a great fête for him, which he did not seem to enjoy; three citizens stopped his carriage, and presented to him three young women, who repeated some fine complimentary verses, which they had got by heart; an immense crowd assembled about him, and testified great joy by their shouts and acclamations. He thanked them with great good humour, but seemed to have more need of sleep than of compliments; he appeared indeed every where to shew a profound contempt for popular opinion and popular applause. He spoke very little to strangers, through his whole journey, and seemed to be sensible that every word he said would be noted."

The government of Bern had sent a deputy to him at Milan, who accompanied him on his journey, and had a son with him, a boy about thirteen years old, and of very quick parts, much above his age. Buonaparte seemed always very fond of talking to him. He found him one day with a map of Switzerland. *What are you looking at there?*

said the general. *Some parts of my own country, which I am not acquainted with,* replied the youth. *Do you know that part?* said Buonaparte, pointing to Porentru. *That does not belong to us,* replied the youth. *We mean to give it you,* returned the general. *And what do you mean to ask in exchange?* said the boy. *Nothing,* said Buonaparte, *we will make you a present of it. Nothing!* returned the youth thoughtfully, *Ah! timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* Buonaparte immediately threw his arms about him in a rapture, and said to his father, *Take care of this boy's education; he will be no common man some day or other.*

When he came near to the little village of Fanbroun, which is surrounded with thick fir-trees, he got out of his carriage and walked to the inn, humming the tune of *paisible bois.* He talked very freely with the landlord, and asked him if he paid many taxes? *No,* said the man, *we hardly know what they are. Have you no land of your own? Yes, about £50 a year. Do you pay no taxes for that? Yes, the tythes and quit rent, which are no more than the annual wages of one of my husbandmen; I reckoned that in the expence of working my land, and I paid for it accordingly. Does your government levy no tax upon the land? None. How then does it pay its expences? With the produce of its domains, which are not only sufficient for the purpose, but leaves a balance every year. You are very well satisfied with your government then, I suppose. And so I ought to be,* replied the landlord, *with a government that does great good to the poor, and no harm to the rich. If all this be true,* said Buonaparte, turning to one of his officers, *these are the happiest people in the world. Aye,* said the inn-keeper, *and I wish all people were equally so.* And yet this is the people whose happiness he thought fit to destroy.

Buonaparte, after passing through Switzerland, stopped at Radstadt, to open the conferences of the congress, and interchanged there, with the Austrian commissioners, the ratification of the treaty of Campo Formio. The deputy of Mentz talked much to him of the integrity of the German emperor, which he seemed to treat with derision. Upon which the baron Albini threatened him with 150,000 Russians; at which Buonaparte, smiling with contempt, said to him, *What will become of your master, the elector, after the signing of peace?* During his short stay at that place, he gave another specimen of what the powers of Europe had to expect from him and the French republic, by his treatment of count Ferzen, the envoy of Sweden to the congress, a man well known for his attachment to the court of France, and his hatred to the revolution. When he was introduced to him, Buonaparte received him coolly, but with civility; and then asked him what minister the court of Sweden had at Paris. To which the count replied, with evident confusion, *None!* Buonaparte then expressed his surprise, that the king should send a person to meet the plenipotentiaries, who was essentially disagreeable to every French citizen. He remarked, that the king would be much offended if a French minister would be sent to Stockholm, who had endeavoured to excite the people to insurrection; and by the same rule the French republic could not suffer his majesty to send men too well known for their attachment to the old court, to face the ministers of the first nation on earth, which well knew how to preserve its dignity. The count retired much irritated and confused, saying, he should report to his majesty what he had just heard.

Buonaparte, after his arrival at Paris, shunned every opportunity of being noticed; he lived in a small house, and retired street; he received very little company; he avoided all crowded places, and never went out, but in a plain carriage with two horses; he dined sometimes with the different ministers of state, and never appeared but twice at any public meeting; in doing this he complied with his natural disposition, which is grave and reserved, he shewed his contempt for popular applause, and avoided giving any offence to the directory; he had no doubt formed the design of overturning them, but he saw that the time was not yet arrived. Before he left Italy, the directory had appointed him to the command of the army of England, a mere nominal trust, intended only to amuse and mislead.

The policy of Buonaparte appears to have been to gain popularity, by seeming to avoid it, by great moderation, and by his publicly expressing an aversion to Jacobin principles: he dreaded their power as a party, though as

individuals they were men suited to his purpose. In every instance, where he has had an opportunity, he has shewn himself an enemy to discussion and freedom of sentiments. The new constitutions of Italy were framed entirely by himself, with as little of the popular leaven as possible; all the first legislators and public officers were of his own appointment, and before he left Milan he ordered all the popular societies to be closed. He constantly addressed the military, as the guardians and preservers of the different constitutions which he had established; and events have proved that he is fonder of military power than of any other. The treaty of peace was entirely his own framing, and he advised the directory to diminish the force of the coalition, by making separate treaties with the different allied powers; he advised also that moderate terms should be granted to the emperor, in order to induce the others to treat, seeing that, although vanquished, he was not oppressed.

The ceremony of his presentation to the directory was attended with every degree of splendor and parade, which so great an occasion required, the greatest perhaps that ever occurred to any human being, all circumstances considered; the chief governors of a nation, long renowned in arms, in arts, and manners, were to receive a general, who, by his prowess and talents, had vanquished the most formidable armies ever sent into the field, and by so doing had preserved the independence of his country against a confederacy formed for its destruction; it was the greatest triumph which human nature could achieve; it was the triumph of valour and genius in the cause of liberty; and, although it had been considerably tarnished, it had not lost all its original splendor. The great court of the Luxembourg was the place chosen for this superb spectacle; it was covered with an extensive awning, and the walls were decorated with hangings of the national colours and military trophies; at one end was an altar, surmounted with statues of liberty, equality, and peace, and ornamented with the different standards which had been taken from the enemy; on each side of the altar were seats in a semicircular form, composing a vast amphitheatre, and destined for the constituted authorities and the conservatory of music; from the walls were suspended the colours of the different armies of the republic; an immense crowd lined the court and windows of the palace, and all the neighbouring streets were filled with those who could not gain admission within; the air perpetually resounded with their acclamations and shouts of joy. At twelve o'clock at noon, the sound of cannon announced the commencement of the fête, and the procession, which consisted of the directory, the ministers of state, and constituted authorities, began to move from their different places of meeting towards the Luxembourg; after they had arrived, and were all seated, the president of the directory gave orders to inform the foreign ministers, the minister of war, and the generals Buonaparte, Joubert, and Andreossi, that the directory were ready to receive them. The music began a beautiful symphony, which was soon interrupted by the sound of repeated shouts, rending the air, of *Long live the republic!—long live Buonaparte!—long live the great nation!* The noise continued to increase, the crowd kept pressing forward, every eye sparkled with expectation and curiosity, and turned towards the great door; *Buonaparte entered;* the enthusiasm of the people was at its height, not a single person was silent, but all cried out with one impulse and with one accord, *The deliverer of Italy,—the pacificator of the continent!* Buonaparte came forward with calmness and dignity. It was the most sublime moment that a mortal could experience; the greatest trial to the feelings of a man; yet he shewed the same coolness he had done in the midst of battle. He was accompanied by the minister of foreign relations, the minister at war, and his aides-de-camp; the music played the hymn to liberty, and every one stood up uncovered. When he had arrived at the steps of the altar, he was presented to the directory by Talleyrand, in a speech suited to the occasion; after it was finished, all seemed eager to hear the conqueror of Italy, the simplicity and modesty of whose appearance formed a fine contrast to the grandeur of his situation, and every one present figured him at the bridge of Lodi, at Arcola, at Campo Formio. A profound silence immediately took place, while the great negotiator presented to the president of the directory the emperor's ratification of the treaty, and spoke as follows:—

"CITIZEN DIRECTORS,

"The French people, in order to be free, had to combat with kings; to obtain a constitution founded upon reason, they had to vanquish prejudices of eighteen centuries. The constitution of the third year, and you, have triumphed over all obstacles. Religion, feudality, and royalty, have successively governed Europe; but the peace which you have concluded dates the æra of representative governments. You have organised the great nation, whose vast territory is circumscribed by the limits which nature herself has placed. You have done more. The two most beautiful parts of Europe, formerly so celebrated for the arts, the sciences, and the great men, which they produced, see, with renovated hope, the genius of liberty rise from the tomb of their ancestors. These are the two pedestals on which the destinies have placed other nations. I have the honour to present the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his imperial majesty. Peace gives the earnest of liberty, prosperity, and glory to the republic. When the happiness of the French people shall rest on well-formed organic laws, all Europe will become free."

THE hero had scarcely finished when shouts of acclamation seemed on all sides to reach the clouds. *Long live the republic! Long live Buonaparte!* were the general cry. The president answered him in a very long speech, and afterwards gave him the fraternal embrace, in which he was followed by the other members of the directory. The scene was witnessed with the great emotion of all present. Buonaparte descended from the altar, and the minister of foreign relations conducted him to an arm-chair, which was prepared for him, before the diplomatic body. The conservatory of music then performed the *Chaunt de Retour*, the words by Chenier, and the music by Mehul. The other generals were next presented, and received and returned addresses suitable to the occasion; after which they took their different seats prepared for them in front of Buonaparte, and the music played the *Chaunt de Depart*. The directors then dissolved the sitting, and returned to their palace with the rest of the procession, in the same order in which they came. The spectators saluted Buonaparte with the same acclamations at his departure as at his entrance. A magnificent dinner was given at the Luxembourg, to the general and an immense number of civil and military officers; the evening concluded with a ball at the house of the minister of the interior, and thus ended this august ceremony.

BUONAPARTE has at all times affected the character of a man of science, and a lover of letters; there can be no stronger proof of it than his placing the title of member of the national institute before that of general. At a literary dinner given by François de Neufchateau, he pretended to converse with every scientific man in his own line; with Lagrange and La Place he talked of mathematics, with Sycyes of metaphysics, of poetry with Chenier, of politics with Gallois, and with Daunou of legislation and public law: he affected in Italy to be the patron of letters, but it does not appear that they flourished much under his protection; and if we might judge from his subsequent conduct, he has about as much respect for literature as he has for religion. The day after his nomination to be a member of the institute, in the class mechanics, he addressed a letter to Camus, the president, in which is the same affected modesty, and the same pretended respect for literature, which he had formerly shewn, to impose upon those who did not understand him.

"CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

"The good opinion of the distinguished men, who compose the national institute, does me the highest honour. I perceive that, before I become their equal, I must be a long time their scholar. If I knew one method more expressive than another, of testifying my esteem for them, I should employ it. The only true conquests, and those which leave no regret, are they which we obtain over ignorance. The most honourable and the most useful of all employments is to extend the bounds of human knowledge. The true power of the French republic ought henceforth to consist in appropriating to itself every great discovery.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE."

AT all fêtes and dinners which were given to Buonaparte, the simplicity of his dress and manner seemed pointedly to indicate his real grandeur and superiority; for where every

one else was superbly dressed, in order to do him honour, he himself always appeared in a plain coat and without powder. The ceremony of his installation at the national institute was intended to be kept entirely private; yet as the day was publicly known, the room was crowded as soon as it was opened; for wherever he could be seen, he was never without a crowd. At five o'clock, the members all took their places, Buonaparte, among the rest, in a plain grey frock, the dress he generally appeared in; there was nothing particular, therefore, to point out the man who so lately conquered so many armies, overturned so many states, and created so many new ones; neither his stature, his manners, nor his dress, distinguished him from the crowd; and yet, from the great eclât of his name, he attracted the notice of every one present; the moment they found him out, the room rung with applauses, which were repeated whenever any allusion to him occurred in any of the speeches, or any thing which could be applied to the hero of France.

The next public ceremony, at which he appeared, was the disgraceful celebration of the 21st of January, and there he wished to seem ashamed of his company; he was seated among the members of the national institute as a private individual, and took so much pains to conceal himself by hanging down his head, and drawing himself together, that he was not perceived till the ceremony was nearly finished; he was then noticed with loud and repeated applause. While at Paris, some one expressed himself surprised at his allowing the emperor such favourable conditions of peace; to which Buonaparte coolly replied, *I was playing* vingt un, *and stood at twenty.*

1798. Though Buonaparte must have been flattered, and in some measure gratified, by all the marks of public favour which he received at Paris, yet there is every reason to believe that he did not feel himself at ease. From the authority of Carnot it is known, that the directory hated, and wished to destroy him, and he was not ignorant of this himself; he despised them as men, and he envied their power. In the army he was on his throne, without a superior and without a rival; at Paris he was no more than a private citizen, and he wished to be thought so, both from pride and from policy, but it cost him much humiliation and self-denial; he could not easily level himself to an equality with Merlin, Freron, and Charles Duval. To be compelled to court any man, was to him a costly sacrifice of pride to ambition; and yet he felt himself in the power, not only of the people, but of individuals, whom he inwardly despised, of Rewbell, Sycyes, and Lepaux, of the Jacobins and the royalists; something was to be done to withdraw him from this state of inactivity, and submission, both of which were equally painful to him; the expedition to Egypt was, therefore, no doubt, his own suggestion; it had long been a favourite project with the old court whenever they were at war with Turkey; and though France was now at peace with her, that was no objection either with him or the directory; for they must be sturdy moralists or timorous politicians, who, when they want to go to war, cannot find a pretence, or suffer themselves to be restrained by any motive of honour or conscience!

For the three months during which Buonaparte remained at Paris, he was no doubt employed in concerting measures with the directory for the great expedition which was to destroy the English power in India, and open a new source of trade and riches to France. The secret was preserved most strictly, and the public kept in a state of perpetual oscillation as to the future employment of Buonaparte: at one time he was going to Brest to command an expedition against England; at another to Rastadt to hasten the tardy conferences of the congress; and to countenance this latter deception, he actually wrote to count Cobentzel to meet him there the very day on which he arrived at Toulon. The idea of restoring liberty to Egypt and Greece had been first suggested in a speech of Monge to the directory, in presenting to them the definitive treaty of peace with the emperor, a speech which rises to the utmost height of French bombast in every sentence.—"The glory of the army of Italy resounds even to the farthest corner of Egypt; the Arabians of the desert talk of nothing else in their tents. A gleam of hope has enlightened the minds of the descendants of the Greeks, and their hearts have leaped for joy. The little children of Sparta and Athens sing in French the hymn which formed

our battalions, and led them to victory; they will soon sing that of our triumphs; and these hymns, like the hymns of Orpheus, will pass from mouth to mouth in every nation, and descend to posterity!" The Turkish ambassador, having heard of this speech, preferred a formal complaint to the minister of the foreign department; to which he replied, that it ought to have given no alarm or offence, as it was not the speech of any person in office, but the mere unauthorised voice of an individual, and for which the government ought not to be called to account.

The first direct intimation of Egypt being the object of the expedition, was given in a report to the council of five hundred by Echasseriaux the elder, but supposed to have been written by Talleyrand, upon the colony of Sierra Leone, and upon colonization in general. This report was read on the 12th of April, the very day on which the *sqavans* set out to join the expedition at Toulon. After describing the advantages of colonization to France, the reporter enlarged upon one country peculiarly suited to that purpose, and at length named Egypt. "What more glorious enterprise," said he, "than for a nation, which has already given liberty to Europe, to regenerate in every sense a country, which was once the centre of perfect civilization, when barbarism overspread the rest of the universe, and to carry back to their antient nurse the sciences, the arts, and industry. Here then the French republic ought to plant a new colony."

Buonaparte arrived at Toulon on the 9th of May, 1798, to take the command of the troops destined for this famous expedition, and his presence inspired a degree of animation and confidence among them, which set their minds at ease as to the nature and success of the undertaking. The army was composed of the veterans from the army of Italy, and amounted to about 36,000 men. The fleet, which consisted of 15 sail of the line, two of them armed *en flute*, 14 frigates, and several sloops of war, with about 100 transports, sailed from Toulon on the 21st of May, 1798; the whole was commanded by admiral Brueys, and completely provided with every thing requisite for a long voyage: of these, not above 5000 men and 5 ships of war ever returned to France. Such is the havoc that ambition makes among mankind!

The first news of the expedition was that of its having taken Malta, after a very short resistance; which, considering the strength of the place, excited no very unjust suspicion of treachery.

The proclamations and addresses which Buonaparte issued, before and after his taking possession of Egypt, contain professions almost ridiculous, with promises never performed, and expressions of cruelty not to be justified. Among the orders issued at Malta, there is one which contains two articles, more barbarous than the Greek in which it is written, if it was written in Greek, which I take upon the authority of the Intercepted Correspondence, vol. 1st; the French is to be found in the Operations du Buonaparte, published at Paris by Didot. The articles alluded to are as follows:—"All the Greeks of the isles of Malta and Gozo, who preserve any connexion with Russia shall be put to death All Greek vessels, which sail under Russian colours, shall be immediately sunk when they fall into the hands of the French." At Malta he addressed a letter to the bishop, which, when compared with his proclamation to the inhabitants of Alexandria, shews how little credit is to be given to either.

To the Bishop of Malta.

"I have learned with sincere pleasure, good Mr. bishop, the kind conduct and reception which you have shewn to the French troops. You may assure the people of your diocese, that the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, shall not only be treated with regard, but its ministers especially protected. I know no character more respectable, nor more worthy of veneration, than a priest who, inspired with the true spirit of the gospel, is persuaded that his duty ordains him to render unfeigned obedience to the temporal power, to maintain peace, tranquillity, and union in his diocese. I request you immediately to repair to the town of Malta, and to preserve, by your influence there, harmony and tranquillity among the people. I shall be there myself this evening. I request also, that at my arrival you will introduce to me all the priests, and other chiefs

belonging to Malta, and the surrounding villages. Be assured of the desire which I have, to prove to you the esteem and consideration which I have for you personally.
"On board the L'Orient, June 13th."

The next intelligence, though it announced that the French troops had been landed, was accompanied by details of the dreadful action of the 1st of August. The directory received the two accounts together, but they prudently chose to publish the best first. After sailing for Candia, appearing off the coast of Egypt, and almost resigning the pursuit in despair, the gallant and indefatigable Nelson, on his second visit to the Egyptian shores, had the happiness to descry the enemy's ships in the port of Alexandria. The squadron of war was stationed at anchor in line of battle, in the bay of Aboukir, to the number of sixteen. They were moored close to the shore, their line describing an obtuse angle in its form, flanked by numerous gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van. Their position presented the most formidable obstacles; but the admiral viewed them with the eye of a seaman determined to attack, and declared that where there was room for an enemy's ship to swing there was room for ours to anchor. No further signs were necessary, than those which had been already made. The designs of the admiral were fully known to the whole squadron, as it was his determination to conquer or perish in the attempt. The Goliath and Zealous had the honour to lead inside, and to receive the first fire from the van-ships of the enemy, as well as from the batteries and gun-boats with which the van was strengthened. These two ships, with the Orion, Audacious, and Theseus, took their stations inside the enemy's line, and were immediately in close action. Each chose his antagonist, raking the French ships which they passed in taking their respective stations. The Vanguard, the admiral's ship, took its station on the outside of the enemy's line. Having been followed by the remainder of his ships, a close engagement succeeded, which lasted several hours after the close of day. In less than two hours, two of the French ships were taken, and three dismasted. The darkness was only interrupted by the flashes of fire from the ships in action, and from the enemy's batteries and gun-boats, and the stillness of night rendered the roar of artillery, with which the shores resounded, more tremendous. A fire was observed, at ten minutes after nine, on board the L'Orient, the French admiral's ship. The first emotion of Nelson, on receiving this intelligence, was concern for the lives of those who were about to perish. He himself had been severely wounded; and, after performing his religious duties with the chaplain of the regiment, and appointing captain Hardy, of the La Mutine, his successor in the command of the Vanguard, was informed, to the enthusiastic joy of the seamen, that his wound was superficial. On receiving information that the sailors of the L'Orient were placed in a situation of imminent danger, he forgot the torment of his wounds in the enthusiasm of his benevolence. He came immediately on deck, and ordered captain Berry to make every practicable exertion. A boat, the only one that could swim, was instantly despatched from the Vanguard, other ships, in defiance of difficulties, followed the example, and by their exertions about 700 men were saved. The light thrown by the fire of L'Orient on the surrounding objects, enabled the commanders to perceive with more certainty the situation of the two fleets, the colours of both being clearly distinguishable. The cannonade was partially kept up, to leeward of the centre, till about ten o'clock, when the L'Orient blew up with a tremendous explosion. An awful and deathlike silence of some minutes ensued, when the wreck of the masts and yards, which had been carried to a vast height by the force of the explosion, fell into the water, and on board the surrounding ships. A port fire from L'Orient fell into the main royal of the Alexander, but was extinguished by the active exertions of captain Ball. After the occurrence of this impressive scene, the firing re-commenced, with the ships to leeward of the centre, and continued till twenty minutes past ten, when there was a total cessation of firing for about ten minutes, succeeded by a revival of the cannonade, which again ceased at three in the morning.

After the victory had been secured in the van, the British ships which were able to move had borne down on the unengaged ships

of the enemy. The Artemise fired a broadside, and struck her colours; but the French captain, having thus surrendered, treacherously set fire to his ship, and, with part of his crew, made his escape on shore. At eleven o'clock Le Genereux and the Guillaume Tell, with two frigates, cut their cables and stood out to sea, pursued by captain Hood in the Zealous. But as there remained no other vessel to support the chace, the Zealous was recalled. Captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, which had run aground during the action, was now disengaged. On the morning of the third day, the Tonnant alone remained on the scene of action; and, being dismasted, she was obliged to strike to the Theseus and Leander. Such was the event of a battle, the most decisive in itself, and the most important in its consequences, of any upon record. Of the whole French fleet, only the two ships of the line and the two frigates already mentioned had the fortune to escape. Nine ships of the line were taken, two ships and a frigate were burned, one was sunk. The influence of the victory of the Nile on the policy of the continental powers was immediate and decisive, and materially tended to the formation of the subsequent confederacy.

As far as Rosetta, distant about thirty miles from Aboukir, the battle, by the aid of glasses, was seen by French officers, from its minarets and towers. An interesting part of the prospect afforded by the dawning morning was, the adjacent shores all lined with natives, regarding with astonishment, both in the conquered and conquerors, the terrible heroes of the north. As a sublime effort of naval genius, the history of England herself affords no instance more brilliant than the battle of the Nile. The head that projected the plan of attack, the hearts and hands that carried it into execution, deserve not merely the cold narrative of the historian, but the ardent description of the epic poet. Were Homer to rise from the dead, he would find a subject worthy of his muse in the British sailors and the British officers, headed by the British Nelson.

CHAPTER XLVI.

GEORGE III.

[1799.

Debates on the Union of Ireland with the British Empire—Continued Suspension of the Habeas Corpus *Act—The Rise, Progress, and Conclusion of the Campaign in Italy.*

IT had long been observed and lamented, that the people of Ireland, owing to deep-rooted evils, arising from religious tenets, from social habits, and political circumstances, had not kept pace with other countries in agricultural improvement, in the advancement of commerce, and in the civilization and refinement of manners. As the best preparation for a gradual removal of these evils, it was now proposed to render the empire more entire and compact, by an union of the British kingdoms, on the broad basis of an equality of interests, a reciprocity of privileges, and a unity of power. Even the rumour of this

project excited in Ireland strong sensations of disgust, and in the Irish house of commons all the efforts of the ministry could only procure in one division a majority of one, and in another a preponderance of two votes. In subsequent discussions, each party alternately prevailed.

1799. Addressing the commons of Great Britain, Mr. Pitt insisted on the expedience of applying, to the case of Ireland, that principle of union, which had been so advantageously brought into practice, at a time when alarming discord prevailed between the English and Scottish parliaments. He did not say that any serious disagreement existed between the Irish legislature and that of Britain; but, from the independence of the former, and the risk of its being occasionally influenced by local prejudices, or by the arts of factious demagogues, he apprehended that a material variance might sometimes arise, on points essential to the welfare of the empire. The danger, he observed, was the more alarming as the French were still meditating, in concert with Jacobinical traitors, an absolute disjunction of Ireland from the empire, with which it had been so long connected.

The outlines of the plan were repeatedly discussed in both houses. It was assailed by the sarcastic wit and nervous oratory of Sheridan, the more chaste and dignified eloquence of Grey, the acuteness of Tierney, and the casuistry of Lawrence. The earl of Moira opposed it chiefly on the ground of its repugnance to the wishes of the people of Ireland, while earl Fitzwilliam and lord Holland resisted its enactment because they conceived that it was unnecessary, and might be highly injurious to the connection which it was intended to cement.

None of the arguments adduced could prevail upon the cabinet to abandon the scheme. It was merely postponed for a year, and this delay tended to strengthen the ministerial interest in the Irish house of commons. A majority of 42 members voted against the popular cause. This commanding superiority continued, until all the articles, framed according to the outlines which had been sketched and voted in England, were included by the two houses in an address to his majesty. The different provisions were successively examined and adopted by the British lords and commons, and the bill at length received the royal assent. 1800. It contained eight articles. By the three first, an union of the two realms, a confirmation of the protestant succession, and a consolidation of the parliaments, were established. The next stipulation adjusted the mode of securing the interests of Ireland, in the combined legislative body. For this purpose four prelates were ordered to sit alternately in each session, and twenty-eight temporal peers were to be chosen for life, while two members for each of the thirty-two counties, and thirty-six citizens and burgesses, were to represent the Hibernian commons. The fifth article united the churches of England and Ireland, leaving that of Scotland still distinct. By the sixth it was provided, that the people of Great Britain and Ireland should be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on articles of commerce, being the growth, produce, or manufactures of either country. The seventh left the public debt of each kingdom on a separate basis, with regard to interest and final liquidation, and required that the expenditure of the United Kingdom should be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Britain, and two parts for Ireland; but, after the lapse of twenty years, it was to be at the option of the parliament to continue this arrangement or fix a new rate. The eighth article provided for the maintenance of the laws which were then in force, and for the preservation of the regular courts of judicature, subject, however, to such alterations as might appear to the legislature advantageous and expedient.

The circumstances of continental warfare were peculiarly propitious to the views and interests of Britain, and to the independence of Europe. Scarcely had the new sovereign of Russia ascended, amidst the acclamations of the people, the throne so splendidly filled by his mother, than he displayed an enthusiasm in the cause of European independence, against French aggression, that good men were willing to attribute to the wisdom of his policy, and to the rectitude of his feelings. So early as December, 1798, a provisional treaty was concluded between the courts of London and St. Petersburgh, by which the emperor of Russia agrees to assist England with 45,000 land forces, to be directed

towards the support of Prussia, provided she is willing to take an active part against the common enemy. A subsequent treaty, by which a Russian orce, naval and military, was placed at the disposal of the English government, for service in the United Provinces, was concluded in 1799; and all doubt respecting the intentions of the Russian court was removed by the actual arrival of a Russian force on the banks of the Adige.

By the misconduct of Scherer, and the consequent successes of the Austrians, the French army had already been reduced to the most perilous situation. It continued its retreat by its right beyond the Oglio, and by its left beyond the Chiusa. General Kray, who had already marched his vanguard to Gorito, passed the Mincio with his main army, and pushed his advanced guards as far as these two rivers. Having been joined by general Melas, who was to have taken the command of the army, but who left it in the hands of Kray, till the arrival of general Suwarrow, that general reached Verona with the vanguard of the Russian army, and, pressing the march of his columns, joined the Austrian army, the command of which was immediately assigned to him.

Against such hosts of foes, it was vain for the French to attempt to struggle. In the situation in which Moreau was placed, retreat was victory. All the frontier places of the Cisalpine republic were now left open to the allies; and the head-quarters of the French were finally removed to Milan.

It would be equally superfluous, and inconsistent with the limits of a general history, to detail with minuteness the military operations of the armies under the command of Suwarrow himself, or connected with the plans of hostility that it became his duty to accomplish. I shall merely select from the various narratives of this memorable war, such events as were remarkable above the rest for the singularity of the circumstances by which they were accompanied, as determined by their importance the result of the succeeding conflicts, or tended to display, in a forcible and impressive aspect, the skill of the Russian generals, and the bravery and fortitude of the Russian soldiers.

Having reached the centre of Lombardy more rapidly than he had conceived it possible, Suwarrow, after the passage of the Adda, and the possession of Milan, divided a great part of his forces in pursuit of four different objects. On the west and in front, he had to follow up his operations against the army of Moreau, in order to hasten his retreat, and force him to abandon Piedmont and Genoa, before he received reinforcements; on the north and on his right to penetrate into the valleys above the lakes, and to facilitate the movements of the left of the archduke's army beyond St. Gothard; on the east, and behind him, Kray besieged Mantua with a body of about 25,000 men, while general Klenau invested Ferrara and blockaded Bologna, the vigorous defence of which places caused a very favourable division to that portion of the French army which was retreating from Naples and Rome towards Tuscany, under the command of general Macdonald; and towards the south, and on his left, Suwarrow had detached general Ott, with a strong division, to support general Klenau, to stop the progress of Macdonald's army, to seize the passes of the Appenines in Upper Tuscany, and intercept the communications with that country and the Ligurian republic. In this manner the whole of Italy was occupied by the French and imperial armies, the different divisions and posts of which were thus intermingled. From the centre of Lombardy to the two seas, there was not a place or a post, whether supported by the French armies or insulated, which was not attacked or defended with vigour. There was not, in the vast circle of the Alps, or in the long chain of the Appenines, a single pass, which had not at this moment a relative importance, with respect to the immediate operations, or which was not seized on, or disputed, either by detached troops, or by the inhabitants of the country, which composed an auxiliary force, of which diversity of opinion, constraint, or victory, augmented continually the number.

We shall look in vain into the history of the wars of Italy, for a period bearing any resemblance to the present; as we have never seen a conquest so rapid, or which appeared more solid, than that of Buonaparte, if it be true that change in the form of government, the disposal of the resources of the whole of the public force of a state confirm the dominion of conquerors,—never, at the same time, were so many advantages lost,

so many means of preservation destroyed, in so short an interval, and almost, as it were, at a single blow.

Suwarrow having thus disseminated his forces, Moreau, after the passage of the Adda, and the evacuation of Milan, made his retreat in good order, in three columns: that of the right marching from Lodi upon Piacenza; that of the centre by the road of Milan to Genoa, upon Pavia and Voghera; that of the left by Vigerano and Novarra. While the main of the army retreated thus upon the Ligurian republic, Moreau went to Turin, where he put a stop to disorders which had taken place, made preparations for the evacuation of this city and the arsenal, and provision for the defence of the citadel, which he confided to general Fiorella. He also re-established the communications, which, if not altogether cut off, were at least interrupted by parties of the insurgents; the preservation of which communications was highly important, on account of the succours which he expected from Switzerland by the Vallais, Mount St. Bernard, and the valley of Aust; from the southern departments by Mount Cenis and the valley of Susa; and from Briançon by the valley of Exiles. Unable, with an army reduced to about 25,000 men, to defend, with any hopes of success, the plains of Piedmont, to cover the country of Genoa, and keep up its communications on both sides, which were so important, as well for the junction of his army with that of Naples, as for the arrival of succours by Nice, Moreau left Turin, and transferred his head-quarters to Alessandria. He had previously taken a position under Tortona, extending his advanced posts on his right towards the Appenines, in order to narrow this interval as much as possible, and favour the retreat of Macdonald, by retaining Suwarrow on the left side of the Po. Suwarrow, meanwhile, had advanced as far as Pavia, and detached from his right a strong vanguard, under Vukassovich, to take possession of Novarra, and other places evacuated by the French, with orders to ascend the Po as far as Turin, and divert Moreau's attention to his rear by attacking, and even flanking his left wing. At the same time, general Hohenzollern marched upon Piacenza with a part of the left of the allied army; and, ascending the right side of the Po, had forced back the vanguard of the French beyond Voghera near Tortona. In aid of this movement, and with the view of seizing, at a later period, the passage into the country of Genoa by the Appenines, Suwarrow took post at Bobbio, on the road from Piacenza to Genoa.

May 7.

May 1.

General Kray, after the taking of Peschiera, had marched upon Borgo-forte, and assembled all his forces around Mantua. The garrison made frequent sallies, some of which became serious impediments. The siege of the castle of Milan was begun (May 5th) by general Latterman; and on the same day general Kaim opened the trenches before Pizzighitone, of which he gained possession in four days, from the blowing up of a powder magazine, when the garrison capitulated, consisting of 600 men. Ferrara, Bologna, Ravenna, Fort Urbin, and Ancona, still held out. Suwarrow's main army was much diminished by these different operations and diverging movements, which, considering the weakness and situation of the French, were not only inexpedient and useless, but lost him the opportunity of exterminating the whole of the French armies in Italy, and of opening a passage into the southern departments of France. Suwarrow's ignorance of his advantages, and the skilful tactics of Moreau, preserved both. The Russian general, nevertheless, kept close on Moreau, and attempted to dislodge him from the strong position he had taken, which was a kind of entrenched camp, where he had fortified himself, behind the Po and the Tanaro, between Valenza and Alessandria. Tortona was attacked by general Chasteler, who blew up the gates under the fire of the castle, into which the French garrison withdrew. The greater part of the allied army, increased by Kaim's division, after the taking of Pizzighitone, passed the Scrivia, and encamped at Torre Garafolo. General Karaczay was detached with a corps to take possession of Novi, Serraville, and Gavi. This movement of Suwarrow by his left flank, and the advance of his light troops into the country between the course of the Tanaro and the Appenines, did not shake the French general's determination. Moreau had flanked his right by Alessandria, his left by Valenza, and had thrown strong detachments into Casal and

May 9.

May 10.

Verrua; nor was he deceived with respect to Suwarrow's projects, who menaced the right wing of the French army, and its communications with Genoa, only to surprise a passage over the Po on his left, and to surround and engage it in a general and decisive action. This project was seconded by the attacks of the inhabitants of Mondovi, Cherasco, Ceva, and Oneglia, who took arms on a sudden. These insurrections were already so strong and so well organised, that a battalion which was marching to join the French army was attacked and dispersed. Moreau's position was such that, had he lost a battle, his retreat on either side the Appenines became almost impossible.

May 11. This attack against the left of general Moreau was attempted by a vanguard of the imperial troops, who, having passed the Po above Valenza, had been very rudely treated and driven back. But the following day the affair became more serious; a Russian division of 7000 men, under the command of general Schubarf, passed the river below Valenza, near the confluence of the Po and the Tanaro, and marched towards Pecetto, between Alessandria and Tortona, in order to cut the line of the French. The first shock of the Russians was met by the division under general Grenier; when Moreau, attacking them in flank with the division under Victor, the Russians were driven back, and a great number killed or drowned in the Po, amongst whom was the Russian commander. After this second attempt, Suwarrow determined to march his main body along the left side of the Po to Turin, in order to dislodge Moreau from his camp, and make him fall back, either on the frontiers of France, or retreat into the Ligurian republic. With this view, general

May 16. Vukassovich made an attack at Perrua, Ponte Stura, and Casal, while a part of the troops under general Melas, on the right side of the Po, received orders to pass, the night following, over to the left side, and march upon Candia. Whether Moreau had information of this project, or perceived certain movements in the Russian camp at Torre di Garafolo, where there ought to have remained but an inconsiderable body, he threw a bridge, during the night, over the Bormida, near Alessandria, and passed it in the morning with a column of 7000 men, leading himself the cavalry. He first attacked and broke the chain of advanced posts of the cossacks at Marenzo, and pursued them to Santo Giuliano, and then detached a body of troops, by his left, to drive in the advanced posts of general Melas, and march upon the camp of Torre di Garafolo, under the command of general Lusignan, whom he forced to abandon his position, and whom he separated, for some time, from a body of seven Russian battalions, under prince Pankriazian; these two imperial divisions, after considerable loss, rallied at length against the French, who retreated across their bridges to Alessandria.

This was the last effort made by Moreau to preserve this position. Suwarrow, whose head-quarters were at Lumello, hastened the attack on the French posts on the right side of the Po, above Valenza; general Vukassovich also attacked and carried Casal. The French entrenched camp being no longer tenable, Moreau, forced to evacuate Valenza and Alessandria, made good his retreat, after having provided for the defence of the citadel of the latter place, and marched his army by Asti and Chierasco upon Coni. He May 22. detached also a body of troops, on his right, to occupy Ceva and Mendovi, to open the communications with Genoa, and that part of the coast which had been interrupted by the insurrections of the peasants. This position was the best which he could have taken, to receive the reinforcements which he expected from the southern departments of France, and by Oneglia, Finale, and the other small sea-ports.

By manœuvres thus skilfully combined, Moreau not only saved the wrecks of Scherer's army, but gave time to general Macdonald to reach the frontiers of the Ligurian republic; and enabled general Perignon, who had come a few days before to the aid of this place, to stop up the passages on the side of the mountains, to strengthen his means of defence, and secure such advanced positions as might best favour the junction of the two armies.

Suwarrow, who had taken disadvantageous positions on both sides the Po, below the double confluence of the Bormida and the Tanaro, had been unable to execute his plan of surrounding the French army in the camp of Alessandria. After the evacuation of this

place, which he now occupied, he formed the blockade of the citadel with the division of general Schweikosky; a corps under general Seckendorf had advanced on the side of the Acqui; and the centre of the allied army, under the orders of general Melas, had marched upon Candia. Considerable falls of rain retarded for some days these marches, directed against Turin, on both sides the Po; general Melas, having crossed the Sesia, continued his march to the Stura. May 26. The Russian divisions under general Karaczay passed this river and the Doria, and took an advantageous position in face of the Chartreuse. The corps under general Vukassovich advanced by the right side of the Po, and took post on the right side of Capuchins; the city of Turin, thus invested, was cannonaded and summoned to May 27. surrender, which the French commander, Fiorella, refused, and returned the fire of the besiegers; but a bomb having set fire to a house near the gate of the Po, the armed inhabitants took advantage of the disorder, and having seized on the gate, opened it to the allies. The garrison, consisting of about 3000 men, retired to the citadel; the division of general Kaim occupied the town, that of prince Pankrazian the environs; while the generals Frolich and Zoph formed a camp of observation on the road of Pignerol. Ten weeks only had passed from the beginning of hostilities on the Adige, until Suwarrow encamped within sight of the frontiers of France.

But though Suwarrow had made this progress in front, he had yet behind him an army, against which it was necessary to assemble no inconsiderable force. General Macdonald, on the news of the retreat from before Mantua, had evacuated the kingdom of Naples. He had ordered a camp to be formed at Caserta and Madoloni, and created at Naples a numerous national guard. Fort St. Elmo, Capua, and Gæta, were provisioned as if destined to undergo a siege; the government was organised; and the Neapolitans were well disposed to defend themselves. Several English vessels were cruising at the entrance of the road, and intercepted every kind of communication by sea. As soon as Macdonald had received positive orders from Scherer to join the army of Italy, he recalled the division which was in the Pouille, and that also on the frontiers of Calabria; and leaving the camp of Caserta, marched by Rome upon Florence, leaving a May 9. strong garrison at Fort St. Elmo, Capua, and Gæta. The first division, commanded by general Olivier, which traversed St. Germano and Isola, found the country in insurrection; two villages were taken by storm, and almost the whole of the inhabitants perished in the attack. The patriots of Naples had seen the retreat of the French with consternation, as did also those of Rome; in this last city a garrison was left, which, in case of attack by superior forces, was to retire into the fort of St. Angelo.

Generals Gauthier and Miolis, who commanded the corps of French troops in Tuscany, had made preparations to receive the army of Naples, and had formed a camp of observation between Florence and Bologna, closing up all the passes of the Appenines. Suwarrow had not a moment to lose, to hinder a junction which might disconcert his designs, and change the whole face of affairs. The celerity of Macdonald's march with so considerable a force, the manœuvres of general Moreau, and the firmness of the corps of observation in Tuscany and in the Bolognese, had now rendered a possible thing the most difficult retreat that had ever been attempted.

It was on this account that Suwarrow pushed on with vigour his sieges, a kind of warfare that hindered him from disposing of all his forces in the field, and which had retarded his operations against Tuscany, and against the intermediate positions occupied by the French. The siege of Milan, where he had sent general Hohenzollern, with a reinforcement of five or six battalions, was interrupted, from the necessity he was under of sending succours to the prince of Rohan, who had to contend against superior forces between the lakes of Como and Lugano, at the entrance of the Italian bailiwicks, where, notwithstanding the insurrection of the inhabitants in his favour, he had not been able to maintain himself against Lecourbe. The French at length were obliged to retreat from Lugano across Mount Cenere to Bellinzone, and regain Switzerland by the Levantine valley; after which the imperial troops were recalled, and the trenches opened May 23. against the citadel of Milan, the commander of which capitulated, and

obtained for his garrison, consisting of 2200 men, a free passage and the honours of war, with the condition only of not serving for a year against the imperial armies. The citadel of Ferrara, having a garrison of 1500 men, surrendered at the same time to general Klenau, on the same conditions. Ravenna was taken a few days afterwards, the peasants aiding the attack; a few other posts, of very secondary importance in the Roman republic, surrendered successively; and Ancona was bombarded by a combined squadron of seven Russian and Turkish ships, and six frigates, under the orders of vice-admiral Pastokin. The siege of Mantua was still continued under general Kray, who, having repulsed a brisk sally of the garrison, received orders to draw off his troops, leaving a number sufficient to keep up the blockade, which were afterwards reinforced by other divisions, and to form with those troops, and with the divisions of Ott and Hohenzollern on his left, a new army, of which he afterwards took the command. His first object was to force the French to evacuate Bologna, which they defended vigorously, aided by the brave Bolognese, because it was in fact the place which was of most importance to them beyond the Appenines, and the situation of the place cutting the roads, and retarding the marches of the allies towards Tuscany, yielded the most favourable protection to the retreat of the army of Naples. It was only by dislodging the French from this intermediary point, that Kray could rally his forces, and march to meet general Macdonald, who had already reached the Tuscan territory; his vanguard was at Florence, Leghorn and Lucca had been put in a state of defence, in order to provide a last retreat towards the sea, if it should be found impossible to effectuate the junction of the two armies by the Ligurian territory.

May 19.

It appears that the principal part of the plan concerted between the archduke and Suwarrow, was to cut off successively the communications of the two French armies of Switzerland and Italy, and to open, in the speediest manner possible, the communications between the two imperial armies, by the conquest of the north of Italy, the Milanese, and Piedmont. It has been remarked, with what order and constancy those two generals alternately detached troops, the one from his right in Italy, and the other from his left in Switzerland, to support the continual attacks of the corps of general Bellegarde, whose aim it was to dislodge the French from the whole chain of the Rhetian Alps to St. Gothard, which operation became more difficult from the stubborn resistance, the active and skilful war, which the French generals, Lecourbe, De Solles, and Loison, waged against him.

Moreau, too weak to keep up a line of defence from Mount St. Gothard to the sea, parallel to the attacks made against him, had been forced to abandon both this great support of his left, and his communications with Massena, after receiving by Switzerland all the reinforcements which he could have expected, in the difficult situation in which Massena found himself; thus situated, he fell back on his right, to cover, with what forces he had left, the Ligurian republic, and to preserve untouched the barrier of the Appenines, so as to give Macdonald the means of effecting his retreat. Suwarrow, by taking possession, with his main army, of the interval which Moreau was forced to abandon, by keeping up continual attacks, and a war of posts in the passes of Switzerland, and by determining to finish the conquest of Piedmont by the taking of Turin, which the Russian general had not been able to penetrate, served Moreau's views to their full extent. Suwarrow had so unskilfully manœuvred his immense army, that he could neither surround Moreau, dislodge him from the Appenines, nor collect a sufficient force in Upper Tuscany to take the offensive against the French divisions, successively augmented by the vanguards of general Macdonald. Every retrograde march, by which Moreau had fallen back to the French frontiers, would have doubled the space which his colleague had to measure. Even as he was situated, Moreau's camp at Coni was nearly fifty leagues from Macdonald's advanced posts on the frontiers of Tuscany, at the same time that he drew as near as he could towards the French frontiers, in order to favour the arrival of the feeble reinforcements, which came to him by the Col de Tende. From this place he detached a division under general Victor, to cross the Ligurian republic, to join the army of Naples, to put Macdonald in a situation to act on the offensive, and open

the frontier passes, so as to reach Genoa. The French had retaken Mondovi, and blocked up Ceva; but general Vukassowich, who had possession of Carmagnole, Alba, and Cherasco, disengaged those two places. Moreau, by these manœuvres at Coni, drew off, as much as lay in his power, the attention and principal forces of the allied army.

Suwarrow, after the taking of Turin, had sent the principal divisions of his army into the valleys of Susa, Marienne, Aust, and Lucerne, where the Vaudois had taken arms in favour of the French, raising alarm on the old frontier of France, and threatening to open an immediate passage across the Alps, and to turn by the department of Mount Blanc, the last line of defence in Switzerland. The menace and the alarm were equally vain. Moreau's position on the flanks of the Russian general, which he had neither been able to foresee nor to prevent, and a French army in his rear, rendered every further progress impracticable. Suwarrow had hoped to keep Moreau continually in his front, and imagined that he should thereby have prevented the junction with Macdonald more easily than if he had stopped his pursuit, and taken his positions at the heights of Genoa, where, however, he would more readily have accomplished his purpose.

After thus disposing of part of his forces, Suwarrow marched in person against Moreau, who, straitened in his positions, after leaving a strong garrison in Coni, withdrew to the Col de Tende, communicating with this place. The other principal passes of the Alps, Mount Cenis, the pass of Susa, and the little St. Bernard, were put in a respectable state of defence; and neither at Briançon, nor in any other part of the frontier, were there any bodies of French troops considerable enough to operate any of those diversions, which, as the French army was situated, were as easy as they would have been useful. General Xantrailles, whose division had been destined by Massena to reinforce Moreau's left, after reducing the insurgents, had limited his operations to the taking a position in the Upper Vallais, not daring to hazard a descent towards Italy. The sieges of Tortona, Alessandria, and Turin, were pushed on, in the meanwhile, with great vigour.

June 7.

Macdonald, who had been joined by general Victor, marched forward from Piacenza upon St. Giovanni, a village at six miles distance, on the left side of the little river of Fidone, behind which general Ott had retreated; his advanced posts on the Trebbia having also fallen back: general Melas came up to his assistance at the beginning of the action with his vanguard. Macdonald, who had despatched a column on the road of the castle of St. Giovanni, endeavoured, with his right, to detach the left of the imperialists, and take possession of the road to Pavia and the Po, in order to surround the centre of the position of general Melas, who had taken the command, and cut off the communication with the forces which followed him. This first attack was repulsed by the Austrians; Ott's division, and a part of general Frolich's, maintained their position till the arrival of Suwarrow, with a strong advanced guard of Russian troops; the engagement then became general, and lasted till night, when the French withdrew to their positions between the Tidone and the Trebbia.

June 17.

The next day, Suwarrow, having assembled all his troops, took measures for a decisive engagement. Macdonald also made preparations, ranging his army in line of battle, on the left side of the Trebbia. The allies formed four columns; the first, or that of the left, on the side of the Po, was to march by Calendand upon Ponte de Mora; the second followed the road on the right of Piacenza; the third marched upon Vaccari; —these three columns were composed of Russian troops;—the fourth on Rippalta and San Georgio, destined to turn the left of the French, was formed by the divisions of Ott and Frolich. These dispositions, and the necessity of letting the troops breathe, retarded the attack till five in the evening; as soon as the columns came up, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground before the French line, there were no other manœuvres than a furious shock on the whole front of the two armies. The French were beaten, and lost this second battle, after an obstinate resistance which cost much blood on both sides.

June 18.

Macdonald, nevertheless, did not retreat to Piacenza, but withdrew behind the right side of the Trebbia, meditating another effort against the troops of Suwarrow, whose

infantry, particularly, was borne down with fatigue. The next day (15th), therefore, while they thought him in full retreat, Macdonald attacked the allied army in his turn, with the greatest impetuosity. He repulsed at first all the advanced posts on the Trebbia, and sent across the Po one of his columns, at the same time that another passed the Trebbia to turn the right flank of Suwarrow, whose troops were almost surprised. General Melas sustained the first attacks with the Austrian cavalry; the carnage was horrible, and all the country, from St. Giovanni to Piacenza, between the Tidone and the Trebbia, was strewed with dead; this latter river was choked up with corpses. The Polish legion, under Dumbrowski, surrounded by Russians, formed themselves into a square battalion, defended themselves with desperation, and were almost entirely destroyed. Notwithstanding all his efforts, Macdonald's army was forced to repass the Trebbia. Suwarrow, complimented on his victory, is said to have answered in the words of the general of antiquity,—*Victory! another such and we are ruined!*

During the night which followed this third day of dreadful and desperate combat, Macdonald re-entered Piacenza, which he evacuated the next day, obliged to abandon 3000 men, who were wounded, among whom were the four generals, Rusca, Salm, Olivier, and Chambran. Macdonald, who had himself received several wounds, as had also general Victor, made his retreat in good order, in two columns, of which one followed the great road of Parma, and the other the foot of the mountains. He pretended to be directing his march upon Modena, and to be returning to his camp at Pistoia; but he took posts at Fornovo, ascending the valley of Tanaro, and took the road of Sestri, to enter into the Ligurian republic, and effect his junction with Moreau. Generals Ott, Klenau, and Hohenzollern whose corps he had dispersed in his march upon Piacenza, united at Parma, and went in pursuit of him.

Suwarrow had repaired, by the quickness of his march, and the gain of the battle of St. Giovanni, the fault of having divided his forces by insulated operations, which had given Macdonald time to finish the most difficult of retreats, and to reach, without obstacle, the places, positions, and reinforcements, which had doubled his means. If it was a premeditated design on the part of Suwarrow, it may be said that fortune justified his temerity; for it was evident that, with less activity, and without this extraordinary march, the combination of the two French generals did not leave him the chance of victory; he would have found them with their forces united at Voghera, where he could not have attacked them, without hazarding the fate of his army.

In fact, while he was attacking, with the whole of his forces, Macdonald's army in Trebbia, Moreau, after having marched a strong detachment upon Bobbio, commanded by general Lapoype, sallies forth from Genoa as from an entrenched camp, with an army fresh and reinforced, of about 25,000 men, and marched by Bocchetta, Gavi, and Novi, upon Tortona. The Austrian divisions, under general Bellegarde, were attacked and driven from their positions at St. Guiliano, Cassini, Grando, and Spinetta, and forced to retreat precipitately across the Bormida. Among the advantages of this victory was the raising the blockade of Tortona. Suwarrow, following up his victory at St. Giovanni, had continued the pursuit of Macdonald beyond Piacenza, and hoped to have come up with him on the Tara, and by rallying the corps of Klenau and Hohenzollern, surround him before he crossed the mountains; but, on receiving news of the victory of Moreau over general Bellegarde, he abandoned the pursuit of the army of Macdonald, which he confided to general Ott, and departed with the best portion of his army to meet Moreau, and stop his progress. This counter-march was not less rapid than the preceding. It was whilst he was on his return, that Suwarrow received news of the surrender of the citadel of Turin, against which batteries of 300 pieces of artillery had been erected, and plied so briskly, that in two days the fire of the besieged was extinguished, a great number of officers of artillery and cannoneers killed, and magazines destroyed. The commander, Fiorella, demanded a capitulation, and obtained terms similar to those which had taken place at Milan and Ferrara. This unexpected event was, at this moment, of so much the greater importance to the allies, as the corps of general Kaim, now free, was already on foot to join the grand

June 13.

army. The efforts and activity in the defence, on the part of the French generals, who had not as yet received the reinforcements which they expected from France, engaged Suwarrow to press the rallying of his troops in every quarter. General Vukassowich had orders to bring near the main body the column of Russian auxiliary troops, newly arrived on the Adige; in short, the army, which was slowly forming at Naples, and which had only a few insulated posts before it, occupied by Macdonald's rear-guard, was summoned to hasten, with all possible speed, to the north of Italy. Suwarrow's army, reinforced by the corps under general Haddick, amounted to 60,000 men. Moreau, after another engagement with Bellegarde and Kaim, having an army but a third of the number of the allies, was obliged to fall back on Genoa. Thus, at the end of June, the allied forces were masters of almost the whole of Italy, and of nearly half of the Helvetic republic, when a sort of involuntary truce, or suspension of carnage, took place on both sides the Alps, while both armies waited for reinforcements to begin anew the labours of death.

June 25.

We left Macdonald making his retreat into Tuscany, after the bloody battle near Piacenza, where 20,000 men had been killed and wounded.

This retreat would have been extremely difficult, if Suwarrow had continued to press upon his rear-guard with the whole of his forces, and had turned them on the side of the mountains, whilst generals Klenau and Hohenzollern, who had rallied between Reggio and Modena, had attacked it on the flank, and retarded their march; but the success of the diversion, operated by Moreau, had recalled Suwarrow and the main of his army towards Alessandria. Macdonald retreated into Tuscany, marching in two columns; one by the road of Modena, which he surprised, and the other by Tornovio. The right column threw reinforcements into Bologna, which, garrisoned chiefly by Cisalpines, continued to make a most spirited defence, and also into Fort Urbin; and, whilst Moreau supported at Bobbio the division of general Lapoype, in order to protect the left of the army of Naples, Macdonald resumed his former positions at Lucca and Pistoia.

June 23.

June 27

Macdonald was unable to make any longer resistance to the imperial forces beyond the Appenines; the desertion of the Cisalpine general Lahotze having weakened his right, and the progress of the insurgents of Arezzo exciting the people of Florence, he determined to finish his retreat, and evacuate Tuscany altogether. Though it was more than uncertain, whether the artillery and baggage could be transported from Leghorn to Genoa, on account of the English squadrons cruising before those ports, Macdonald did not hesitate in attempting this desperate measure, and from the first days of July he sent off his column of artillery, with a strong escort, which was destined to reinforce the garrison of Leghorn. He left Florence, broke up his camp at Pistoia, marched upon Lucca with the best of his army, reduced to about 13,000 or 14,000 men, and began to file off by Sarzana. This march was slow and painful, and it was only towards the end of the month that the head of the column reached the environs of Genoa. Tuscany was immediately reinforced by the allies, united with the insurgents of Arezzo, the mass of which was increased, so as to form a corps of 30,000 men, under the orders of general Jugheranni. The advanced guard of general Klenau entered Florence, when the people rose, and, destroying every mark of the domination of the republic, re-established the ensigns of the old government.

July 8.

July 8.

The garrison of Leghorn, and that of Porto Ferrajo, formed the last rear-guard, and retreated also by Sarzana. General Argubet, who had made preparations for a vigorous defence, and reinforced the garrisons of Fort d'Antigano, threatened by the insurgents, received orders to evacuate Leghorn. He concluded a capitulation with the old governor, the Tuscan general Lavillette, by whom he secured the retreat of the garrison of Porto Ferrajo, and the free return of the sick. The evacuation was executed with order and fidelity, and the old administration was re-established the same day; the last French troops evacuated Pisa and Lucca, and general Macdonald, forced to leave behind him or destroy his heavy artillery, his camp equipage, and the remains of the rich spoils of Italy, finished his retreat. This army, which, after its re-

July 16.

union to the divisions which occupied Tuscany a month before, amounted to upwards of 30,000 men, was now reduced to nearly 18,000; but not a corps of this army, surrounded by superior forces, and whose total ruin seemed inevitable, had been forced to lay down its arms, neither on the field, nor in any post, unless it were in a few forts, such as those of Urbin, Sienna, and St. Leon, which surrendered only when their defence could be of no farther utility.

June 26. Suwarrow, who had joined general Bellegarde between Tortona and Alessandria, called in the corps of generals Kaim and Vukassowich, and marched upon Moreau, who, having fallen back on Novi, soon evacuated this post, and retreated by the Bochetta into the Ligurian territory.

Thus terminated that series of marches, manœuvres, and engagements, which, for six weeks past, had kept the troops on both sides in continued action. Moreau employed himself in reinforcing his posts at the outlets of the valleys, and had taken position at Sarena, to secure his rear and his communications with Nice, waiting the arrival of the wrecks of Macdonald's army in this vast entrenched camp, too extensive, without doubt, for an army of 40,000 men, who were to occupy the opposite extremities on the side of Tuscany and France, but too circumscribed, from the want of resources and the difficulty of communications.

The main of the allied army encamped on the river, at the entrance of the valley of Orbe, which position covered the attacks of Tortona and Alessandria; general Bellegarde, who, after the irruption of general Moreau, had been unable to carry on the blockade, and had limited himself to covering that of Alessandria, was charged with the regular siege of this last place, which Suwarrow hastened in proportion to its importance for the rest of his operations. The

July 14. first parallel being finished, and twenty-one batteries ready to open, the French commander, Gardanne, was summoned, and refused to surrender. The works were continued with unremitting ardour, and the fortress was heated by the constant play of 210 pieces of cannon. Six days after, not only was the second parallel finished, but the covered way was taken, lodgements made, saps carried to the foot of the ramparts, and batteries erected to open a breach. General Gardanne, thinking it impossible to sustain an assault, proposed a capitulation,

July 22. which was accepted, and the garrison, consisting of 2600 men, remained prisoners of war. Suwarrow fixed his head-quarters in Alessandria, the conquest of which had cost him dear, in the loss of general de Chasteler, the chief of his staff, and whose activity and talents had been so eminently useful to him during the siege of Alessandria. Moreau, who had not sufficient forces to attempt the relief of the place, to complete his junction, extended his line to the frontier of France, without abandoning either Genoa or the Bochetta, (the defence of which he augmented) or the other passes of the Appenines; he fixed his head-quarters at Cornegliano, and took there positions and posts at Ultri, Savona, Vado, and Loano, which had been occupied by the French army in 1796. General Colli had been detached with a small corps, and occupied an intrenched position between the Bochetta and Serra Valle; after having made those dispositions which could alone secure the possesssion of the Ligurian territory, and the successive arrivals of reinforcements, Moreau resigned the command of the army to general Joubert.

Suwarrow, after the taking of Alessandria, had marched a part of his army anew into Piedmont, had invested Coni, attacked Fenestrelles, and sent general Haddick, with a corps of 12,000 men, up the valley of Aust, to penetrate into the Vallais, as the former positions of this division had become useless since the retreat of the French beyond the Appenines, and the arrival of the second auxiliary corps. The column detached under the orders of the prince of Rohan had not discontinued its skirmishes in the upper valleys, or ceased harassing the principal posts of the French. This column, reinforced, undertook at length more serious enterprises, such as that of the little St. Bernard, which caused great alarm, and forced the French to keep a considerable strength in these quarters. General Hatry, who commanded there complained of the naked state in which the important frontiers of Dauphiny were left; every thing indicated, that the great exertion would be directed towards that part, if once the French army could be constrained to pass the Var.

But the great and inestimable advantage which the allies gained from the battle near Piacenza, was the tranquillity in which general Kray's army was left to continue the siege of Mantua. The fruit of his victory, which Suwarrow was most eager to obtain, the taking of Mantua, was to justify his projects, rectify his plan of operations, and permit him to send as effective succour to the archduke as that which he had received from him.

Nothing was spared to hasten the surrender of Mantua; the quantity of artillery was augmented; near 600 pieces and mortars were destined for this siege; artillery, of a bore judged for a long time useless, was also transported thither; two Austrian regiments, and the corps of Russian artillery, reinforced the besieging army. All the country people, forty miles round, were obliged to labour in their turn at the works.

The garrison of Mantua consisted of 10,000 men, under the command of general Latour Foissac, an engineer of the old regimé. General Kray attacked the place on the south side, and carried first the outward posts, such as the Cerese, the head of the bridge which covered the sluice, and the communications with the works of the Fauxbourg dn Thé, separated from the main land by an arm of the Mincio. The trenches were opened opposite to this Fauxbourg during the night of the 13th and 14th of July, under favour, it is said, of a kind of truce, during which the commander of the place celebrated the anniversary of the French revolution. The fire from the town, which was very brisk, when the opening of the trench was perceived, did not hinder the first, and soon after the second, parallel from being connected and finished; the batteries were completed in less than a week.

This principal attack was seconded by those directed on the other forts, detached from the body of the place on this side the lake, such as the horn-work of the gate Pradella, and Fort St. George, against which approaches were made at the same time. The principal sluice having been broken, and the draining of the water having facilitated the works and the establishment of new batteries, which were to protect the passage of Bajnolo, general Kray attacked the entrenchments in the dykes between Cerese and the Fauxbourg, which were carried sword in hand. The next day, the French evacuated Fort St. George. The horn-work of the gate Pradella, which, from the opening of the third parallel at the fort of the glacis, they apprehended might be carried by storm, was also abandoned, after spiking the pieces. The allies lodged themselves in this work, whence they commanded the body of the place; the garrison was said to be so weakened, as to be ineffective for the service; the greater part of the officers were in the hospitals; the batteries of the Isle du Thé were dismounted; and the quantity of bombs, which fell in this part of the works, rendered every manœuvre of the artillery,—every kind of defence,—impossible. July 26.

Thus situated, the commander accepted the capitulation offered him by general Kray, and gave him up the keys of Mantua, which had been in the hands of the French since February, 1797. Two days after, the garrison marched out with the honours of war by the citadel, and grounded their arms on the glacis. Conformably to the capitulation, this garrison was to be escorted to the frontiers of France, and not to serve till exchanged. General Latour Foissac, and all his staff, were detained prisoners, and conducted to Gratz, to remain three months, after which they were permitted to return into France on their parole, not to serve till they had been exchanged. July 28.

That Mantua had been traitorously given up admitted of no doubt at Paris, and in proportion to the value of the place was the indignation against the commander who had surrendered it, and the late government, who had entrusted to a man, said to be of suspected character, a place so eminently important. The directory ordered a court-martial to be formed to try Latour Foissac, as well as the commander of the citadel of Turin, who was likewise suspected of treason. The former has since published a justification of his conduct, and demanded the trial ordered by the directory, which, had it taken place, might have thrown further light on the suspected proceedings of part of the members of the late government. Of the importance of this surrender for the ulterior operations of the allies, a judgment may

readily be formed. Italy almost entirely reconquered,—for Rome and Ancona could not long resist all the forces of the allies,—all their means, all their magazines collected together at the moment of the arrival of the reinforcements, threw so great a weight into the balance, that nothing could compensate to the republic the advantage of the diversion caused by Mantua, which place had, in the present circumstances, and in the general state of affairs, an importance almost incalculable. As long as it occupied general Kray and his army, Suwarrow could not act with vigour either against Switzerland or Nice. The new plan of defence of the frontier of France was established during this state of suspense and observation, to the advantage of the party inferior in number; and every day that it was prolonged was actively employed in repairing losses, and preparing new obstacles to the great exertion, the general attack meditated by the allies. Suwarrow, by the fall of Mantua, regained the full liberty of his movements, and turned back to the simple combination of mutual and alternate succour between the archduke's army and his own. In short, the fortress of Mantua, which was the trophy for general Kray of the victory of Magnan, was at that time the most sensible loss the French republic could have experienced.

Suwarrow, persisting in his resolution of leaving no place behind him, and of getting possession of the whole of the flat country, before he made any attempt against the Ligurian republic, or against the frontier of France, pressed the siege of Tortona, and blockaded Coni more severely, watching the French posts at the entrance of the defiles, and of the little valleys of the Appenines; whilst general Klenau, who had pursued to the entrance of the river of the East Macdonald's rear-guard, took possession of Sarzana, of Fort Lerici, and of all the positions in the gulf of Spezzia, where the French occupied only the fort of St. Maria. The whole of the corps of the great allied army drew nearer each other, and assembled in the plain between Orba and Serivia; the army which had besieged Mantua, under general Kray, was expected; the speedy capture of the citadel of Tortona was to be the epocha and the signal of new attacks.

Since Joubert had received from the hands of Moreau the command of the French army, he had divided the reinforcements and the succours with which the French government had augmented his forces, and signalised his arrival; the remains of the army of Macdonald, which formed the right, had drawn nearer Genoa, and a new repartition of the command of the divisions had been made with a view to ulterior operations. Macdonald returned to France to take repose, well purchased by one of the most painful as well as most glorious retreats ever effected, and which neither a complete success in his last march, nor the victory which he was so near gaining, could have rendered more great or more memorable in the eyes of those who know how to appreciate the true talent of the general, and his intrepidity in the execution.

General St. Cyr commanded the right, general Perignon had taken the command of the left wing, and, having received orders to march forwards to the heights, took possession of the advantageous position of Millessimo, celebrated by the entrance of Buonaparte into Italy, of Murialto, and Callizano, near Ceva, which gave him the command of the valleys of Tanaro and the Bormida, and also to the line of the advanced posts of the French army; a more solid support, and which, being more distant from the borders of the sea, afforded a greater facility for manœuvres, and made better provision for the means of retreat. The former surrender of Ceva, when it was attacked by the insurgents, had already caused much injury to the French; and, under the present circumstances, that support would have been of very considerable advantage to them. The commander, who had had the weakness to surrender it, had just been shot at Genoa. The centre and right of the French army, passing from Montenotte to Campo Freddo, pushing their advanced posts into the valley of Erro, and that of Orba, were covered by the Bochetta, and commanded, in front of this defile, the rear in the valley of the Scrivia. An advanced guard occupied the post of Govi; that of Serravalla had been forced to capitulate.

Joubert, who had taken his head-quarters at Campo Marino, between Savona and Montenotte, behind his left, after having reconnoitred with Moreau all his positions,

determined to make a vigorous effort to march his army into the plains, and maintain himself there, after he should have forced Suwarrow to raise the siege of the citadel of Tortona. He invited Moreau to defer his departure, in order to aid him with his councils. Moreau generously accepted this invitation, and took a command under his orders.

Aug. 13. After having detached from the left and centre, strong advanced guards, and taken advantageous positions in the valleys of Orba and Bormida, Joubert formed on that side three columns of attack; the first followed the valley of the Bormida, directing itself upon Acqui by the road of Dego: the second descending by the valley of Erro, marched upon Castel Ferro; the third, moving from Campofreddo, following the little valley of Lemer, and afterwards that of Orba, was to enter the plain by Ovedo. A fourth column, stronger than the rest, and really destined to raise the blockade of Tortona, descended by the defiles of the Bochetta: this column was commanded by general St Cyr, to whom Moreau and general Desolles had united themselves to serve as guides, for an operation which they had already executed at the battle of St. Giovanno. The same day, general Bellegarde's corps, which occupied before Acqui the positions of Trezzo and Bistanga, was vigorously attacked. Joubert, who pushed the left at Basalluzzo, which permitted him to cover the movement of a column, which was detached from the right below the Scrivia by Casano di Spinola, was to follow the mountains which continue on the right side of this river, and march upon Tortona. This movement, which Suwarrow could no longer hinder, but by dislodging the French army from this strong position, decided him to

Aug. 16. attack it the next morning. The attack began by the right of the allies under general Kray against the left of the French, where Joubert commanded in person. The action was scarcely begun, when the general, to whose talents and character the French of all parties render equal justice, wishing to animate by his presence a charge of infantry, crying out, *Forward! forward!* was struck with a ball, which pierced his heart. He fell repeating, till he expired, *Forward! forward!*

When general Kray endeavoured to turn Novi, the Russian general, Pangration, attacked in front, but both were repulsed; the Russian division, under general Derfelden, at the centre, and the left wing of general Melas, then received orders to attack the first by the road of Novi, and Melas, by ascending the left side of the Scrivia; but this double attack had no better success than that of the other two generals; Derfelden tried in vain to gain the heights on the left of Novi. The two armies were now engaged along the whole of their line; the carnage was horrible. At three in the afternoon, general Kray's corps having been repulsed with great loss, Suwarrow tried a second attack against the heights of Novi, with the Russian divisions under the orders of generals Derfelden, Pangration, and Milloradovitsch; but the resistance of the French was such, that they kept their position, notwithstanding reiterated charges of the columns. The centre of the allied army was almost entirely destroyed in the charges, which Suwarrow sustained and renewed three times with unshaken constancy, notwithstanding their bad success in order to occupy, or at least check the centre of the French army, which he could not force. Moreau, who had taken the command after the death of Joubert, fought in person, and performed, as well as the generals St. Cyr and Desolles, prodigies of valour.

Meanwhile general Melas, with eight battalions of grenadiers, and six of Austrian infantry, which formed the left wing of the army, having reached the first heights of Novi, on the side of Pietalle, and despatched general Nobili's corps along the left bank of the Scrivia, attempted to turn entirely the right of the French army: he reached Sarravalla, which he unblocked; he took possession also of Arquata, and marched on by the road of Sarravalla upon Novi. He attacked the right flank of the French with general Frolich's division; the front of this attack was formed by the first battalion of Furstenberg, and by the brigade of general Lusignan, who in the first charge was vigorously repulsed, desperately wounded, and made prisoner. General Melas supported this column, which formed the right and the chief strength of his attack, by a second under the orders of general Laudohn; a third, headed by the prince of Lichstenstein, had orders to pass the line of the French to the

rear of their right, seizing, at the same time, on whatever advantageous points should be found in the intervals of the columns. Melas strengthened this movement by batteries, corresponding to the direction of the troops; this manœuvre decided the victory.

Towards five in the evening, general Melas attacked in flank, with the grenadiers of Paar, the post of Novi, which had cost so much blood from the beginning of the action, and which Moreau had just reinforced in this part, to cover the retreat which he had now ordered; the French were constrained to abandon it, finding themselves almost surrounded; the column of the prince Lichtenstein having cut off their communication with Gavi, they could retreat only by their left flank upon Ovada. This retreat was executed at first in good order; but the artillery having choked up the road in passing through the village of Pasturano, the division which formed the rear-guard found the village so incumbered, that, forced to halt, it was thrown into disorder, and soon overtaken by the corps of general Karaczay, whom Suwarrow had sent in pursuit. The French generals, Perignon, Groveby, and Parthenau, made the last exertions to rally their rear-guard, but could not succeed; all three were wounded and made prisoners, as well as the Piedmontese general, Colli. Night put an end to the combat.

The French had defended, not only with valour, but with the courage of despair, against the multiplied attacks of troops as valiant and greatly superior in number, a position very strong by its nature, and covered by trees and bushes, which rendered access to it very difficult on every side. This position was still more formidable by a numerous artillery, advantageously placed, and very well served. But in the same degree that their confidence had been supported through the whole day by those advantages of ground, and by the little success of the attacks of general Kray's corps, and of the Russian divisions against the left and centre, so was the loss of the French great, and their retreat precipitate; when general Melas, by his able manœuvres, had succeeded in dislodging their right.

If we except the battle of Malplaquet, gained by the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, against marshal de Villars, in 1709, where 30,000 men perished; and that of Frankfort on the Oder, in 1759, between the Prussians and the Russians, when Frederic II. left nearly 20,000 men on the field of battle, and did not abandon it till he made as horrible a carnage of the Russian infantry; no other battle, in the last century, was as bloody as that of Novi. The loss on both sides is estimated, at the lowest, to amount to 25,000 men. As at Malplaquet, the two armies engaged on all points of their line, did not cease destroying each other as long as the day lasted; or as at the battle of Frankfort, where general Laudohn's fine manœuvre decided the victory, the advantage remained uncertain at Novi, till the moment when general Melas succeeded in turning the right wing of the French.

CHAPTER XLVII.

GEORGE III.

[1799.]

Military Operations in the Tyrol, Switzerland, and Suabia—Fate of Naples—Termination of the Congress of Rastadt—Expedition to Holland—Its Failure—War with Tippoo—Storming of Seringapatam—Death of the Mysorean Tyrant.

THE French had projected a vast plan of offensive operations, to be carried into effect by a junction between the armies of the Rhine, Helvetia, and Italy. It was evidently intended, by this co-operation, to penetrate directly into the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. When war was proclaimed, their forces were so disposed, as to commence hostilities with immediate effect. They meditated an attack from three points in their Transalpine possessions. General Bernadotte entered the Lower Rhine. Massena commanded on the side of Switzerland, and entered the Grison territory; while Jourdan, with the main army, made Suabia the scene of his operations. The archduke Charles, having taken the command of the imperial forces on the Rhine, issued a proclamation, addressed to the generals and armies of the empire, containing a plain unvarnished statement of the conduct of the French towards other nations, and towards Germany, dwelling particularly on the treacherous negotiation at Rastadt. Meanwhile Jourdan penetrated rapidly into Suabia, and arrived near the lake of Constance. Massena advanced into the country of the Grisons, captured the fortress of Luziensteig, and established his quarters at Coire, the capital of the country, before the army of general Hotze was sufficiently strong to make effectual opposition. The archduke, in an engagement with the army of the Danube, compelled the republicans to retreat. General Jourdan was compelled to retire to the Brisgau, the western extremity of Suabia, on the frontiers of France. The success and superiority of the Austrians were owing, in a considerable degree, to their powerful body of cavalry. After this prosperous commencement of the campaign, the archduke pursued his advantage, and again attacked Jourdan on the 25th. On the left wing the republicans were at first successful, but the spirited exertions of prince Charles broke through their right wing and centre; the battle was renewed the next day, and the French, completely defeated, fled in all directions.

March 21.

MASSENA, with the army of Switzerland, had made considerable progress into the Tyrol; but, on learning the defeat of Jourdan, withdrew into the Grisons. Hotze having by this time levied a considerable force, prepared to march in the same direction, encouraged by the insurrections of the Swiss, who, as soon as they heard of the Austrian successes, manifested their eagerness to escape from the tyranny of their oppressors. The detachments which Massena had left in the Tyrol were compelled to evacuate that important country; and, while general Hotze advanced into the Grisons, the archduke, by his victories over Jourdan, was enabled to send his left wing to Switzerland, to co-operate with Hotze in annoying Massena, and assisting the insurgents.

THE army of the Danube, having fled before the victorious Austrians, had now recrossed the Rhine; Jourdan was super-

seded, and Massena appointed commander-in-chief. The archduke, in consequence, approached Switzerland, which soon became the chief theatre of Transalpine war. The rapidity of the river Rhine, which divided the hostile armies, prevented the archduke for several weeks from coming to action with the enemy. Meanwhile general Bellegarde, after repeated and obstinate engagements in the Grisons, was finally victorious, and drove the enemy from a great part of that country. The cantons of Schwitz and Uri rose against the French, and general Hotze effected a junction with the army of Bellegarde, their combined forces extending towards the army of the archduke. By the 10th of May, insurrection had spread to Underwalden and the Walloon country. Ten thousand of the insurgents attacked and defeated a considerable body of the French. A communication was opened between the allied army of Italy, Bellegarde's in the Grisons, and the archduke's on the Rhine; so that they were enabled to reinforce each other, or co-operate, as occasion required. May the 14th, general Hotze made a successful attack on the French troops in the Grison country, retook Luziensteig, dislodging them from all their positions, captured 16 pieces of cannon, with 2000 prisoners, and drove the enemy to the left bank of the Rhine. General Massena gained a partial advantage over a division of the archduke's army; but was, notwithstanding, obliged to retreat. The archduke soon afterwards crossed the Rhine, and occupied positions on the left bank. Insurrection against the French now extended as far west as Byrne. On the 25th, a sanguinary action was fought between part of Hotze's army and the French, in which great loss was sustained on both sides. On the 27th, Hotze, after entering the canton of Zurich, attacked and forced a strong position of the enemy on the river Thur. Want of forage, for a short time, kept the main army of the Austrians somewhat inactive; but, having received supplies, they marched further into Switzerland, and after a series of severe actions with Massena, made themselves masters of Zurich, and the interjacent country, as far as the Grisons. Massena was compelled to fall back to Zug.

1799. BETWEEN the rivers Glat and Limat there is a considerable chain of hills, running nearly parallel to these rivers, and covered with woods. On this ridge, Massena, after being driven from his positions near the left bank of the Rhine, had posted himself with great strength and skill, and had collected the principal part of his army. The right wing was posted on Zurichberg, the highest of the hills, which commanded the whole ridge. This position was covered with thick woods, in which were considerable *abattis*, surrounding the hill, and defended by redoubts. As this was the most important part of the position, it was defended by a numerous body of infantry. The left wing was placed upon the lower eminences of the same ridge, and the approaches to it were protected by the same means of defence as those to the right. The ground occupied by the centre was much more open and accessible: but was completely covered by a chain of redoubts. The left flank was further covered by a corps posted towards Baden. Massena displayed considerable dexterity and judgment, in choosing a position so difficult to be forced, and which was peculiarly inimical to the operation of cavalry, in which the Austrians had a decided superiority. There was, however, one defect in this position; in case of a defeat, the whole army would be obliged, from the narrowness of the ground, to defile through the town of Zurich, where there was only one bridge over the Limat. If, therefore, the position occupied by the right wing had been forced, a total route must have been unavoidable. Early in the morning of the 4th of June, the imperial army advanced to attack the republicans; general Hotze's corps marched off to the left, crossed the Glat, formed on the enemy's right flank, and began the attacks of the Zurichberg. The enemy defended the post with the greatest obstinacy. As it was of the utmost importance to the French to keep the Austrians as far distant as possible from their entrenched camp, they sent the most powerful reinforcements to their troops posted on the Glat, and brought such a number of batteries to bear upon the Austrians, that they not only checked the progress of the division before Schwammendingen, but repulsed the troops which had advanced to the abattis, and even threatened the right flank of Rosenberg's corps near Seebach. This manœuvre induced the archduke to reinforce the advanced guard near Seebach,

with a brigade of infantry under prince Reuss, and part of prince Anhalt Cothen's division of cavalry. At the same time, field-marshal lieutenant count Wallis was ordered to march, with two battalions of grenadiers, and the archduke Ferdinand's regiment of infantry, by Schwammendingen to the Zurichberg, and to carry the enemy's entrenchments by the bayonet. The grenadiers speedily obtained possession of the out-works, and penetrated into the abattis, where general Hiller and count Wallis were wounded. The enemy being posted behind the abattis, in superior force, it was impossible to advance; but, though driven from some of the out-works, they maintained their position on the Zurichberg, till night put an end to the action. The loss of the French amounted in killed and wounded to 4000 men; that of the Austrians to 5800. On the following day, the archduke Charles reconnoitred the enemy's entrenchments, and determined, notwithstanding their formidable aspect, to take them, if possible, by storm. He ordered his troops to take refuge in sight of the enemy, who, astonished and alarmed at the boldness and steadiness of his conduct, retired precipitately on the 5th, with the main body of their army, towards Baden, leaving in their entrenchments 25 cannon, 3 howitzers, and 18 ammunition waggons. On the following day, the archduke took possession of the entrenchments, with a strong advanced guard, and soon after occupied the town of Zurich, and fixed his head-quarters at Kloten. Massena took a new position, between the lake of Zurich, the Limat, and the Reuss. Prince Charles, observing the strength of his rival's position, and expecting to be reinforced by a body of Russians, rested for a while on his arms, contenting himself with supporting an insurrection of the enemies of France in the Vallais. That he might make a diversion in favour of the army under his own immediate command, he gave every assistance in his power to the forces under the Austrian general on the Rhine, who had lately acquitted himself of his commission by the reduction of Heidelburg. The affairs of the allies now wore a more auspicious aspect than at any former period of the war. The archduke had been successful in Switzerland, and Bellegarde and Hotze in the Grison country, while Suwarrow, with the support of an English fleet, had restored the cause of the confederates in Italy. But a turn was now given to the fate of the campaign, by one of those vigorous efforts which the French were accustomed to make, amidst scenes of distraction and civil disorder, favoured by the dissensions and imbecility of the confederates.

At a crisis when the French appeared to be nearly overpowered, a considerable number of conscripts was levied, and two additional armies were collected, to act in Piedmont and on the Rhine. Massena and Lecourbe entered on active war in Switzerland. The latter prepared the way for the movements of the grand army, by driving the Austrians from the cantons of Schweitz and Uri. Thus far they were indebted chiefly to their own good conduct for their success; but they were now to derive advantage from the errors of their antagonists. At the instant when Massena was meditating a general attack, general Korzakof arrived at Zurich with a fresh Russian army. Had the Austrians been prepared to reap the intended benefit from this reinforcement, the campaign might have terminated prosperously. But the resolutions recently adopted by the court of Vienna had frustrated the plan arranged by their generals, and a reinforcement, which might have given them a decided advantage, only tended to protract the disasters which attended their arms. Had the German princes acted with an energy proportionate to the crisis, and supplied their full contingents of troops, the archduke might have provided for the defence of their frontier on the Rhine, while he availed himself of Korzakof's support to drive Massena out of Switzerland. Unfortunately, he was compelled by their inertness to disconcert the arrangements of the campaign, by leaving Hotze and the Russian general to maintain their positions against a much superior force in Switzerland, while he marched with the grand army towards the Rhine, to rescue the palatinate and the duchy of Wirtemberg from the ravages of the enemy. The Russians, under Suwarrow, defended by their own valour, and aided by the movements of Kray, reached the mountain of St. Gothard, and arrived safely in Switzerland. Korzakof, with another army of Muscovites, stationed himself near the middle of a line extending from the

Rhine to the lake of Wallenstadt. Massena, taking advantage of the unfortunate error committed by the archduke, in leaving Switzerland to its fate, before Suwarrow had reached his ultimate destination, or joined with Korzakof, resolved to attack the positions of the latter, before the arrival of his superior. His designs were executed with skill and success. Hotze, whom the archduke had entrusted with the defence of Switzerland, was surprised near the Linth, and lost his life in the conflict. Petrasch, who succeeded to the command, could not prevent the troops from retreating in disorder. Korzakof repulsed the invaders for a time, but was defeated with great loss, and Zurich was taken by storm. Suwarrow continued to advance, with his usual confidence; but met with spirited opposition in his progress. He was attacked in the valley of Mutten; and, though he prevailed so far as to repel the enemy in many obstinate engagements, his progress was obstructed by Massena's judgment and superior knowledge of the country. Korzakof, in the mean time, repaired to Schaffhausen, and Petrasch to Feldkirch, while the corps of Condé, and the Bavarian troops, posted themselves near Constance. The possession of that city was warmly contested; but, notwithstanding all the efforts of the duke d'Enghien and general Bauer, it was seized and retained by the French. Suwarrow, disappointed in the expectation of Austrian reinforcements, and disgusted with the selfish policy of the Austrian court, which he strongly suspected of instructing the archduke to desert and betray him, effected a junction with Korzakof at Feldkirch; and, on reviewing his troops, found that, of the 50,000 men sent into the field by his sovereign, 25,000 only remained.

Oct. 9. At Augsburgh, he was gratified by an order from his court to withdraw his troops from the Russian territories; and, in consequence of his departure, the principal seat of war was removed from Switzerland to the banks of the Rhine.

The success of the allies was not confined to the continent of Italy, but extended to Sicily. About the same period, during which the loyal Neapolitans were making every effort for the restoration of the regular government, their fellow-subjects in Sicily were endeavouring to co-operate with their proceedings, by means of the British fleet. Lord Nelson took on board, for this purpose, a few Sicilian regiments, along with the gallant hereditary prince. On their passage from Palermo to Naples a despatch overtook them from lord Keith, with the news of the French squadron having again put to sea. Our fleet was therefore obliged to return to Palermo, to disembark the troops. In consequence of this return, the republicans began to resume their courage; and Ruffo, apprehensive that English assistance might not arrive, offered terms to the adherents of France, who had now retired to the castles. Lord Nelson, afterwards learning that lord Keith had been reinforced, set sail a second time from Palermo, and arrived in the bay of Naples. In the mean time, cardinal Ruffo had concluded a convention with the French and with the Neapolitan rebels, which the British admiral condemned as injudicious and disgraceful. His lordship declared, that, not having been ratified by his majesty's authority, the treaty was null and void. By one of its articles, a pardon was granted to admiral prince Carraccioli, the chief of the revolutionary party. Lord Nelson ordered the prince to be immediately arrested and carried on board the Mercury, a Neapolitan frigate, where he was tried by a court-martial, and hanged in 24 hours after the sentence was pronounced. Cardinal Ruffo had given permission to the French army to carry their plunder and their valuables to a place of safety, and to choose their residence in any part of the Neapolitan dominions. These conditions were violated by lord Nelson, and many rebels were apprehended. Nothing was now wanting, to the re-establishment of the king on his throne, but the expulsion of the French from St. Elmo, the citadel of Naples. From its commanding situation, it could not be taken by storm; batteries were therefore erected by the English and Russians, and a severe and constant fire kept up for ten days. The parapets were destroyed, and many guns dismounted, while the fire of the enemy produced no effect on the besiegers. Sixty 32-pounders, under the direction of captain Hallowell, were opened within 150 yards of the castle; and, after two hours' battering, a flag of truce was hoisted, and the garrison surrendered, on condition of being sent to France, but not to serve till

exchanged. The king of Naples regained a temporary possession of his throne.

The French general, on receiving information that the archduke was withdrawn into Suabia, seized the favourable moment to enter on active hostilities; and, after levying a contribution on Frankfort, recovered Manheim. Here he was impeded in his career by the arrival of the archduke. That prince, having provided for the defence of the Grison country, returned to the defence of Germany; and, fixing his head-quarters in a well-chosen position, counteracted with skill the intentions of his enemies. At the close of the campaign, he obliged them to raise the blockade of Philipsburgh, and, after evacuating Manheim, to repass the Rhine. Nov. 4.

The congress of Rastadt had been attempting, or pretending to attempt, during the early part of the present eventful year, to adjust the political claims of France, the empire, and its dependencies. But its deliberations were about to be closed by a catastrophe, which has never been explained upon credible authority. In the evening of the 21st of April, the courier of the French legation was arrested on the road to Seltz, and conducted to the quarters of the Austrian general, Barbaczy. Alarmed and offended by so unexpected an occurrence, and at the refusal of the Austrian court to give satisfaction or explanation, the French plenipotentiaries demanded their passports, and began their departure from Rastadt on the dark and stormy night of the 28th. Torches were carried before their carriages; but scarcely had a quarter of an hour elapsed, when intelligence arrived, that the carriages had been attacked by the Austrian hussars, and the ministers murdered. Bonnier was dragged from his carriage, and cut in pieces. Robergot was slaughtered; and Jean Debrie was left for dead, but revived; and, after wandering in the adjacent forest during the night, escaped to the house of the Prussian minister at Rastadt. The papers of the legation were carried off, conveyed to the Austrian commandant, and claimed in vain. Though the court of Vienna denied all participation in the act, it presented, and perhaps too justly, a copious theme of declamation to the citizens of France, and of *anathema* against the hostile powers of Europe. Nor had the agitation of the public mind in Paris subsided into a spirit of rational enquiry, when they were gratified by the unexpected appearance of their favourite general, to lead them to vengeance and to victory.

Of all the enterprises against the French republic, which promised to be easy in their execution and effectual in their consequences, the invasion of Holland presented the most alluring aspect. It was calculated to promote a powerful diversion in favour of the confederate armies on the Rhine, and it was generally presumed, that the enemies of England, who had so basely betrayed our cause at an early period of the war, were now awakened to their true interest by observation and experience. Upon this latter presumption chiefly, a treaty was concluded between London and St. Petersburg, for a joint expedition to deprive the French of their ascendancy in Holland, and enable the friends of the allied cause to declare their sentiments. With a view to the attainment of these objects, admiral Mitchell sailed from Deal, with a fleet, on board of which was the first division of the British forces, consisting of 1200 men, commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie. The admiral was instructed to join lord Duncan, who was to co-operate in the enterprise. Their descent was made at the Helder point, which forms that mouth of one side of the Zuyder Zee, opposite to the Texel Island. They were vigorously opposed by a strong body of French forces; but the British troops behaved with great firmness, and the landing was effected with the loss of 500 men, under the protection of admiral Duncan's fleet. The French garrison being withdrawn from the Helder, a detachment was sent to take possession of that fortress; and in consequence of this success, one of the chief objects of the expedition was accomplished by the surrender of the Dutch fleet, under admiral Story, consisting of 11 ships of the line, and some smaller vessels. Their next object was Alkmaer, the principal fortress between the Helder and Amsterdam. The intelligence of the surrender of the fleet alarmed the Batavian government. It was unknown how far the contagion might spread; and a member of the directory, accompanied by a minister at war, and four representatives of the people, were commissioned to confer with general Brune, and enquire into the present state Aug. 31.

of the forces, and the disposition of the officers.

By great exertions, a small army had been collected. It was composed of the national volunteer guards, raised by the towns and districts throughout the republic, and recently joined by part of the French succours. After some skirmishing, the combined force, although its whole number was less than that of the English, ventured to attack the right and centre of the British lines. After a desperate conflict, they were obliged to abandon their station, and retire to St. Pancras, at the north of Alkmaer. Sir Ralph Abercrombie supposes the enemy's loss to have amounted to 800 or 1000 men, and states his own at 200 killed, wounded, and missing. The French troops on the left made several desperate but unsuccessful attempts to carry the English entrenchments behind the dyke of the Zyp, and the batteries in its front. On the 13th, his royal highness the duke of York arrived at the Helder, with about 15,000 additional troops; and soon after a body of Russians, amounting to about 16,000 men, disembarked at the same place. His royal highness immediately assumed the chief command. The Russians formed the right wing of the army; and their guards, posted at Petten, were distributed, with the regiments which had just arrived, along the British lines. The allied forces now amounted to 35,000 men, and the duke, in conjunction with general D'Hermann, resolved to hazard a speedy action. The Russians desperately advanced, and, in spite of all opposition, pushed forward to Bergen. The column of Abercrombie penetrated to Hoorn, and the two other columns were successful in their attacks; but the impetuosity of the Russians exposed them to so much danger, that the retreat of the whole force became expedient. Three thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, and 2000 killed or wounded; of the British, above 1000 were deprived of life, wounded, or captured, and of the Russians 2000. A few days after this battle, a reinforcement of 6000 Russians arrived very opportunely to replace the loss which they had sustained. The inclemency of the weather began to impede military operations, which were rendered still more difficult by the marshy nature of the country. Availing himself of a favourable intermission of winds and rains, the duke of York altered his position on the 1st of October, with an intention to give battle on the ensuing day. On the morning of the 2nd, the army moved to the attack in four columns, commanded by Abercrombie, D'Essen, Dundas, and Pulteney. The hostile force consisted of 25,000 men, of which three fifths were French, under the orders of general Brune, while Daendels had the command of the Dutch. The main body of the first column did not meet with great resistance in the early part of the day; but when sir Ralph approached Egmont, he was warmly opposed by a strong corps of French infantry, who were supported by a considerable body of cavalry, and a train of artillery upon the beach. A party of the same column, under Macdonald, had driven the enemy from Campe, and the neighbouring sand-hills; and some brigades of the second and third divisions forced Schorel and other posts. The vicinity of Bergen was a scene of impetuous conflict. The brigades of major-general Coote and the earl of Chatham charged the foe in flank and rear, and occasioned a disordered retreat. But they could not prevent their adversaries from occupying the village in force, though they defended with effect the heights which they had seized. Macdonald being closely engaged with a numerous and resolute body, Dundas sent a corps to assist that officer, and thus enabled him to proceed to the aid of sir Ralph, who had contended, for some hours, with a force strongly posted. At length the cavalry were baffled in an attack upon the British horse-artillery, and, being charged with spirit by lord Paget, were driven towards Egmont with considerable loss. The evening put an end to the engagement, and the English rested upon their arms. At day-break the retreat of the enemy gave the English an opportunity of taking their several posts; but though they pushed forward for that purpose, they were prevented by fatigue from effectually harassing the republicans. The number of killed and wounded British combatants surpassed the amount of the sufferers of our parent country during the present war, exceeding 2500 men. Of the Russians, about 600 surrendered or were captured. The loss of the French and Dutch was much more

considerable; but the numbers of our wounded officers almost counterbalanced the other advantages which we had gained.

The enemy having occupied a very defensible position, the duke resolved upon another attack before the erection of new works. The Russians, who took a principal part in the conflict, were relieved in a most critical situation by the advance of sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the action became general along the line from the Limmen to the sea. The allies were left masters of the field. The Russians who were killed or missing were above 380, and 753 were wounded. The British victims were about 100; 725 were wounded, and 600 were represented as missing. Brune, having soon afterwards received his reinforcement, and having possessed himself of a strong position in the neighbourhood of the posts to which the allies advanced, and the weather becoming daily more unfavourable, it was deemed advisable to withdraw to a position which they had before occupied near Schagenbrug. His royal highness, in this emergency, despatched his secretary to lay the particulars of his situation before the ministry. A suspension of arms was the result of this appeal, and accorded with the opinion of his officers. A convention was adjusted between the commanders of the opposite armies, providing for the speedy departure of the duke and his forces, requiring the delivery of 8000 French and Dutch prisoners of war, taken before the present campaign, and prohibiting the commission of any injury by the retiring army. The last stipulation was unnecessary. It was in the power of the invaders to secure a retreat to their ships by inundating North Holland; but the duke of York was incapable of this act of inhumanity, propitious as it might have proved to ulterior operations,

Oct. 18. he consented to purchase a freedom from molestation by the surrender of his prisoners without exchange. The allied troops were embarked with all possible despatch, the British for England, the Russians for Jersey and Guernsey; and, as it frequently happens in unsuccessful enterprises, mutually accused each other of imbecility and misconduct.

It will now be necessary to return to the **affairs of India.** Lord Mornington had made great advances in his warlike preparations before the close of the late year; and the propitious events before related gave him a fair prospect of success. But that he might avert the evils of war, if it could be done consistently with the company's safety, and the dignity of the crown, he proposed, by letter to the sultan, to send an ambassador to Seringapatam, to attempt the restoration of a good understanding between them, in the way of negotiation; informing him, at the same time, that he had received intelligence of his hostile correspondence with France. To this Tippoo, after much delay, returned an evasive answer, indirectly declining a compliance with the governor's proposals, and evidently intended to deceive, and to protract the correspondence, whilst he should strike some decisive blow, in conjunction with his confederates.

The sultan's intentions were notorious; yet that he might afford him every opportunity of amicable accommodation that was compatible with his plan for the ensuing campaign, lord Mornington, soon after his arrival at Madras, on the last day of December, despatched another letter to him, wherein he indirectly charges him with the basest perfidy, by giving him in detail all the information which he had received relative to the negotiations and arrangements which he had entered into with France, whilst he was congratulating the governor on the victory of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, and at the same time repeated his overtures for a negotiation. To this Tippoo, five weeks after, returned an answer which conveyed a direct insult. After his accustomed bombastic exordium, he said, with an air of indifference, that, "being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, he was accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion. You will be pleased to despatch major Doveton, about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written, slightly attended."

The governor-general, having thus thrown the blame of aggression on his adversary, with the accumulated guilt of the grossest perfidy, settled his plan of operation with his allies, and prepared for a vigorous prosecution of warlike councils, as the only means to avert the impending storm. The troops on the Madras establishment, assembled at Vellore,

were reinforced with 4000 men from Bengal, by the 6000 subsidiary British troops which were with the nizam, and 6000 of that prince's best cavalry, and as many sepoys. The command of these forces, which formed together one of the finest armies that ever took the field in India, attended by an excellent train of artillery, and well provided with all kinds of military stores, was vested in general Harris, an officer of distinguished merit. And when the correspondence with Tippoo Sultan was seen to be fruitless, he passed the ghauts (straits) to Ryacottah, on the borders of Mysore; whilst general Stuart, with the Bombay forces, was instructed to co-operate with him on the Malabar coast, and colonels Read and Brown were stationed with a strong body of troops in the southern districts.

Tippoo and the French government, in the mean time, had been carrying on their negotiation, each power intending to make the other an instrument for effecting his own political designs; the former for taking revenge on a power to which he bore a mortal hatred, and reinstating himself in his lost dominions, the latter for supplanting the English in their East India trade and territorial possessions. For the final adjustment of their treaty of alliance, Tippoo had despatched general Dubuis, lately arrived from Mauritius, as his ambassador to the French executive directory, in the late year, to solicit the support of 10,000 or 15,000 troops, and a large naval force, in driving the English out of Hindostan. To induce them to enter into alliance with him, he proposed, "that all the conquests which may be made from the enemy, excepting those provinces which the king has been obliged to cede to the English, the Mahrattas, and the nizam, shall be equally divided between the two nations, and accordingly to their respective convenience." And in the confidence with which this alliance inspired him, the sultan opened the campaign.

Whilst the commander-in-chief was moving with the grand army from the east, general Stuart had advanced to the opening of what is called the Pondicherrum Ghaut, in the range of mountains which surround the Mysore country, and had taken a position in the territories of the Coirga rajah, a friendly power. His army was posted there in brigades, on account of the nature of the country, which precluded the possibility of a more compact encampment, when the advanced division, under Montressor, was suddenly attacked by Tippoo, with a strong body of cavalry, in flank and rear. This brigade did not exceed 1400 men, and it was separated from the other divisions by extensive jungles, or thickets; but there maintained their ground with impenetrable firmness against the superior numbers of the enemy who surrounded them, till Stuart brought them relief; and the event of a severe conflict was, that the Mysoreans were defeated, and driven from the field with great slaughter. Tippoo Sultan, after halting a few days at his camp near Periapatam, retired to the defence of Seringapatam.

General Harris had, in the mean time, been moving slowly from his station at Ryacottah towards Seringapatam; the vast encumbrances of his army preventing greater despatch. On his approach to Malevelly, Tippoo, who had before sent out parties to harass him on his march, and to distress him by laying the country waste, advanced with his grand army, and offered him battle. In the engagement that ensued, the right wing of the allied army attacked Tippoo's whole force, and after a fierce conflict, broke his line of infantry on the right, and put them to flight. Their left wing immediately gave way. Their cavalry, meanwhile, having made an unsuccessful attempt on our artillery and baggage, they dispersed on all sides, and left the confederates a victory, easily obtained with the loss of seven men killed and fifty wounded.

Notwithstanding this success, general Harris expected farther obstruction in his approach towards a city, on the preservation of which the fate of the Mysorean empire depended. To avoid this, after making a feint on the right, the way by which lord Cornwallis had approached, he turned suddenly to the left; and, having easily effected his passage of the Cauveri, the enemy being prepared to oppose him in another quarter, he advanced to his place of encampment, within two miles of the city.

The preparatory movements were all equally successful. While the commander-in-chief was on his march, colonels Read and Brown were well employed in reducing the forts in the Baramaul country, and collecting pro-

visions for the grand army. And when it had reached its destined point, colonel Floyd, with his cavalry, marched to meet the Bombay army, and escorted it safe to Seringapatam; Cummer ul Dien, who was sent against it, not daring to give them battle.

The sultan, who no doubt reflected on the event of the last siege, and was desirous, perhaps, to protract his enemy's operations, in hopes of receiving a reinforcement from France, or expected that the want of provisions, in the course of a long siege, might constrain the confederates to retire, or that the elements might come to his aid at the approaching monsoon, now endeavoured to retard the general's operations by opening a correspondence with him. In a short letter to the commander-in-chief, he declared, that he had adhered to treaties, and asked what was the meaning of the approach of the English army, and the hostilities commenced by it. To this the general replied by referring him to lord Mornington's letters.

Not a moment, meantime, was lost by the confederate generals. As the besiegers were making their approach, they were incessantly galled by the discharge of musquetry and rockets from the numerous works thrown up for the defence of the city; and their ranks were thinned by the fire from the artillery of the fortress. But danger, with all the painful incidents of war in a sultry climate, without wholesome water to quench their thirst, were set at defiance, and incessant labour in the trenches was borne with cheerfulness.

The siege had been carried on eleven days; the enemy were dislodged from their advanced posts; and the allies had erected their first breaching batteries, when Tippoo made overtures for a treaty. In reply to these, the allied general sent him the preliminaries of peace; the chief of which were, that he should cede one half his territories in perpetuity to the allies—that he should pay two crore of rupees to indemnify them for the expences of the war—and should renounce the alliance of France for ever.

Perilous as was the sultan's situation, he was determined to continue the war at all hazards, resting on the strength of his fortress, and the bravery of his troops, rather than accede to such ruinous and disgraceful terms of peace. He chose to fall with arms in his hands, rather than suffer the chastisement of his breach of faith.

A dread of scarcity stimulating the besiegers, their operations were pressed with increasing ardour. The breaching batteries being erected, the roar of artillery on each side was tremendous; and the scene became more interesting and awful, as the assailants approached nearer to their object.

The sultan's situation now grew, every hour, more critical. On the twentieth day of the siege, he made his last effort to avert his total ruin, by negotiation; and, in reply, was referred to the propositions before sent him, with a small variation as to the number of hostages required by the allies.

When it was seen that even despair did not constrain him to yield to them, the batteries were opened on the last day of April, and in three days a practicable breach was made. The assault was then ordered, under the conduct of general Baird, supported by colonels Dunlop and Sherbrooke, appointed to command the two divisions. Valorous exertion was now to take place, requiring unwearied perseverance. When Baird came into the trenches, and drew his sword, as the signal for the attack, three cheers resounded along the line. The advanced guard then, under cover of the fire from the batteries, plunged into the Cauveri; and, bearing down all resistance, they intrepidly sprung to the breach, the forlorn hope leading the way: so rapid was their ascent, that, whilst the rear division were struggling through the river, (their passage being rendered more difficult by the loss of their guide,) they saw the British standard fixed on the top of the breach, and heard the shout by which it was announced.

The victory, however, was not yet won. Tippoo now proved that, whatever were his vices, he had personal bravery worthy of a better fate. Placing himself at the head of his guards, on hearing of the assault, he hastened towards the breach, and rallied his retiring troops. Inspired with fresh courage by his presence, they made another firm stand, and the battle was continued with desperate fury. Amidst a dreadful scene of carnage, when the sultan, finding himself left almost alone, was passing from the rampart towards the palace gate, he was slain in

a conflict with a body of the assailants that surrounded him.

When this event was known, the contest soon ceased. General Baird took possession of the city; and the troops in the palace, where the young princes were, being summoned, were obliged to surrender at discretion. By the death of the sultan, and the reduction of his capital, the allies in effect gained possession of the whole Mysorean dominions; the fortresses in different parts, after making little resistance to the forces sent against them, were subdued, and the bravery of the English soldiers was rewarded by exhaustless treasures. Happily for the company and the British government, the mode of settlement most conducive to their interest was sanctioned by equity. Hyder Ali had dispossessed the rightful rajah, Kristna Raije Warrier, in whose army he had served, of the exercise of the sovereign power; but, that his usurpation might not excite a revolt, he affected to govern with the concurrence of the monarch, who was in fact his state prisoner. On the death of Kistna in 1796, the less cautious and politic Tippoo Sultan laid aside this veil. Yet the son and widow of the degraded prince were suffered to live in poverty. This heir to the Mysorean kingdom, only five years of age, was now, by a wonderful turn of fortune, brought from obscurity to be placed on the throne of Mysore. The good policy as well as the justice of this proceeding, obtained it general approbation. By raising the rightful heir to the sovereignty, the company secured an ally, who was bound to them by the ties of gratitude and interest, and the act was recommended to the neighbouring powers by the prospect of permanent tranquillity.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

GEORGE III.

[1799.]

Operations of Buonaparte in Egypt—Insurrection at Cairo—Poisoning and Massacre at Jaffa—Siege of St. Jean D'Acre—Disasters of the French Army—Escape of Buonaparte from Egypt, and his return to France.

It will now be necessary to resume the narrative of Napoleon's progress in Egypt, from the moment of his critical escape from the pursuit of Lord Nelson. The fortune of Buonaparte, in this instance, seemed to have been as kind to him as usual, for the English fleet had left Alexandria only two days before the French one arrived; hearing, therefore, that the English were so near, he was extremely desirous to effect a landing: accordingly, in the evening of the 2nd of July, he began to prepare for the purpose. In the midst of the bustle, a vessel was descried at a distance, which was taken to be a part of the English squadron. Buonaparte, on hearing the alarm, exclaimed in the utmost agitation, *Fortune, wilt thou abandon me; I only ask five days, and then do thy worst.* Fortune was still constant to him, for the vessel proved to be a French one. The landing was effected with great difficulty, on account of a strong north wind, which raised

the surf a considerable height, and rendered it impossible for many of the boats to get near the shore. At one o'clock in the morning, however, Buonaparte landed, and put himself at the head of 3000 men, whom he divided into three columns, and, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, he marched on to Alexandria, without cannon and without cavalry. The heights which command the city were defended by about 300 horse, which the French fired upon and soon dispersed.

The rest of the French army having landed by ten the next day, they joined the advanced guard, making in the whole about 23,000 men, and commenced the attack of Alexandria, a place in a great measure defenceless, having nothing but mud walls, ill supplied with artillery. The garrison consisted of about 500 janizaries, and the city was defended by 5000 mamelukes, with whom the French had a short engagement; they lost about 150 men, who might have been spared by summoning the place, but it was thought proper to begin by striking terror, and accordingly the French took the city by assault, and murdered all who came in their way, even those who fled to their mosques for asylum. Buonaparte, to rouse the emulation and flatter the vanity of his troops, gave orders that all those who were killed in the engagement should be buried under Pompey's pillar, have their names inscribed on its base, and the circumstance be inserted in the orderly book of every regiment.

The city of Alexandria having been given up to massacre and pillage for the space of four hours, the general at length commanded the carnage to cease, and endeavoured to restore confidence and tranquillity; the next day all was quiet, and the people began to sell their fruit and provisions to the French. Buonaparte then addressed two proclamations, one to his soldiers and the other to the natives; the first advises them to refrain from plunder, which, after the licence so lately given, was not likely to be attended to; in the next he tells the people that he is the friend of Mahomet, and will respect their religion, which he could hardly expect them to believe, after the recent violation of their mosques, not merely by the presence of men calling themselves Christians, but of Christians who came there to murder.

PROCLAMATION.

"For a long time, the beys of Egypt have insulted the French nation and its merchants. The hour of their punishment is arrived. For a long time this horde of slaves from Caucasus and Georgia have tyrannized over the fairest part of the world; but God has ordained that their empire should now be at an end. People of Egypt, they will tell you that I am come to destroy your religion; believe them not; answer that I come to restore your rights, to punish usurpers, and that I respect God, Mahomet, and the Koran, more than the mamelukes. Tell them that all men are equal before God. Wisdom, talents, and virtue make the sole difference among them. What wisdom, what virtues, or what talents distinguish the mamelukes, that they should exclusively possess all that can render life desirable or pleasant? Is there a beautiful spot of ground, it belongs to the mamelukes; is there a beautiful female slave, or a good house, it belongs to the mamelukes. If Egypt is their farm, let them shew the lease which God has granted them; but God is just and merciful towards his people, and all the Egyptians are equally entitled to hold all offices; let the wisest, the best-informed, and the most virtuous govern, and the people will be happy. You had formerly great cities, great canals, and great commerce among you; what hath destroyed them but the avarice, the injustice, and the tyranny of the mamelukes? Cadis, Cheiks, Imams, and Tchorbadjys. Tell the people that we also are true musselmen. *Is it not we who have destroyed the pope*, who said that we must make war against the musselmen? Is it not we who have destroyed the knights of Malta, because those foolish men believed that God intended them to make war against the musselmen? Is it not we who have, at all times, been the friends of the grand seignior, and the enemies of his enemies? The mamelukes, on the contrary, have they not always been revolting against the authority of the porte, which even now they refuse to acknowledge? They consult nothing but their own caprice. Thrice happy they who will be with us; they shall prosper in their fortune and their rank. Happy they who shall be neuter; they shall have time to know us, and they will be on our side: but miserable,

thrice miserable, they who shall arm for the mamelukes, and fight against us; there shall be no hope for them, they shall perish."

To prove the truth of this last declaration, he threatens fire and sword to all who shall oppose the arms of the French, and then signs as usual—BUONAPARTE.

THE bombastic style of the last paragraph somewhat resembles the ludicrous boast of Falstaff, when he hears of the king's death, *Happy are they that have been my friends, and woe to the lord chief justice.*

THIS proclamation was rather a rude beginning for a man who came to extend the blessings of civilization, to revive the arts and sciences, and release the inhabitants of the country from the bondage of the Turks and mamelukes; but the whole affair, the more it is developed, deserves to be considered as a farce, if it was not too much of a tragedy; it was a series of deception and trick, of murder, plunder, and tyranny from beginning to end, and seems to have been contrived for no other purpose than to find food for the insatiable ambition of a man, who had not room enough in Europe, and required some new field to exercise his restless and destructive spirit. The letter which Buonaparte addressed to the widow of admiral Brueys shews that, if he cannot feel himself, he knows what other people feel. I have attempted to transfuse the beauties of this epistle into the English language; but they cannot be transfused into any language; it is therefore not to be wondered if I have failed.

"YOUR husband was killed by a cannon-ball, in fighting nobly for his country; he died without suffering for a moment, and his death is envied by all good soldiers. I feel sincerely for what you must suffer. The moment which separates us from the person whom we love is terrible; it insulates us from every thing around us, and causes convulsions of agony; the faculties of the soul are almost annihilated, and we hardly preserve any connexion with the world but in a dream. Men appear to us more cold, more selfish, more wicked, and more odious than they really are. We think in this situation, that if there was nothing which compelled us to live, it were better for us to die; but after these first emotions, when we press our infants to our breast, tears and sentiments of tenderness awaken nature within us, and we live again for our children. Yes, madam, let me advise you to see them instantly; let them soften your heart to the tender impressions of melancholy; you will weep over them, you will watch over their infancy, and cultivate their youth, you will speak to them of their father, of your own sufferings, and of the loss which they and their country have sustained. After having thus re-attached yourself to the world by filial and maternal love, endeavour to set some value upon the lively interest which I shall never fail to take in all that concerns the widow of my friend. Be satisfied that there are at least some men in the world, how few soever they may be, who deserve to be considered as the only hope of the wretched, because they feel for their sufferings with sensibility.

"2nd Fructidor, 6th year. BUONAPARTE."

HAVING secured the possession of Alexandria, Buonaparte attempted to conciliate the natives by further professions of esteem, and some few tokens of friendship; he then set out to meet the only enemies he pretended to oppose, viz. the mamelukes. The army, after suffering severely from thirst and fatigue in passing through the desert, at last came to the banks of the Nile; and such was their ardour to drink, that they threw themselves into it with their clothes on, and drank most copiously. In a few minutes they were recalled to their ranks by beat of drum, for a party of the enemy was in sight; they were in number about 800, well-armed, and all on horseback; they attacked the division of general Desaix, and after a severe engagement were completely repulsed. This was called the battle of Rhamânych. The next combat was more severe; the mamelukes were in greater force, and fought with greater obstinacy, but were finally defeated. This battle was fought near the village of Chebrekeis. The next engagement, which was still more severe, decided the fate of Cairo, which Buonaparte entered, after an obstinate resistance of the beys; he speaks highly of the resolution and firmness of the mamelukes, who contended with the most determined valour; from its being fought in sight of those stupendous monuments, this battle was called the battle of the pyramids.

The first thing after the taking possession of Cairo, was to settle something like a government, but what was given to the wretched natives hardly deserved that name. Its first object, like that of most other governments, was to raise money, and the soldiers were to be the tax-gatherers. A divan of seven persons was appointed in every province, who, assisted by the French troops, were "to repress sedition, collect the taxes formerly paid to the beys, and enlighten the people." It may here be enquired what was become of the *sqavans*, to whom the latter duty seemed exclusively to belong; perhaps they did not like the soldiers for their coadjutors, and thought that, though men may be silenced, they cannot be enlightened, by the bayonet.

Buonaparte, having now secured the possession of Cairo, set out to finish the conquest of Egypt, and pursue the refractory beys, who had fled before them. Ibrahim, the principal of them, had taken refuge in the deserts of Syria. Maurad Bey was closely pursued by general Desaix; but though his troops were chiefly dispersed by the various engagements which he had sustained, he was neither taken nor vanquished.

Towards the latter end of October, 1798, a dreadful insurrection broke out among the inhabitants of Cairo, who, it appears, were far from being satisfied with their new masters. On the 22nd in the morning, general Dupuis, hearing that a great crowd had assembled near one of the principal mosques, mounted his horse and put himself at the head of twelve of his cavalry, in order to disperse the mob, who pretended that discontent at the taxes was the sole cause of their meeting. Finding them, however, not disposed to retire, he attacked them: they returned the attack with stones and other missiles, by one of which the general was so severely wounded, that, being taken home, he shortly after expired. The Turks continued to assemble in still greater multitudes; they betook themselves to their mosques, which they endeavoured to fortify; the French forced the gates of most of them, and put the wretched insurgents to death. They were not however dispirited; fresh numbers succeeded the slain, and the carnage lasted for three days, during which time above 3000 men, women, and children were put to the sword. The proclamation to the people of Cairo, after this insurrection, is too gross to be read with patience.

"People of Cairo,—perverse men have led you astray, and they have perished. God hath commanded me to be mild and merciful towards the people, and I have been so towards you all. Is there a man among you so blind as not to see that fate directs all my operations? Is there a man among you so incredulous as to doubt that the whole of the universe is subject to the empire of destiny. Let the enemies of the people know, that, when the world began, it was written, that after having destroyed the enemies of Islamism, and overthrown the cross, I should come from the farthest part of the west to fulfil the task that is imposed upon me. Make the people see that in more than twenty passages of the Koran, that which has happened has been foretold, and that which will happen is equally explained. I might demand of each of you to tell the most secret thoughts of his heart, for I know them all, even those which you have never divulged to any one; but the day will come, when all the world shall know, by evidence too strong to be denied, that I am conducted by orders from above, and that no human efforts can prevail against me. Happy they who are the first to attach themselves to me."

The weakest credulity could hardly forbear to smile at such shameless audacity. He then names a divan of sixty persons, to render justice to the people, and attend—not to their interests, but the interests of the French republic.

Buonaparte, notwithstanding every act of hostility which he had committed against the porte, still wished that power to believe, that the French republic was desirous to preserve the friendship which had subsisted between them. His object, in this pretence of amity, was to hinder the Turks, if possible, from entering into an alliance with Great Britain, and combining the forces of the two nations in an attack upon the French, who were now, by the destruction of their fleet, deprived of succours from home; but the disguise was a veil too thin not easily to be seen through, even by the most dim-sighted politicians, and consequently all his professions of friendship were treated as they deserved by both nations.

The Turks formed a treaty of alliance with the English, and they entered into vigorous measures, agreeable to the interest of both, to drive the French out of Egypt. Buonaparte, notwithstanding his fraudulent pretences, did not neglect the most active means to prevent the combination of his enemies, and accordingly he prepared an expedition into Syria, to punish the Djezzar Pacha for his friendly reception of Ibrahim Bey, and to destroy the preparations of the porte, and the English, against Egypt. Before he departed for the grand expedition, he was desirous to get possession of Suez, in order to secure his great object, the possession of India, and likewise to ascertain the existence of the canal, which was said to join the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. He departed for Suez on the 22nd of December, and took possession of it on the 6th of January. He there learned that the djezzar had been nominated pacha of Damascus and Egypt, that he was collecting his troops to oppose him, and that a part of them had already approached El Arish, which was only one day's journey from the desert. After getting every thing in readiness for his march into Syria, he sent his battering artillery to be shipped at Alexandria, and gave orders to admiral Perrée to sail with the Juno, the Aceste, and another frigate, to cruise before Jaffa, and be ready to co-operate with the army on shore; but, before his departure, he addressed the following letter to the djezzar:—

"Since I came into Egypt, I have told you many times, that my intention was not to make war against you, but against the mamelukes. You have given no answer to my repeated overtures. I told you that I desired you to drive Ibrahim Bey from the frontiers of Egypt; so far from that, you have sent troops to Gaza, and even to El Arish, which is six leagues within the territory of Egypt. I will march in a few days against St. John d'Acre. But why should I take away the few years that remain from the life of an old man whom I have never seen. I wish to be merciful not only towards the people, but towards the great. You have no reason to be my enemy, for you were formerly the enemy of the mamelukes; become again my friend, and the enemy of the mamelukes and the English, and I will do you as much good as I intended to do you harm. Send me your answer by the messenger, who has full powers to treat with you. I shall set out for St. John d'Acre on the 24th of the month; I must before that time have your answer."

To this epistle no reply was returned.

The garrison of El Arish, having for some days resisted general Regnier's division, was severely attacked by the remainder of the army under Buonaparte, and at length surrendered. The whole of the troops, without further opposition, marched forward through the desert, and arriving at Gaza, from which the enemy retreated, they took possession of the town, and found in it a great quantity of provisions and military stores. The place was treated as friendly, and in the usual style of French amity was immediately put under military authority. The army then proceeded through an immense sandy desert to Jaffa, where the enemy were in great force. The French therefore began to besiege the town, which, after several sallies and an obstinate resistance, was taken, and most of the garrison put to the sword; but the rest flying to their mosques, the French soldiers nobly refused to pursue an unresisting enemy, and spared all those who implored their mercy.

A tale of horror must now be related, which, were it not twice authenticated on the honour of a British officer, and uncontradicted even by French audacity, is so repugnant to humanity, and the feelings of civilized nations, that we might well refuse to give it credence. Buonaparte, after expressing much resentment at the forbearance lately manifested by his troops, determined to put their obedience to a still stronger test, and compel them to become executioners in cold blood; for finding himself encumbered with the maintenance of 3800 prisoners, whom he had taken in his different engagements, he commanded the greatest part of them to be marched to a rising ground about a mile from Jaffa, and there surrounded by general Box's infantry; at the sound of a signal gun, the whole division fired, and the unfortunate Turks fell dead by hundreds; happy had they all immediately expired, but the soldiers in mercy finished with the bayonet those whom the bullets had spared. Buonaparte, looking through a telescope, surveyed the horrid scene, and expressed the

most savage satisfaction when it was completed, for he had good reason to apprehend the refusal of his troops to execute so nefarious a command. Kleber indeed refused to comply with the order, unless he received written instructions; but Buonaparte sent his faithful Berthier to compel obedience, and the deed was instantly performed. The putrefaction of the dead bodies is said to have produced the pestilence which afterwards caused such havoc among the French soldiers, so that Buonaparte got rid of more than he intended. Previous to this horrid massacre, he inspected the whole body of prisoners, with a view to select those belonging to the towns which he intended to attack; among the rest, an aged janizary attracted his notice. *Old man*, said he sharply, *what do you do here? I must answer that question*, replied the Turk, *by asking you the same, and you will no doubt reply, I came to serve my sultan; so do I to serve mine.* Buonaparte smiled; upon which some person present said to one of his aides-de-camp, *He is saved. No*, said the officer, *that smile does not proceed from benevolence, but revenge; remember what I say.* The janizary was left in the ranks, and suffered. Dr. Wittman, who was afterwards at Jaffa, declares that he saw the spot where this horrid massacre had been committed, and that it was whitened with the bones of the Turks thus inhumanly murdered.

Another tale, not less horrid, yet remains to be told, which makes blacker, if possible, the atrocity of Buonaparte's character. The sick among the army at Jaffa, being too numerous to be attended to or maintained, Buonaparte sent for a physician, to whom he hinted, that he must be relieved from such an incumbrance; but the physician, indignant at so horrid a proposal, refused to comply: he then sought for some other man more suited to his purpose, and found an apothecary, who consented to administer opium in sufficient doses to relieve him from all further trouble; it was accordingly mixed up with some sort of pleasant food, and 580 soldiers were thus despatched. Some have denied the possibility of the fact, from the difficulty of supposing that any man, bred in a civilized country could be so coolly cruel; but it must be remembered, that Buonaparte is a Corsican, and subsequent events have also added a testimony to his cruelty beyond denial or doubt.

Having secured the possession of Jaffa, and taken Caiffa in his route, he proceeded to St. John d'Acre, where, for the first time, he found himself not invincible. On the 10th of April he opened his trenches against the place; and here he felt severely the loss of his battering artillery, which had fortunately been taken at sea by sir Sidney Smith, and was soon to be employed against him, under the direction of colonel Phillipeaux, a French emigrant officer of engineers. The troops of the pacha, though not regularly disciplined, were three times more numerous than those of Buonaparte; they were well supplied with provisions, while his were almost destitute of food; in addition to this, he was obliged to send off part of his forces, (originally not more than 10,000, when he left Cairo) to oppose a host of mamelukes, janizaries, and Arabians, who intended to attack him on one side, while the djezzar made a sally on the other. Hearing that they were about to join their forces, he sent off general Junot to prevent such a junction, who defeated one of their armies near the village of Loubi. Buonaparte, being not yet satisfied of their complete discomfiture, sent Kleber with an additional force to oppose them; but, finding that their numbers still increased, he went himself with the main army, and completed their destruction in the battle of Fouli. Having thus prevented all further annoyance from the natives of the country, he returned to the siege, which, by the vigour and activity of the English, became daily more difficult.

The maritime fortress of Acre, called by the Greeks Ptolemais, so celebrated for the sieges it sustained in the holy wars, has been successively in possession of the kings of Egypt, the Romans, the Arabs, the Christians, and the Turks. It has a good harbour, and is well situated for commerce. On this account it was chosen for an emporium by the enterprising Faccardino, the chief of the Druses, who, throwing off his subjection to the Turks, opened a commercial correspondence with the Florentines, then under the auspices of Cosmo de Medicis, and other European princes.

To obstruct the operations of Buonaparte, it was agreed, that sir Sidney and Djezzar Pacha should act with their united forces for

SIR S. SMITH DEFENDING THE BREACH
AT ACRE, AGAINST BONAPARTE.

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the relief of Acre, while commodore Hood, who had blockaded Alexandria since the battle of the Nile, should continue on his station, encourage the Arabs in their exertions. The French army prosecuted the siege with unwearied diligence and bravery. But they laboured under great disadvantages from the want of heavy artillery and ammunition, in consequence of the capture of the flotilla.

Being apprised, immediately after his return, of the approach of a fleet of transports and corvettes, Buonaparte redoubled his exertions, and carried on his approaches with such vigour and success, that the assailants were enabled to fix the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. In this critical period of the siege, when, with a bravery that merited the praises of their antagonists, they were mounting a breach which was practicable only by means of scaling ladders, sir Sidney Smith came with his crews to the support of the garrison, and the animation which his presence and that of the antient pacha inspired, enabled them to give the assailants a complete repulse. Notwithstanding this misfortune, Buonaparte returned to the assault; and, by the advice of the pacha, his own troops were suffered to descend from the rampart. A dreadful conflict ensued, in the result of which the French were driven back with great slaughter. At this period of the siege a dervise was sent by Buonaparte with a letter to the pacha, to propose a cessation of arms, while the bodies, whose stench had become intolerable and threatened to occasion a pestilence, should be buried. But before an answer could be returned, another assault was given, which proved as ineffectual as the former. Buonaparte now discovered that, partly owing to the defects of his position, and partly to the bravery of the English, all his exertions for the capture of the town were fruitless and destructive.

After sixty days of unsuccessful attack, he resolved to retire from the walls of Acre; and the generale was beat at nine in the evening of the 21st of May. The departure of the army was effected with the greatest secrecy and despatch; for, as it began in the evening, the enemy were not apprised of it till next morning, when, to their great surprise, hardly a trace of the French remained. Buonaparte, with his usual cruelty, set fire to several villages, which had given him offence on his march, and put the wretched inhabitants to the sword. In thirteen days he arrived at El Arish, and in thirteen more at Cairo, where both the garrison and inhabitants were surprised at his speedy and orderly return, after having, in five months, traversed twice the most inhospitable desert, and encountered so many enemies, of nations and manners so different. Though he had gained one great point, by dispersing the armies that were destined against Egypt, he had not done all that he intended; the punishment of the djezzar remained incomplete, for the English had enabled him even to boast of a victory, and Syria could not, like Egypt, be considered as conquered. Thus was the haughty Corsican foiled in one attempt, at least, to extend his baneful dominion; and Syria, though yet governed by a tyrant, is not insulted with the name of liberty.

During Buonaparte's expedition into Syria, the province of Bahreyh was thrown into revolt by the following curious circumstance, which is related in one of his despatches to the directory.—"A man, who came from the interior of Africa, joined the Bedouins, calling himself the angel El Mahdy, announced in the Koran of Mahomet. Two hundred Moghrebyns arrived a few days after, apparently by chance, and put themselves under his command. This impostor pretended that he had come down from heaven in the midst of the desert; and, though he was entirely naked, he scattered gold among the people, which he had the art to conceal about his person. Every day he dipped his fingers in a bowl of milk, and passed them over his lips; this, he pretended, was the only nourishment he took. He attacked Demenhour with his party, and surprised sixty of our nautical legion, whom he put to death. Flushed with this piece of success, his disciples increased, and he caused them to believe that, by throwing a little dust upon our cannon, he could hinder the powder from taking fire, and make the balls fall from our muskets before the eyes of true believers, and numbers of people attested the miracles which he had performed. General Lefebvre marched from Rhamânych, with 400 men, against the angel; but, perceiving his followers increasing every instant, he

found it impossible to bring them to reason by a mere show of resistance; he therefore drew up his men in order of battle, and fired upon them; they seemed to press forward against our cannon, insensible of danger: at night, when they came to count their killed and wounded, which amounted to above a thousand, they were probably convinced that the almighty does not perform miracles any longer. General Lanusse arrived at Demenhour the 15th of Floreal, attacked them again, killed near 1500, and reduced the village of Demenhour to ashes. The angel himself, being wounded, began to feel his zeal a little cooled, and sought a retreat in the desert, attended by numbers of his partisans. There is no reasoning with those whom reason cannot penetrate. The nature of this revolt contributed to hasten my return into Egypt. This ridiculous scene was no doubt concerted before-hand, for it happened just at the time when the Turkish fleet, which I destroyed at Acre, was to arrive at Alexandria."

Buonaparte, soon after his return to Cairo, finding that the Turks, seriously bent on the recovery of Egypt, had anchored in Aboukir bay a fleet of 100 sail, and after landing 10,000 men, had taken the castle of Aboukir, were daily augmenting their force, determined to attack them. He set out from Cairo on the 16th of July, and on the 26th was prepared to give them battle. The engagement was severe, but short. Ten thousand Turks were slain or driven into the sea, and the garrison of Aboukir, impressed with the utmost terror of the French, did not fire a gun. Having, however, received reinforcements from the fleet, they regained their spirits, and refused to capitulate. Shortly after, the communication being cut off, and seeing no means of relief or defence, they offered to lay down their arms, the French immediately entering the fort which they had so lately possessed. This was the last exploit of Buonaparte in Egypt; for the news he had received of the dissensions at home, of the defeat of the French armies abroad, and of the renewed vigour of the coalition, determined him to abandon his troops, and take the first opportunity of returning to France. He imparted his design to general Berthier alone, and wrote to admiral Gantheaume to provide him a frigate, and inform him when the English and Turkish fleets were out of sight. He received this welcome information at six in the evening of the 18th of August, and at nine he sent his orders to all whom he intended to take with him, to meet him at an appointed time and place, but not to open their instructions till they arrived there. Having so far complied with his request, they found that his instructions required their immediate departure from Egypt. They lost no time, but left their property behind them, and their horses on the beach. Buonaparte also left sealed orders for general Kleber, appointing him to the command of the army, and, on the 23rd of August, 1799, he got on board, but was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Aboukir till the 25th, when, after avoiding all the English cruisers, he arrived at Ajaccio in Corsica, at which place the vessel was windbound till the 7th of October, and on the 9th he landed at Frejus, and found himself once more in France.

CHAPTER XLIX.

GEORGE III.

[1799.]

Consequences of Buonaparte's return to France—His splendid Reception—Dissolution of the Directory—Buonaparte appointed First Consul—Expectations entertained from his accession to Power.

THE true state of public affairs is hardly ever to be learnt from public papers and addresses. It is fortunate when private communications, like the intercepted letters from Egypt, fall into our hands; for they draw aside the veil, and expose the great projects of ambition in their naked deformity. These papers contain some very curious particulars relative to the expedition, and paint in very strong colours the privations, the sacrifices, and disappointment of the whole army; they shew how thousands suffered by separation from their friends and country, by disease, by thirst and fatigue, to gratify the inordinate ambition and unruly spirit of one man; they show also that this favoured country, which had been described in such glowing colours by former travellers, this land of promise, which was held out by Buonaparte as flowing with milk and honey, and likely to yield so rich a harvest to the French adventurers, was in many parts little better than a desert, and its inhabitants in a state far removed from the comforts of society; yet the soil is capable of cultivation, and we all know it has been cultivated so as to render the labourer a hundred-fold for his labour; but the French had neither time nor inclination to make the most of their conquest, though it was the opinion of the best-informed among their officers, that Egypt was a country capable of affording them the highest advantages as a colony.

THE institute was accommodated at Cairo with two of the houses of the richest beys, and two others added to them; in these the members resided: they had also an immense garden, containing above thirty French acres, well planted, and having a number of terraces raised above the reach of the Nile in its times of overflowing; this garden served them for their botanical collection, as well as for common and useful plants. They had an extensive aviary, filled with many rare and beautiful birds, and their large room of meeting was fitted up in a most magnificent style, with many French articles of furniture, the property of the beys, to whom the house had belonged; among these was a large and superb time-piece by Berthoud.

To make a fair estimate of the evil and the good which have resulted from the expedition to Egypt, we must not be so far blinded by the one as to lose sight of the other. The murder, distress, and misery of innocent men, whether among the conquerors or the conquered, are undoubtedly evils of no small magnitude, and will lie heavy on the heads of those by whom they were either wantonly occasioned or aggravated. The example of that treacherous violation of civilized customs, by which Egypt was invaded, when her government was at peace with the French, is also an evil which requires much good intention and many good consequences to palliate; and I must doubt whether the sum total of the advantage which has resulted, either to the natives of Egypt or the rest of the world, can balance the fatal precedent of so gross an attack upon the laws of society. The

blessing of civilization are so great, as almost to make amends for any price that may be paid for them; but at this enlightened period of the world are nations to be civilized with the sword? God forbid; though in early times they owed their refinement to their being first conquered; but did the French attempt to civilize the natives of Egypt? Certainly not. The pomp of a public institute was more intended to gratify the curiosity and vanity of scientific men, than to instruct the ignorant and polish the natives; so that they were left, as to civilization, nearly in the same state in which they were found; yet they may, incidentally and eventually, by a further communication with Europeans, in consequence of their country becoming an object of competition, learn something valuable from the arts, manners, and customs of civilized nations; though it is to be apprehended, that the specimens they have witnessed of French cruelty and tyranny are more likely to disgust them with foreign manners, than to make them see the defects of their own. In fact, all nations are best civilized by the quiet intercourse of commerce. The greatest, and perhaps the only advantage which has been derived from the French and British expeditions to Egypt, is the more accurate knowledge which has been obtained of the country; of her natural, moral, and political state; of the present mode of living, and her remains of antiquity; all these, however, are rather objects of curiosity than of real use, and can hardly atone for the manner in which such knowledge has been procured. I apprehend, therefore, that the evils which the army and natives of Egypt endured, from the first departure of the expedition till the French finally evacuated the country, infinitely overbalance any trifling advantages which may be derived to any of the parties concerned; and that the whole deserves, now that it is fully and completely understood, to be transmitted to posterity, as the most detestable series of ambition, tyranny, and cruelty that ever disgraced the annals of civilized society, and will form one of the strongest articles in the impeachment of human nature against Buonaparte. Should that unfortunate country ever again fall into the hands of the French, it may possibly experience still farther misery; and, till some great change for the better takes place in its government, independent of a simple change of sovereigns, it will always be held out as an immediate object for colonization, and as the means of ultimately subverting the English power in India.

The return of Buonaparte to France was inconsiderately hailed with exultation and rejoicing by all the friends of their country, who considered him as the determined foe of anarchy, and the support of regulated liberty; wherever he passed, *Peace, peace,* resounded from every quarter, and his whole journey from Frejus to Paris was a continued triumph, or procession. The government, by their odious exactions and oppression, had arrived at such a height of unpopularity, that the necessity of a change seemed evident to every one; the only question was, how and whom it was to be effected. The sudden return of Buonaparte put an end to the difficulty; for there is no doubt that Sycyes had suggested to Moreau the expediency of his overturning the old government, and putting himself at the head of a new one; but his modesty and love of ease caused him to decline the proposal, and to name Buonaparte as a person better suited for such an achievement. Had it pleased providence to have given Moreau the ambition of Buonaparte, or Buonaparte the gentle nature of Moreau, it would have been fortunate for France and for Europe!

Immediately on his arrival at Paris, Buonaparte had a private audience of the directory; the courts and all the streets leading to the Luxembourg were crowded with spectators eager to behold him, and he seemed more sensible of these demonstrations of joy than formerly; he shook several soldiers by the hand, who had served with him in Italy, and appeared more open and affable in his manners than usual; he was dressed in a grey riding coat and without uniform, a Turkish sabre hung in a silk scarf over his shoulder, his hair was cut quite short, and without powder; his tawny complexion, acquired by the burning sun of Egypt, gave him an appearance of greater manliness and strength than before he left Europe.

Buonaparte arrived at Paris on the 16th of October, and on the 9th of November the constitution of 1795 was overturned. During this period we must suppose him to have been

employed in concerting measures for effecting his grand purpose; accordingly very little is said of him, and he seldom appeared in public. On the 7th of November, a great dinner was given by the directory and the councils to Buonaparte and Moreau, in the church of St. Sulpice (then the temple of victory); the company consisted of 750 guests, and was no doubt intended to deceive those who were so shortly to be overthrown, with an appearance of friendship and fraternity. The toast given by the president of the directory was "Peace," and that by the general "An union of all parties;" nevertheless it was evident that this was a mere dinner of ceremony; the whole company viewed each other with distrust; there was neither mirth nor confidence; and, though the meeting pretended to effect an union of parties, it served only to put them farther asunder. Buonaparte quitted the room after a few toasts were given, and none of the company staid long; the whole ceremony did not last three hours, and within three days after, the great explosion which had been long preparing burst forth; nay, on that very evening the mode of operation was concerted. Syeyes no doubt emitted the first spark, which fell upon Moreau, but was damped by his unambitious temper. The next, however, was more successful, for it lighted on Buonaparte, who instantly took fire, and communicated the flame by degrees to a larger and a larger number, till, on the 7th, several deputies, and others in the secret, met at the house of Le Mercier, and concerted measures for the grand display, which it was agreed should take place on the 9th; and accordingly the committee of inspectors belonging to the council of antients, at five o'clock in the morning of that day, sent messages to 150 chosen members of the council, (very few of whom were in the secret,) to meet at eight o'clock in the Thuilleries. When they were assembled, it appeared that the most violent of the Jacobins, in number about 100, were left out. Cornet, reporter of the committee, opened the meeting with a speech, in which he stated very fully the dangers of the republic, and the movements of the factions, and ended with proposing that the assembly, according to the 102nd and 103rd articles of the constitution, should adjourn to St. Cloud, that Buonaparte should be charged to put the decree in execution, and for that purpose appointed commander of all the troops in Paris, as well as of the guard of the assemblies and the national guard. This decree was passed by a great majority, and Buonaparte immediately appeared at the bar, attended by Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and others. Being informed by the president of his appointment, he spoke as follows:—"The republic was on the brink of ruin, but your decree has saved it. Woe to those who wish for anarchy whoever they be. I and my brave companions in arms will arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past, examples to justify the present. For nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the 18th century, and nothing in that resembles the present moment. We wish a republic founded on liberty, on civil liberty, and national representation, and we will have it. I swear it, and I swear it also in the names of my brave comrades." *I swear it,* was immediately returned by the other generals, and the sitting was dissolved, amid the cries of *Long live the republic!* The decree of the council was carried to the council of 500, who soon after adjourned their deliberations to the next day at St. Cloud. The committees of inspection from the two councils remained in the room belonging to them, to concert measures, as the urgency of affairs might require; and Buonaparte assembled his staff at the same place, to give all the requisite orders for the preservation of tranquillity, and the removal of the councils to St. Cloud. The walls of Paris were soon covered with two proclamations; one addressed to the national guard, and the other to the troops of the line, both expressed with Buonaparte's usual energy. On the first news of the decree of the council of antients, he had repaired to the Thuilleries with 10,000 troops, and guarded every avenue to the place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass, either into the courts, the garden, or within the walls of the castle. He had formed all his dispositions, and harangued his troops in the great court; while three of the directors, and all the rest of Paris, were completely ignorant of what was going forward. Syeyes and Roger Ducos, the latter of whom was entirely governed by the former, being both in the secret, waited in silence the result of the meeting. Syeyes was walking in the

garden of the Luxembourg, and Ducos was in his own apartments, when they were informed of what had passed; they repaired immediately to the Thuilleries, and joined the two committees of inspection, the generals, and the rest of the military, in deliberating upon the measures to be taken, for putting the decree in execution, and providing for the public tranquillity. Barras knew what had happened long before his colleagues, Gohier and Moulins, for he had been required to give in his resignation very early in the morning, and the lady through whom the request came, was empowered to offer him any pecuniary assistance he might require; he at first appeared to be violently irritated, but in a little time he became more calm, and acknowledged that the government required some vigorous individual at its head, for it was impossible it could go on with five people, who had no confidence in each other; but still he refused to give in his resignation. Gohier, who was that morning to have breakfasted with Buonaparte, was extremely surprised when he got up, to find what had passed, but particularly at the decree for transferring the assemblies to St. Cloud; he went, however, into the audience chamber of the directory, and sent for his colleagues. Moulins, who was equally surprised, came to him immediately; but they were both still more so, when they heard that Syeyes was gone to the Thuilleries: they then sent for Ducos, and found he was there also. Barras was summoned next, and he refused to come. Gohier sent immediately for La Garde, the secretary-general, and ordered him to register a decree which he dictated to him; but La Garde answered, that as two members could not make a majority of the directory, it was impossible for him to do as requested. Moulins, having now learnt part of what had happened, became extremely agitated, and proposed immediately to send a guard to invest the house of Buonaparte, and keep him a prisoner; but he was told that it would be impossible, for every soldier then in Paris was under Buonaparte's command. General Lefebvre was next summoned, but he confirmed that which they had before heard, and said that, as he was under the orders of Buonaparte, he could not march a single man without his permission. They then began to find that it was all over with them, and that nothing remained for them but to retire into the obscurity from whence they had been taken, and submit quietly to their fate. In a few minutes the Luxembourg was invested with a strong guard, sent there by Buonaparte.

According to the terms of the constitution, it was requisite that the act for transferring the assemblies to St. Cloud should be signed by a majority of the directory; Gohier, therefore, being desirous to resign his power with a good grace, went to the Thuilleries, and adding his name to those of Syeyes and Ducos, performed the last act of his authority; yet still he seemed unwilling to part with his dignity: he repented of what he had done, and, when they came to demand of him the great seal of state, which was in his possession as president, he refused to give it up; as soon as he returned to the Luxembourg, where a strong guard was set over him till the 19th at night, he was told that the powers of the directory had ceased, and that a new government was formed. He asked to see the decree for appointing the consuls, and after it was shewn him, he retired very quietly to his house at St. Chaumont.

Moulins needed no very long intreaty to give in his resignation, for fear had so completely got possession of him, after he found what had passed, that when a deputation was coming to him for the purpose, he jumped out of a window, which looked into his garden, and hid himself among the bushes till he could get quietly away; but nobody went after him, they thought him of so little consequence.—A fit man to govern a nation.

After Gohier had signed the decree of translation, Syeyes and Ducos immediately gave in their resignation, and Barras soon after did the same by his secretary Botot, whom he sent to Buonaparte, and remained in his carriage near the Thuilleries till Botot returned with the result of the meeting. Buonaparte was in the apartment of the inspectors when Botot desired to speak to him. He was introduced by Courtois, and having given in the paper, requested to know if the general had any thing to say to his master. "Tell him," said Buonaparte, "that I desire to hear no more of him, and that I trust I shall ever make the authority respected which is committed to me." Then raising his voice loud enough to be heard by the grenadiers who

were standing at the door, said, "What have you done with the country which I left you so flourishing? I left you peace, and I have found war. I left you victory, and I have found defeat. I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the hundred thousand heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas, they are no more! This state of things cannot last long; in three years it will end in despotism. But we are for a republic founded on the basis of equality, civil liberty, and political toleration. If you believe the assertions of the factions, we are the enemies of the republic; we who have strengthened it by our labours, and cemented it by our blood; but we wish for no better patriots than the brave men who have suffered in its service." This harangue was highly applauded by all who heard it, and Botot retired in confusion to acquaint his master with what had passed. Barras determined to go immediately to his country-house; but being alarmed for his personal safety, he requested a party of horse to attend him, which was immediately granted. Syeyes and Ducos, not thinking it prudent to sleep at the directorial palace in the Luxembourg, staid all night in the Thuilleries.

The next day being the 10th of November, in conformity to the decree, the two councils repaired to St. Cloud; the picture gallery was appointed for the council of antients, and the orangery for the council of five hundred. The troops had arrived before them, and taken possession of every avenue to the castle, so that the deputies could not pass without shewing their medal, nor any other individual without producing a ticket signed by the committee of inspection, and these tickets were few. The sitting, which had been appointed for twelve, did not commence till two o'clock, owing to the preparations of the workmen not being finished. The debates were opened by a speech from Gaudin, proposing a committee of seven members, to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety; and it was expected that this motion would have been immediately carried: but, as the meeting was very fully attended, the Jacobins gave it a strong and tumultuous opposition: this in some measure disconcerted the revolutionary party; and the fault was Buonaparte's; for it had been proposed the night before, that no member should be admitted without producing a ticket signed by the inspectors, by which the Jacobins would have been effectually excluded; but he opposed the measure, not supposing that the Jacobins were so powerful: this had nearly overturned the whole scheme, and given the victory to the opposite faction. Scarcely had Gaudin finished his motion, when several members of the opposition darted forward into the tribune, all eager to be heard. The cry of *Down with the dictators!* became general. Others exclaimed, *The constitution or death; we are not afraid of bayonets, we will die at our post!* And some proposed that every member should take afresh an oath to preserve the constitution. The other party were so much thrown off their guard, that the cry of *Long live the constitution!* became general, and the motion for taking the oath was agreed to; this was a great victory for the Jacobins, as it gave them time, which was all they wanted, for the ceremony of the oath took up two hours: when this was over, various propositions were offered, and nothing settled; the confusion was now complete. Several motions were proposed and adopted, totally opposite to the intention of those who had occasioned the removal to St. Cloud. Barras sent a letter to the assembly, importing his resignation, yet couched in such guarded and ambiguous terms as seemed to intimate a desire to be employed in the new government, and the letter gave rise to a considerable debate, whether the assembly should proceed to the election of a new director: great part, if not the whole, of this confusion arose from the defective measures of Buonaparte; he had suffered the majority of the members who were well disposed towards a change of government to come to the assembly, totally ignorant of what was intended; in consequence of which they were easily induced to believe the extravagant reports that were circulated by the opposite party; and worst of all he had prevented the exclusion of the Jacobins, who had produced all the confusion. The danger now became imminent; the probability of insurrections being excited in Paris, and the consequent danger of a civil war, required that some vigorous measures should be taken to complete the revolution so

auspiciously begun. Buonaparte, hearing what had passed, became violently agitated; he hardly knew what to resolve, and perhaps was never so much off his guard in the midst of a battle: his first measure was to proceed to the council of antients, and inform them of the confusion which prevailed in the council of 500; he entered unarmed, and, being favourably received, harangued them in a stile of great animation to the following purport:—"Representatives of the people, you are placed in no common circumstances; you are on the mouth of a volcano which is ready to devour you. Permit me to speak to you with the frankness of a soldier, and the candour of a citizen zealous for the welfare of his country. You informed me of your dangers, and I hastened to your assistance with my brother soldiers. Is not the blood which we have shed in battle a sufficient proof of our devoted attachment to the republic? Have they who dare to lift their voices against us given similar pledges? They speak of a military government, and a conspiracy. Alas! the most dangerous of all is that which surrounds us every where, that of the public misery, which continues to increase. Have not ignorance, folly, and treason reigned long enough in our country? have they not committed sufficient ravages? What class has not in turn suffered by them? Have not Frenchmen been long enough divided into parties, eager and desirous to oppress each other. The time is at length arrived, to put an end to these disasters. You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not deceive your expectations. If I had any personal or ambitious objects in view, I needed not to have waited till this time to realize them. Before my departure, and since my return, I have been often solicited to take the reins of government. I could make discoveries which would silence the greatest part of my calumniators; but I will content myself with saying that Barras and Moulins entreated me to overturn the government and place myself at the head of affairs. I rejected their overtures, because liberty alone is dear to me, and because I never wish to serve any faction or party whatever. I wish to serve the French people alone. Let us not then be divided. Unite your wisdom and your firmness to the force which surrounds me, and I will devote myself to the safety of the republic." "And of the constitution," exclaimed Linglet. "The constitution!" replied Buonaparte with indignant warmth. "Does it become you to name it? What is it but a heap of ruins? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have you not trampled upon it on the 18th Fructidor, the 28th Floreal, and 28th Prairial? The constitution! Has not every kind of tyranny been exercised in its name since the day of its establishment? Who can be safe under it? Is not its insufficiency manifested by the numerous crimes which have been committed in its name, even by those who are swearing to it a contemptuous fidelity? All the rights of the people have been unworthily violated, and to re-establish them on an immoveable basis we must endeavour to establish in France republican liberty." Though it is impossible to deny the praise of eloquence to this extempore harangue, it cannot lay the same claim to honesty or sincerity.

Buonaparte having mentioned the names of Barras and Moulins, and hinted at many others as enemies to liberty, several members thought it proper to interrupt him, being desirous at that time rather to unite men together than to sow the seed of further disunion; Cornudet, however, proposed that spectators should be turned out, and Buonaparte be called upon to declare whom he alluded to, in a secret committee; but he, either thinking that he had gone too far, or that the time was too important to be wasted, reminded the council of the critical state of affairs, and then addressing himself to the military who were on guard, promised, if they did their duty, to restore order and harmony; leaving the assembly, he went in haste to the committee of 500; the report of his coming had occasioned a great bustle, every one rose up, and all eyes were turned towards the principal entrance. In passing from the one council to the other, he perceived the grenadiers of the legislative body walking quietly about, and their arms piled up in different stands; he immediately called out, *To arms, soldiers, and follow me;* being sufficiently sensible of what he had to encounter; and in this instance he was perhaps more indebted to fortune than at any other period of his life, for he was certainly in greater danger. Buonaparte entered the council of 500 precisely

at five o'clock in the afternoon, attended by twenty or thirty soldiers, who remained at the bottom of the room, while he proceeded to the top unarmed and uncovered. No sooner had he advanced near the president's chair than the confusion became complete. Some flew to the tribune, and others to the general, exclaiming vehemently, *Down with the tyrant! down with the dictator!* while others cried out, *Kill him, kill him!* at the same time aiming at him with poignards, pistols, and fists. Arena, a Corsican, struck at him with a dagger, and would probably have finished him, had not a grenadier, named Thomé, received the stroke on his arm. By another blow the general was slightly wounded on the cheek. Buonaparte for a moment was lost, and it is said he had fainted, when general Lefebvre, with the grenadiers, flew to his defence, surrounded him, and carried him out; he then mounted on horseback, and attempted to harangue the troops, but in very faint and whining terms; and going to the committee of inspection, he informed them of what had passed, but took no vigorous measures to combat his enemies, who were now in a great measure triumphant. After he had quitted the council of 500, they decreed that the council of antients had no right to give him the command of the troops, as that power belonged alone to the directory. Lucien Buonaparte, the president, was attacked on all sides, and nearly put to death; finding, therefore, his authority despised, and his life in danger, he darted from the chair, indignantly threw down the insignia of his office, and mounted the tribune with an intent to defend the conduct of his brother; he attempted several times to speak, but could not make himself heard: tears of agony and indignation flowed down his cheeks, and he was on the point of giving himself up to his enemies, when, all on a sudden, a company of grenadiers entered the chamber, by command of the general, and carried him off: he found his brother in the court of the castle, in the greatest agitation and agony, dreading the defection of the troops, irresolute, hesitating, and confused; and all would certainly have been lost, had not Lucien, with great presence of mind, immediately mounted a horse and harangued the troops; he stated in strong terms the dangers of the country from the triumph of the Jacobins, and concluded with these energetic words:—"General, soldiers, and citizens, they only are the representatives, who have followed me out of that seditious assembly; they who remain there must be expelled by force. The troops instantly cried out, *Long live Buonaparte! long live the republic!* A company of grenadiers was immediately ordered to clear the chamber. The spectators jumped out at the windows, but the members remained till they entered. The drum beat, the soldiers marched in, and stopped at the bottom of the room. A general of brigade requested that all those members who regarded their safety would retire and join the president; many followed his advice. Another officer mounted the president's chair, and said with a loud voice, "Representatives, the commander-in-chief requires that you all quit this room." Many of them shewing signs of unwillingness and resistance, the officer called out, "Grenadiers, advance." The drum beat, the grenadiers came forward, and a disgraceful scene of confusion ensued. The deputies, in their haste to get out, tumbled over each other; some ran to the doors, others to the windows, and in a few minutes the chamber was empty: they were received by the people on the outside with hootings and hisses; and some of them were so ashamed of their conduct that they threw off their insignia of office, many of which were found next day in the ditches and plantations around.

Why Buonaparte should in this instance have been deserted by his usual resolution and presence of mind, can only be accounted for by the greatness and novelty of the occasion. Valour, with a soldier, is chiefly mechanical; and he who trembles in the first battle will enter upon the second or third with undaunted bravery; besides, the heat and agitation of an engagement preclude all thought and reflection, in a great measure, and leave no time for the consideration of danger or consequences; so that the same man who will fearlessly advance to the cannon's mouth, has often been known to tremble at the rustle of a leaf in the calm, still, dark hour of night. To the noise and danger of battle Buonaparte was well accustomed, and habit had there rendered him inaccessible to fear: but this was a new occasion, and one on which the greatness of his future life depended; the risk of a battle was not to be

compared to it ; and, having time for reflection, this thought presented itself fully to his mind, and overwhelmed him.

The council of antients, after hearing what had passed in the other assembly, proceeded to some resolutions and debates of little importance; but, finding that they could not decide any thing effectually, without the initiative from the council of 500, determined that all the members of that council, who could be brought together, should immediately assemble ; and accordingly, about nine o'clock in the evening, a large number being collected, they met in their former apartment, under the presidency of Lucien Buonaparte. Their first proceeding was to inform the other council of their having met, and the next to pass a vote of thanks to the commander-in-chief, and the officers who had co-operated with him in saving the country from the violence of the anarchists. Chazal then proposed that a secret committee of five members should be appointed, to take into consideration the means of forming a new government ; after this was adopted, Lucien Buonaparte quitted the president's chair, mounted the tribune, and pronounced a most animated and eloquent harangue, on the disasters of the republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government, and the necessity of appointing a new one. His speech was received with the loudest applause, and repeated cries of *Long live the republic.* Boulay de la Meurthe soon after returned with the report of the secret committee, containing a project of a decree for appointing a new government : he prefaced his motion by a long speech, in which he enlarged on the profligacy and incapacity of the directory, as well as on the defects of the constitution itself, and the necessity of a strong executive power to give solidity to the state, and prevent the return of anarchy. The first article of the decree declares, " that there is no longer a directory." The second " that there shall be created provisionally an executive consulate, to consist of three member, Sycyes, Ducos, and Buonaparte, who shall bear the name of consuls of the French republic." The next related to the legislative power, which it left to be settled by the two councils on their meeting at Paris, but appointed two committees, in the mean time, to draw up the form of a new constitution. The council of 500 then composed a proclamation, addressed to the French people. At one o'clock in the morning, the council of antients announced their approbation of the proposed decree. Fregeuille then moved, that the three consuls should be invited to the sitting, and take the oath of fidelity to the sovereignty of the people, &c. before which the president addressed the assembly and the consuls in a suitable speech, and measures were then taken to insure the tranquillity of Paris, which were in a great measure superfluous, as there had been no disposition shewn to insurrection or tumult, though various, contradictory, and alarming reports had reached the city of what was passing at St. Cloud.

The consuls returned to Paris about four in the morning on the 11th of November, and entered upon their functions that same day, after taking the refreshment which nature, after so much fatigue, both of mind and body, required. The first sitting of the provisional consulate was employed in the nomination of many individuals to places of importance; the seal of the republic was changed ; and the newspapers were stopped at the post-office, and new ones printed, to inform the departments of all that had been transacted, and in the evening an address from the consuls was read through all Paris by torch-light to the same purport, though Buonaparte had, on the night of the 10th, addressed one of the same sort to the citizens of St. Cloud.

The new consuls were received at Paris with every testimony of satisfaction and applause, and on the 12th of November they held their first sitting at the Luxembourg, where the inscription, " Directorial Palace," was taken down from the principal gate, and replaced by the following, " The Palace of the Consuls of the Republic." The two committees held their meetings also in the same place, which they continued till the 15th of December, when the new constitution was proclaimed. In the mean time they repealed some of the most odious and oppressive laws of the directory, which prepared the people to expect the happiest effects from the operations of the new government.

CHAPTER L.

GEORGE III.

[1800.]

His Majesty's Message—Overtures of Peace from Buonaparte—Debates on the policy of their Rejection—Renewed Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Discontents excited by the existing Scarcity—Naval Operations—Failures at Cadiz and Ferrol—Affairs in the East Indies—British Expedition to Egypt—Italian and German Campaign—Battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden—Peace between France and Austria.

ON the meeting of parliament, early in this year, the attention of the two houses was called, by a message from his majesty, to a letter which Buonaparte, now first consul of France, had addressed to lord Grenville, on the subject of peace; earnestly intreating his Britannic majesty to unite him in restoring that blessing to the world. This letter was laid before parliament, together with the secretary's answer, expressing his sovereign's feelings in terms of much disdain. After adverting to the origin of the war, and the calamities which had been brought on the world by the restless ambition of the French rulers, to their disregard of the most solemn treaties, and the necessity of resistance to such a power, for the "preservation of whatever remains in Europe of stability, for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or the exercise of religion," he declares his sovereign's willingness to accede to overtures of peace, when he shall be convinced of the sincerity of the French governors, and their capacity of maintaining those relations of amity, in which their predecessors in office had proved themselves deficient. "But the conviction of such a change," he said, "can result only from the evidence of facts. The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence, would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad; such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation and peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its antient territory, and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means. But desirable as such an event must be, both to France and to the world, it is not to this more exclusively that his majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation. His majesty looks only to the security of his dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that security can in any measure be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country, from whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as may produce the same end, his majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification. Unhappily, no such security hitherto exists; no such evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In

this situation, it can, for the present, only remain for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originate, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence." In answer to this letter, Monsieur Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs, endeavoured to vindicate his government from the charge of aggression, and imputed the blame of that war, which had proved so calamitous to the unprovoked attack which the coalesced powers had made on the French frontier. He endeavoured to obviate the objections which his majesty had made to a treaty, on the ground of the instability of the French government, by saying that we had treated with the republic when its constitutional system presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contained at present. And he again invited his majesty to open conferences for peace. In reply to this, the British secretary again insisted on the validity of what he had before assigned as the causes of the war, and repeated his declaration of his sovereign's disposition to pacific councils, whenever they could be adopted with a proper regard to the security of his own dominions and of all Europe.

Lord Grenville, in support of his motion for an address on his majesty's message, descanted on the unjust and unprincipled conduct of the French republic towards those monarchs and states which had made trial of its faith, by entering into treaties with the governing powers in it; and on Buonaparte's breach of faith towards the Cisalpine republic, towards the Maltese, and towards the porte. He argued hence, that it might well be supposed that he did not at present act on more honest or disinterested principles; that he was desirous of a temporary cessation of hostilities, as a means of relieving the French government from the pressure of numerous and alarming difficulties; of deriving great benefit to their commerce by opening the ports of France, now blocked up by our fleets and cruisers; and of consolidating his own power by rendering the nation these services.

The secretary was answered by a speech from the duke of Bedford, in which he pointedly condemned the conduct of administration in rejecting the overtures for a treaty; he derided the wild scheme, which he ascribed to the ministry, of restoring the French monarchy, as a preliminary of a negotiation; and, in the most forcible language, he deprecated the evils which must ensue from the continuance of war, when the people should be driven to despair by the enormous burden of taxes. Upon these grounds, he moved for a counter address, recommending the renewal of a negotiation for peace. The prevailing sentiment in the two houses, however, was seen to be, that great as were the evils of war, it was advisable to bear them with patience, rather than purchase a precarious peace by concession, which would enable our enemy to execute the design which he was insidiously meditating, of recommencing hostilities when he should be better prepared for them; and the result was, that the motion for the address was supported by a majority of 79 to 6 in the house of lords, and 260 to 64 in the house of commons.

The administration were encouraged to pursue this resolute line of conduct by the disgust which several of the continental powers had conceived against the French government, and their subsequent change of councils. We have seen the king of Naples, and other Italian powers, crouching under the rod of Buonaparte, and the emperor frightened into a treaty of peace at Campo Formio, to save his German dominions from sharing the fate of the Milanese. In consequence of this, a congress had been opened at Rastadt, to negotiate a peace between the Germanic body and the French republic. This, however, failed of success. The parties had retired from Rastadt, more incensed by the incidents which had occurred during the conferences. The imperial Aulic council had vindicated themselves by a decree, in which it charged the French government with a notorious departure from the pacific principles on which it professed to act, pointing out the particular instances in which it had deviated from them. The emperor and king of Naples had entered into an alliance for their mutual defence, against a power which had so grossly deceived them. And the diet at Ratisbon passed a spirited *conclusum*, wherein the

German princes and states are called upon to join the emperor in vigorous preparations for the defence of the empire against the enterprises of their common enemy.

These events were propitious to the views of the English ministry, and they did not neglect to avail themselves of them to renovate the confederacy against France. The Germanic states had resumed their arms in the late year; but their resources were soon exhausted. The emperor then had recourse, for pecuniary aid, to that power whose alliance was seldom sought, and whose friendship was seldom remembered but in the hour of distress; I need not say, that the power applied to was his Britannic majesty, nor that the suit was granted. To relieve the emperor's pressing financial exigencies, arising from the vast expences of the war, his Britannic majesty agreed, by a convention now entered into with him, to advance him the sum of £2,000,000, to be repaid by annual instalments of £20,000 after the conclusion of peace. In pursuance of this measure, and others of a similar nature which his majesty might find it expedient to adopt, to empower the confederates to carry on the war with greater force and energy than had been before done, the premier moved "that a sum, not exceeding £500,000, be granted to his majesty to enable him to make such advances as might be necessary for the purpose of insuring a vigorous co-operation of the emperor of Germany, the elector of Bavaria, and others, in the ensuing campaign against the common enemy." After a warm discussion this motion was approved by a majority of 162 to 19.

1800. Though borne down by the minister's strong phalanx, the opposition were not disheartened. Availing themselves of every favorable incident, they rallied after every defeat, and came again to the encounter. The merits of the war and the expediency of continuing it were made the subjects of discussions, by several motions in the house of commons, in the course of the session; but a vast majority appeared, on every question, in support of the measures of government.

Could any thing have discredited the premier's talents, as a war-minister, in the eyes of the nation, or weakened his party in the legislature, the ill success and disastrous issue of the late expedition to Holland would, probably, have had that effect. The ministry did not omit to try their strength on this ground. Early in the session Mr. Sheridan moved for an investigation of this affair. Lord Holland made a motion of the same import in the house of peers, and enforced the propriety of an enquiry with argumentative and impressive eloquence. After expatiating on the merits of the measure, and expressing his sense of the good conduct of the officers and troops employed on the expedition, he came to the object of his motion: "It is necessary," said he, "to demonstrate the truth by a fair investigation. By no other course can you satisfy the demands of your national honor, and your military reputation. At a moment, too, when it is decided that the war should be continued to a period which we cannot fix in idea; when new expeditions are, it is rumoured, to be undertaken, it becomes you to ascertain how they are likely to be conducted, by inquiring what had been the ability and the wisdom displayed by those who plan and conduct them. It is not proper to inquire, whether ministers may not be again encouraging those delusions by which they have been before misled? They rely upon the favorable disposition of the French people to justify their attempts for the restoration of the house of Bourbon. The proportion of the disaffected in France seems, however, to be less than it was in Holland. If the expedition to the Helder failed by the rashness, the negligence, or incapacity of ministers, will you encourage them by your acquiescence in past misconduct and former disgrace, to embark in schemes so much more doubtful in their policy, and likely to be so much more perilous in their consequences. I move, therefore, that the house resolve itself into a committee, to enquire into the causes of the failure of the late expedition to Holland."

The motion was opposed with much ability by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Addington in the lower house, and by earl Spencer, and lord Mulgrave in the house of peers. They maintained that the expedition had been undertaken on rational grounds, and that the imperialists had been essentially assisted in their contemporary operations. A great majority in both houses gave their voice against the motion for an inquiry.

So formidable were the evils which threatened the kingdom from a conspiracy of domestic malcontents with our foreign enemy, that it

had been deemed expedient to make a temporary sacrifice of the grand palladium of the British constitution, the *habeas corpus* act. A renewal of the suspension being proposed in both houses, warm debates ensued. The injustice and the danger of thus tampering with the most valuable right of British subjects, was strenuously enforced by its opponents. "It was the opinion (said lord King) of the most eminent political writers, that this act ought never to be suspended, but on occasions of the most urgent necessity. Those occasions had been pointed out in the two last years; we were then apprehensive of internal insurrection and foreign invasion, but now they were desired to continue the suspension still farther, without any shadow of reason being adduced for doing it. The present mode of proceeding, by his majesty's minister, he therefore regarded as a prelude to rendering it perpetual." Lord Holland observed, that the dreadful atrocities which marked the revolution, the horrid crimes which had been committed in the name of liberty, and the final subjugation of France to a military government, had occasioned many to incline to arbitrary power, and adopt Tory and high-church principles, who were formerly animated by a hatred to slavery. On this principle he recommended a resistance to the sacrifice of national right to prerogative. In answer to these arguments, it was maintained, that the horrid principles which had occasioned the suspension of the habeas corpus had been weakened, but not wholly eradicated; that the disaffected, they had reason to apprehend, were prevented by fear of punishment from prosecuting their malicious designs; that, as there was the same reason for strengthening the hands of government, it was incumbent on the community to submit to a temporary deprivation of privilege, in order more effectually to enjoy the benefits of the English constitution. Upon these principles, the bill for a continuance of the suspension, and another for continuing an act for the better security and punishment of such persons as should attempt to seduce his majesty's subjects from their allegiance, passed the two houses, and received the royal sanction.

Our attention is called to those tumults at the British capital, which enhanced the difficulties of administration at this perilous crisis, and proved the expediency of those precautionary measures which had been adopted. The rigorous treatment of some prisoners, for seditious proceedings in the Cold Bath prison, afforded them an occasion of complaint; they mutinied against the keeper, and attempted to liberate themselves. The populace, then assembling tumultuously about the prison, would willingly have assisted them in effecting their purpose, and were not without difficulty dispersed.

A few days after, a seditious paper was found posted on the monument, inviting the people, who were distressed by the enormous price of bread, to redress their own grievances. An alarming tumult ensued in consequence; and some outrages were committed towards those who were supposed to have aggravated the public distress by using indirect means to raise the price of bread. Happily, however, the tumult was quelled by the timely interposition of the city magistrates, assisted by the volunteer corps; and the turbulence of the populace was repressed by the spirited and judicious behaviour of the lord mayor, and the beneficence of public-spirited individuals.

So serious were the evils which threatened the nation from the immoderate dearth, that the city of London, and other places, earnestly intreated his majesty to consult the legislature respecting the best mode of remedying or palliating them; and his majesty, of his paternal care, instantly complied with their petitions; and, assembling a parliament early in the autumn, admonished the two houses to make the means of alleviating this distress, and preventing its return, the special object of their regard. After this he adverted to the correspondence which had taken place between his ministers and the French government, on the subject of peace, and the causes of its failure, and declared his ardent desire to restore that blessing to his people.

After a discussion of that part of his majesty's speech which related to the dearth, in the course of which various opinions were given respecting its causes, some of which discovered more of passion and prejudice than of information and reflection, Mr. Pitt proposed two modes for the relief of the public. One was an increased importation; the other, a combination of economy with the use of substitutes for wheaten bread. The

latter measure was particularly eligible at such a crisis as the present, not only on account of its effect, but the feeling which it discovered for the sufferers, and a disposition to alleviate their sufferings, and even to share with them in their distresses. The general sense of the lower house corresponding with the premier's recommendations, they voted bounties on the importation of various kinds of grain; and three bills were afterwards proposed and passed, "to prohibit the use of grain in the distillation of spirits and the manufacture of starch; to prohibit the exportation of rice; and to enable his majesty to prohibit, for a limited time, the exportation of provisions." A select committee was moreover appointed to enquire into the causes of the high price, and to devise the best remedies for the scarcity of food.

Amidst these scenes of national disquiet and distress, the success of our maritime forces afforded the only agreeable object of contemplation. The first of these, deserving our notice, were actions to annoy and distress our enemy. In the month of June, sir Edward Pellew, with the squadron and land-forces under his command, made descent on the peninsula of Quiberon in Bretagne, destroyed the enemy's forts, and took or burned the small vessels of war lying there; after which he intercepted several ships laden with provisions destined to Brest, destroyed the batteries near Quimper river, and took five small vessels of war moored in Boornœuf bay. An exploit, performed by lieutenant Coghlan, on this expedition, deserves to be particularised. That gallant young officer, in a ten-oared cutter, with only a midshipman and 18 sailors on board, attacked and boarded a gun-brig, mounting three 24-pounders and four 6-pounders, having 87 men on board, lying within pistol-shot of three batteries at the entrance of L'Orient harbour, and, after a sharp conflict, made prize of the brig.

About the same time, sir Charles Hamilton, with his squadron, made himself master of the isle of Goree, on the African coast, with the dependent factory of Joul. In the month of July, captain Campbell, in the Dart, made an attempt on the shipping in the road of Dunkirk, and took the La Desirée.

These enterprises were followed by others of greater importance in the latter part of the campaign. In the month of August, sir John Borlase Warren sailed, with the fleet commanded by him, and a body of troops on board, under sir James Pulteney, on a secret expedition. The primary object of it was the conquest of Belleisle; but when it was seen that the works on that island were so strong as to render an attack on it unwarrantably hazardous, he sailed for the Spanish coast, with a design to attack Ferrol. A descent was made near that port, and a skirmish ensued with a body of Spaniards, in which the British troops gave them a repulse. On reconnoitring the port from the neighbouring heights, however, the commanders, who were also informed by the prisoners that it was prepared for defence, thought it advisable to re-embark the troops.

Although the British government was not encouraged to persevere in these enterprises, against the coasts of our several enemies, by any signal advantage which had arisen from thence, yet it was deemed advisable to continue them, as the best means to distract their attention; and, as a cover for the grand expedition, projected for the ensuing campaign, against that French settlement in Egypt which Buonaparte intended to be the first step towards the subversion of the British power in India. Before the close of this campaign, lord Keith's fleet of twenty-two sail of the line and twenty-seven frigates, with 20,000 landmen on board, commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie, appeared off Cadiz, and threatened an attack on that city. The governor addressed a pathetic letter to the admiral, representing the deplorable condition of the place, where the plague at this time raged, and intreated him not to embitter the affliction of the citizens, and bring down their execrations on his head, by adding the evils of war to the heap of their calamities. The admiral and general replied, "that as the ships in the port were to be employed in augmenting the naval force of the French republic, and prolonging the calamities of Europe, an attack was to be averted only by a surrender of those vessels. The governor rejecting these proposals with disdain, preparations were made for a descent. But when the strength of the place was considered, with its state of defence, and other circumstances, it was thought expedient to retire.

The British arms, in the mean time, had

been crowned with success in different parts of the world. In the East Indies our settlements were secured by the death of Tippoo Sultan, and the final overthrow of his dominion. In the West Indies, the Dutch settlements of Surinam and Curaçoa had fallen into our hands. And the conquest first of Minorca, and afterwards of Malta, so essential to the success of our meditated enterprises in the Mediterranean, were events which cheered the spirits of the British nation, and gave them a pleasing anticipation of good fortune. Among other advantages, these ports afforded excellent stations for the different divisions of our fleet; where they were prepared to enter upon the memorable expedition to Egypt, which arrived at Marmorice in the beginning of the ensuing year.

By the intrigues of Buonaparte a treaty had been concluded between the French government and the Porte, for the evacuation of Egypt by the invaders. It was signed at El Arish by the respective ministers, on the 24th of January, and unfortunately obtained the consent of sir Sidney Smith on the part of Great Britain, though virtually contrary to his instructions, and decidedly inconsistent with the policy of the cabinet of St. James's. The English court, which was desirous to render every possible service to the emperor, whom it had encouraged to renew the war, and knew that the forces, if suffered to leave Egypt, would be employed against him in Italy or Germany, had dispatched positive orders to admiral lord Keith not to consent to any capitulation for the French troops in Egypt or in Syria, unless they should lay down their arms, surrender themselves prisoners of war, and deliver up all the ships and stores, in the port of Alexandria, to the allies. The negotiation, of course, fell to the ground; and Kleber, being debarred from leaving a country which had become hateful to his troops, prepared for the resumption of active hostilities.

When the grand vizier, Joseph Bashaw, had gained possession of El Arish, he proceeded, with an army of 40,000 effective men, towards Cairo, and encamped, March 20th, at Heliopolis, within five miles of the city. Kleber then advanced to give him battle, and endeavored to animate his men by exclaiming in the laconic style of a general confident of success: "Soldiers! To the insults of our enemies we shall reply by victories: prepare for battle!" The advantage of European discipline and of the European system of war was immediately seen. The French army, which did not amount to more than 15,000 men, steadily received an onset from the janizaries, and, advancing in their turn to the attack, soon put their enemy to flight. After some vain attempts to rally they retreated precipitately to Jaffa, and lost half their numbers by hunger, fatigue, or desertion; while Kleber was consoled in his distress by a victory obtained with the loss of only 10 men killed, and about 40 wounded. On his return to Cairo he found the city in a state of revolt, and the people impressed with a belief that he had sustained a total overthrow. Mustapha Aga, superintendent of the police, had been put to death, and all who favored the interests of the French had been massacred or imprisoned. Kleber undeceived the people respecting the battle of Heliopolis, concluded a treaty with Murad Bey, and, after several sanguinary assaults, reduced the Turks to a capitulation, by which they abandoned the city. 1800.

The plans of Kleber were well calculated to ensure the comfort and security of his troops, to recruit their resources, and retain the natives in obedience. But his skill and his patriotism did not screen him from the shafts of malice. A faction was formed against him at the head of which was Menou, and reports were industriously circulated that he had sold Egpyt to the Turks by the treaty of El Arish. On the 13th of June the general was walking on the terrace of his garden when he received several stabs from a poignard, which proved immediately fatal. Menou was suspected of having employed or instigated the assassin, but no evidence transpired to justify the charge, nor before his execution by impalement did the criminal make any confession of the causes, or the advisers of the act.

After the interment of Kleber the ferocious but feeble Menou assumed the title of commander-in-chief. We have seen that lord Keith refused to sign the treaty of El Arish, because it was contrary to the instructions received from his government. But it is necessary to observe that the ratifications of that treaty, which were exchanged on the 8th of January, 1800, could not have been known to the English government when the instructions were given, because the latter were de-

spatched in the preceding month. Though unofficially concluded, the ministers confirmed the treaty as soon as they were apprized of the transaction. On the 9th of June lieutenant Wright arrived at Cairo with a flag of truce bearing despatches from the vizier and sir Sidney Smith, but Menou, who was well aware that the colonization of Egypt was Buonaparte's favourite object, and associated the most extensive views of personal ambition with the desire of gratifying the first consul, refused to renew the negotiation. On learning this refusal the British ministry immediately issued orders to sir Ralph Abercrombie and lord Keith, with the fleet and land forces already employed upon the Spanish coast, to proceed on an expedition to the coast of Egypt.

The rejection of Buonaparte's overture to the king of England threw the odium of continuing the war on this country, and gave him all the advantages which could arise from the circulation of that opinion. His earliest care was to restore peace at home, and he succeeded in smothering hostility. The rebellion in La Vendee was tranquillized partly by force and partly by deceit; and to conciliate the religious part of the nation a decree was issued commanding the solemn burial of the late unfortunate pontiff. He passed a decree allowing the return of all emigrants who had not borne arms against their country, and abolished many inhuman and unjust institutions.

The first act of Buonaparte towards a more vigorous prosecution of the war, was the formation of the army of reserve at Dijon, composed chiefly of conscripts and of the loyalist and pacified troops from La Vandee. It amounted to nearly 50,000 men, and was commanded by Berthier, a man not more accustomed to the rigours of war, than to all the subtleties of negotiation and intrigue.

Buonaparte having resolved to open the Italian campaign in person, gave orders to the army of reserve to wait for him at Genoa. On the 12th of June he reviewed the vanguard, under the command of general Lasnes, and the next day the whole was in motion for mount St. Bernard. In passing through Switzerland he charmed the people by the simplicity, ease, and affability of his manners. At Genoa Buonaparte paid a visit to madame Saussure, the widow of the celebrated mineralogist, and conversed with the utmost freedom and affability. At the house of the prefect, where he supped, he related several laughable anecdotes respecting Egypt, and might almost seem to have forgotten, in the hilarity of social intercourse, the cares of ambition and the ravages of war. Trusting to the resources of his invincible mind, he promised his troops, at Dijon, that in two decades they should be at Milan, and he performed his promise after a series of difficulties, such as were never before so rapidly surmounted by human strength. The park of artillery was assembled at St. Pierre, and the mind which had conceived the project of the passage had also provided the means. The great guns were dismounted, placed in hollow trees, and dragged by a certain number of soldiers in proportion to their weight, the wheels were carried over men's shoulders upon poles, the axletrees and empty waggons were placed upon hurdles, constructed at Auxonne for the purpose, and mules were loaded with ammunition contained in boxes of fir. Five hundred livres were promised to the men who conveyed each cannon and its waggon, which they nobly refused, and the rest of the baggage belonging to the army was carried by the soldiers. The path across the mountains was in many parts so narrow that there was not room for more than one man to go at once without the danger of being buried in the snow. Such was the effect of fatigue that they frequently, when almost exhausted, dipped their biscuit in the snow-water, and found it a delicious morsel. On their arrival at the convent of Great St. Bernard each man received a glass of wine to revive his spirits. They had then eighteen miles to descend till they passed the steepest part of the mountain, and here the greatest difficulty commenced. At every step they met with immense chasms formed by the snow which had melted. The horses were, with extreme care, scarcely kept from slipping, and the men, notwithstanding all their precaution, could with difficulty hold their feet so as to preserve themselves and their horses in the path, and prevent their being precipitated together into the gulph beneath. Buonaparte himself sat down upon his breech, sliding about two hundred feet, while his aides-du-camp went before him.

At the top of this immense mountain is situated the convent of Bernardine monks,

who have taken their residence there for the purpose of succouring distressed travellers, and a more dismal residence can hardly be conceived; sterility every where surrounds them, not a shrub, not an herb is to be found, the severity of the cold completely destroys all vegetation; and not even a bird hovers within sight of their wretched abode. One vast monotonous prospect of ice and rocks extends on every side; no sound is heard but that of wind, hail, and falling snow, descending in immense masses piled up by the hand of nature, which hang from the rocks in frightful supenses, and when they fall overwhelm every thing beneath to the extent of many acres. It is on this savage spot, 1800 feet above the level of the sea, that the holy fathers have chosen to fix their abode for the purpose of benevolence. If they have a summer of three months, and that only for three hours in the day, they think themselves fortunate. When in winter the wind and snow have blocked up the path, the guides, who are accustomed to the country, come with their mules to find it out again, and pass and repass till they have beaten it down. This operation frequently employs them two or three days, and during this time, if it should happen to freeze, they take the opportunity of provisioning the convent.

The strong fortress of Bard, situated in the midst of rocks and precipices, yet remained to impede the progress of the army. But Buonaparte, to whom nothing seemed impossible, determined upon taking it, and after immense difficulty and fatigue, on the part of the assailants, the fortress at length surrendered. The general himself was at one time so worn out that he slept two hours upon the ground, and the troops filed past him making as little noise as possible lest they should disturb his repose.

Having at length surmounted by his talents, his courage, and his perseverance, all the obstacles opposed to his progress by art and nature, he arrived (May 23rd,) before Turea, which he captured by escalade; digressed from the grand road to Turin, and attacking a body of 8000 Austrians posted to oppose him at Romagna on the Sessia, he drove them with great slaughter from their entrenchments. His second entry into Milan was scarcely less brilliant than the first. The Austrians had not, in the mean time, taken care to render themselves popular, and all who had been cast into prison or robbed of their possession for their attachment to the French, were restored to their families and to their property. *Te Deum* was celebrated for their deliverance from the Austrian yoke, and Buonaparte affected peculiar respect to the heads of convents and to the rest of the Italian clergy.

The evening before the battle of Marengo Buonaparte went alone and surveyed attentively the plain on which it was to be fought. He had been on horseback from morning to night, and returned to the camp completely drenched with wet. His legs were so benumbed with the cold and rain, that when he dismounted he walked with pain and difficulty, they brought a few faggots and he dried himself before a miserable fire in a miserable hut. At day-break on the 14th of June, the troops were awoke by the sound of cannon at a distance; and in a few minutes after a slight repast, the whole army was in the field. About eleven o'clock it was found that the Austrians had attacked the outposts of the French. Buonaparte immediately mounted his charger and hastened to the scene of action. The enemy's line extended above six miles; for though it was interrupted by the Bormida, that river was fordable in many places. The object of the Austrians was to gain Voghera, and thus cut of the retreat of the French. They charged with incredible violence, and though not above two thirds of the whole French army was engaged, the combat was terrible. Orders were given to the troops stationed in the rear to advance, but the division of Desaix was still at a great distance. The French had not expected the battle to commence so early, and were, therefore, in some measure unprepared. The left wing, under general Victor, began first to give way, the infantry retreated, and the cavalry were repulsed. On the right wing also the enemy gained ground, and followed up their advantage with rapidity. Buonaparte advanced in front to prevent a retreat; and his body-guard of horse, leaving his person, took an active part in the combat. The consular guard of infantry, amounting to 500, without the aid of cavalry or artillery, sustained a tremendous attack of the enemy, and though compelled to yield retreated with as much order as if they were on the parade. Yet

THE BATTLE OF MARENGO.

J. Christal del.

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all these efforts were ineffectual. The retreat became general, the centre gave way, and the enemy turned both wings of the French. Buonaparte exerted all his energy to animate the remainder of the troops, who defended the road, and a defile through which they were passing, inclosed on one side by a thicket, and on the other by a large and lofty vineyard. The village of Marengo flanked the left of this place, so cruelly memorable. Thirty pieces of cannon, well served, thundered upon the French, cutting in pieces both men and the trees beneath which they sought protection, while the falling branches of the latter terminated the existence of the wounded. At four o'clock in the afternoon, within a radius of six miles there were not in front above 6000 infantry with their standards, 1000 horses, and six pieces of cannon fit for service. All that remained together of the army were employed in defending the defile already mentioned. At this terrible moment, when all around him was "danger, strife, and fear," when the earth was strewed with the dead and the dying, and cannon-balls were tearing up the ground under his horse's feet, Buonaparte gave his orders with all his usual coolness. He saw the tempest, without seeming to regard it. His countenance was unchanged; nor did he appear, even for a minute, more than usually agitated. It was to the system of reserves, to which he was peculiarly partial, and which, if he did not invent, he had considerably improved, that his confidence and tranquillity must be chiefly ascribed. Conscious that a considerable number of troops remained, who had not yet appeared before the enemy, and who now were ordered to come up as the last reserves, he rallied the defeated and dispersed divisions which had already been repulsed, and exclaimed, "Recollect it is my custom to sleep on the field of battle." This reproof had the desired effect, and many of the forces returned to their duty, animated with fresh ardour. Victory and fortune, which seemed to have forsaken their favourite son, appeared again on his side. The Austrians were unable to force the defile which was so nobly defended; and the reserves of the French, as Buonaparte had arranged from the beginning of the battle, began to come up. The divisions of Bonnier and Desaix arrived, and nothing could retard their impetuosity. Melas, finding so many difficulties in his centre, from the obstinate resistance of the French, imagined that, by extending his wings, he could surround them entirely, and thus cut off their retreat. This movement prevented him from perceiving the arrival of the reserves. Buonaparte availed himself of this inadvertence, formed the enemy into close columns, and poured his compact and recruited force upon the enemy with an ardour which nothing could resist. In a moment the defile was cleared, and the Austrians repulsed at every point. The French bore down all before them; the division of Desaix leaped over hedges, ditches, and mounds, while that of Victor, on the right, carried the village of Marengo, and flew towards the Bormida. The intrepid Desaix, falling upon the village of St. Stephano, entirely cut off the Austrian left wing; but at the moment of his triumph he received a wound from a musket-ball, which terminated his valuable life. He fell, lamented by his country, and pitied even by his enemies; for he was a man possessed of all the milder virtues, united to the valour of a soldier. His last words were worthy of his life. "Tell the first consul," said he to the young Le Brun, who stood beside him, "that I only regret I have not lived long enough to be known to posterity." When Buonaparte heard that he had fallen, he exclaimed, in the heat of the engagement, "Why is it not permitted me to weep?" The battle lasted not long after his death; for the troops, inflamed with resentment at the loss of their beloved commander, charged with redoubled ardour, and soon put an end to the combat. The Austrians fled in every direction, and night closing upon their defeat, alone preserved them from entire destruction.

Thus ended the fatal battle of Marengo, which, had it established the liberty, and not the slavery of France, might have been considered as one of the most fortunate events in modern history. Buonaparte was every where in the hottest of the fire, and came out unhurt, with all those who attended him. Some one remarking this circumstance, he replied, "My fortune doubtless preserved them."

Immediately previous to the battle of Marengo, the Austrian general Melas was in full possession of Lombardy and Piedmont; and, with the aid of the English fleet, under-

lord Keith, he held the wretched remains of Championet's army blocked up in the environs of Genoa and Savona, while the other divisions of the French forces were driven for refuge to the most defensive positions among the Alps. The siege of Genoa had been converted into a blockade, after several severe conflicts, in which both parties lost a multitude of men. General Massena, with a small French and Cisalpine garrison, found considerable difficulty in preserving order among the inhabitants, of whom, during the blockade, 15,000 perished ; many by famine, others by epidemic diseases. When he agreed to a surrender of the place, he would not suffer it to be called a capitulation ; he and the brave garrison merely consented to retire.

An engagement at Montebello preceded the decisive battle of Marengo. The Austrians had the advantage for some hours ; but when the division of general Watrin had arrived, to support the French van, the republicans prevailed, and drove their adversaries towards Voghera, capturing about 4000 men. The victors awaited at St. Juliano for the arrival of the rest of the army. Their perseverance and activity were crowned, as we have seen, by the victory of Marengo, and the whole aspect of Italy underwent a total change. The immense exertions of the Austrian court, the triumphs of Suwarrow, and all the misfortunes of the republican generals, were obliterated by the events of a single day. Melas requested the favour of a truce, and agreed to the surrender of Genoa, so lately and so dearly purchased, and of the principal fortresses of Piedmont and the Milanese.

Compared with the campaign of Italy, that of Germany was not highly important. In the battles of Engen and Moskirch, the exertions of general Kray on the one hand, and of Moreau on the other, did not secure to either of these commanders the undoubted honours of victory. Subsequent engagements opened to the French a passage into the heart of Bavaria, and the usual course of plunder ensued.

In the late armistice, Buonaparte had prudently stipulated, that neither party should send troops into Germany. General Kray, being by this stipulation deprived of all reinforcements from Italy, was obliged (July 15th) to conclude an armistice with Moreau. Negotiations were then opened by count Julian at Paris, and preliminaries were signed on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, upon which Buonaparte insisted, as an indispensable condition. While, however, there remained a ray of hope, the emperor was determined not to submit to stipulations so humiliating and injurious. Encouraged by a loan of two millions from Great Britain, he refused to ratify the treaty, declaring that his ambassador had exceeded his powers. Each party now prepared for the renewal of hostilities. The archduke, notwithstanding his dissatisfaction with the present measures, was prevailed upon to place himself at the head of 30,000 men, for the defence of Bohemia, now threatened by Augereau from Franconia, and the emperor took the field in person, after conferring the command of the grand army on the archduke John. The armistice, which had been prolonged to the beginning of November, having now expired, hostilities were recommenced with great vigour. Several battles were fought by the grand armies near the banks of the Tun, in some of which the Austrians, reinforced by the prince of Condé's troops, were successful. But even their successes proved eventually unpropitious. Emboldened by his good fortune, the Austrian prince attacked Moreau (Dec. 3rd) at Hohenlinden. Unfortunately, owing to the drifted snow which fell, the centre column came to the field of battle before it could be supported by the other divisions. Moreau, seizing the favourable moment, sent one division of his army to pierce between the Austrian centre and left wing, and attack the former in flank and rear. The movement succeeded in the conflict which ensued ; and the Austrians, though they behaved with signal bravery, were finally thrown into disorder. The right wing made a bold effort to turn the fortune of the day, but without success. At the close of a hard-fought battle, the Austrians were driven from the field with the loss of above 5000 men and 80 pieces of artillery ; and the French army, in consequence of their victory, took possession of the city of Saltzburgh. The court of Vienna was filled with terror, at the approach of the victorious armies ; and the emperor, in despair, agreed, with the consent of Great Britain, to treat for peace separately, and condescended to

put several towns into the enemy's hands, as pledges for his sincerity.

A TREATY of peace and friendship was accordingly signed at Luneville on the 9th of February. To avoid the delay of a tedious negotiation with the empire, his majesty undertook to stipulate, not only for himself, but in the name of the Germanic body. By these means the French government were saved from the ungracious and scarcely practicable task, of settling the indemnities, and enforcing the execution of the treaty; and they likewise evaded the prolixities and delays inseparable from a congress. The peace of Campo Formio formed the basis of the present. The cession of the Belgic provinces, the county of Falkenstein, and the Frickthal to France, was renewed. Istria, Dalmatia, the *ci-devant* Venetian isles, and the continental territories of Venice, as far as the Adige, were to belong to Austria; and thus Mantua, as part of the Cisalpine, came into the possession of the French. The republic was to enjoy the countries on the left bank of the Rhine; the Brisgau was to be given as an indemnity to the duke of Modena; and the fortresses on the right bank were to be restored by the French, on the express condition, that they should remain in the state they might be found at the time of the evacuation. This last stipulation, so vaguely expressed, was held by the consulate to imply a liberty to demolish the fortifications, which were accordingly laid in ruins.

By these cessions in favour of France, several princes on the right bank of the Rhine were dispossessed of their territories, in whole or in part; and as it belonged to the Germanic body collectively to bear the losses resulting from the stipulations of the treaty, his majesty, both in his own name and that of the empire, and in conformity to the principles established at the congress of Rastadt, bound himself to give to these princes an indemnity within the empire, according to a subsequent arrangement. He ceded to the Cisalpine republic the countries forming that state, and the imperial fiefs to the Ligurian republic. Both the contracting parties guaranteed the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics; and left the people of these states at liberty to adopt such forms of government as they might judge proper. Contributions, requisitions, and orders for supplies to the French armies, were to cease on the day of exchanging the ratifications at Luneville. The armies were to remain in their present positions till that period; but ten days after it, the imperial troops were to re-occupy the hereditary possessions of his majesty; and, within thirty days, the French were to evacuate the empire.

CHAPTER LI.

GEORGE III.

[1801.]

Changes consequent upon the Union—Meeting of the Imperial Parliament—Debates—Catholic Question—Dissentions in the Cabinet—Change of Ministry—Mr. Addington appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer—Expedition to Egypt—Sanguinary Conflicts between the French and English—Battle of Alexandria—Death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie—Evacuation of Egypt by the French.

IN preparing for the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, which was to take effect at the beginning of the present year, government adopted several essential measures. The style of the king undergoing a necessary alteration, the opportunity was embraced of resigning a trophy which had been held for so many ages, the glorious attestation of British valour, the title of "king of France." The executive directory, feeble and justly contemned as they were, had, during the negotiation at Lisle, insisted on this renunciation; and there was every probability that the consular government, more fortunate and respected, and apparently more firm, would in any future treaty make a similar requisition. The nation, desirous of peace, would hardly endure to hear of a protracted war, with all its attendant expences, for the sake of a mere title; and ministers, aware of this fact, acted discreetly in yielding to the evident temper of the times, and making, by their own choice, a change, which might otherwise have been extorted as the demand of the enemy, reinforced by the clamour of the people. The title, therefore assumed by his majesty on the union was, in Latin, *Georgius Tertius, Dei gratia, Britanniarum rex, fidei defensor;* and in English, George the Third, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith. The arms and flags of the united kingdoms were also subjected to suitable alterations; a new great seal was made, and changes adapted to the occasion were introduced into the book of Common Prayer, and the form of ordaining and consecrating ecclesiastical persons. The members of the privy-council of Great Britain renewed their oaths; a large promotion took place, both military and naval, and some noblemen of Ireland were advanced to the dignity of peers of the united kingdom.

THE legislative union also changed the form and title of parliament. It was no longer called the parliament of Great Britain, but that of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or sometimes the imperial parliament. The house of lords was augmented by the introduction of one archbishop and three bishops of Ireland, appointed to sit in rotation of session, and by 28 temporal peers, elected by the body of the Irish peerage *for life*. Into the house of commons the union introduced 100 new members, of whom 64 were representatives of counties, 9 of cities, 26 of boroughs and towns, and one of the university of Dublin. 1801.

MANY able lawyers were of opinion, that on this occasion a dissolution of parliament ought to have taken place; but a contrary opinion prevailed, and the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was composed of members elected for a period, which by law must determine in

three sessions at furthest, added to others whose senatorial capacity had already subsisted four years.

After some delay in the progress of the formalities, the parliament (February 2nd,) assembled at Westminster. Addressing the two houses, the king observed, that, at a crisis so important to the interests of his people, he derived great satisfaction from being enabled, for the first time, to avail himself of the advice and assistance of the united parliament. "This memorable æra, (he said,) distinguished by the accomplishment of a measure calculated to augment and consolidate the strength and resources of the empire, and to cement more closely the interests and affections of my subjects, will, I trust, be equally marked by that vigour, energy, and firmness, which the circumstances of our present situation peculiarly require." He referred, with surprise and regret, to the conduct of those princes whose attention "appeared to be more engaged in endeavours to weaken the naval force of the British empire, which had hitherto opposed so powerful an obstacle to the inordinate ambition of France, than in concerting the means of mutual defence against their common and increasing danger." He animadverted on the unjust and violent proceedings of the court of Petersburg, and censured the convention lately concluded, as tending to "establish by force a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights and hostile to the interests of this country."

After the request of ample supplies from the commons, he expressed his confident hope that the deliberations of both houses would be "uniformly directed to the great object of improving the benefits of the union, and of promoting to the utmost the prosperity of every part of his dominions." He assured them of his cordial concurrence in their patriotic endeavors, and added, "You may rely on my availing myself of the earliest opportunity of terminating the present contest on grounds consistent with our security and honour. It will afford me the truest and most heartfelt satisfaction, whenever the disposition of our enemies shall enable me thus to restore to the subjects of my united kingdom the blessings of peace, and thereby confirm and augment those advantages which result from our internal situation, and which, even under all the difficulties of war, have carried to so great an extent the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the country."

An address of thanks for this speech was moved by the duke of Montrose, who panegyrised the union as a measure pregnant with blessings, and exulted in the maritime power of the empire, which, he hoped, would baffle the schemes of the northern confederates. Earl Fitzwilliam declared that he could not concur in that part of the address which tended to involve the kingdom in a new war; and he proposed an inquiry into the general state of the nation, and into the conduct of the ministry. The earl of Caernarvon observed, that the alleged ground of contest required examination, and ingeniously argued, that, if we had by treaty, in consideration of commercial advantages, relinquished to any one nation, during a particular war, our supposed right of naval search, this single exception was subversive of the claim with regard to any other people. Such a right, he said, could only arise from the necessity imposed on us by a state of war to defend ourselves from destruction, by restraining the operations of those who, by mercantile aid, might enable our enemies to maintain their hostilities against us. Nothing but the right of self-preservation could give us any justifiable power over the commerce of an independent people; and it could not authorise us to interfere with the trade of one nation more than with that of another. If we had converted the right of interference into commercial advantages, we had admitted that it was not necessary to self-preservation, and that the nature of our warfare had not placed us in a situation in which the free commerce of a neutral power was incompatible with our defence. Lord Grenville did not strictly answer this argument, but denied that a convention by which the exercise of the law of nations, in a particular case, might for a limited time be waved, could invalidate the right itself. Such a concession, he thought, was merely an exception from the general rule, and rather implied than disproved the existence of the right. The earl of Moira wished to have the ground of the approaching hostilities with the northern powers clearly stated, before the house should give its sanction to a war which might perhaps be avoided without disgrace. Lord Eldon (formerly Mr. Scott) discussed the question

respecting the right of searching neutral vessels, and argued that it was a part of the law of nations, originating from the rights of nature, which no convention or treaty could destroy. It was connected, he said, with the idea of self-defence; for any nation which, professing to be neutral, should convey to our open foes the implements and stores of war, would in fact, by furnishing the means of our destruction, become our active enemy. A dereliction of this right would be highly injurious, if not fatal to our maritime interests and naval glory. A new war would certainly be a very great evil; but it would be less pernicious than the consequences of such a sacrifice as that which he now opposed.—When the house divided, only 17 peers voted for an alteration of the address, while 73 were content with its being an echo of the speech of the sovereign.

In the house of commons, Mr. Grey argued that the obnoxious convention was not so decidedly hostile to this country as to justify on our part measures of open war. The claims of our court, he said, ought to be examined by the test of justice, before recourse should be had to sanguinary violence. Our naval ascendency ought to be studiously preserved, as the source of our glory and the bulwark of our safety; but he hoped that the maintenance of that distinction would never depend upon any claim inconsistent with the legitimate interests of other independent nations, or with the substantial principles of justice and equity. Mr. Pitt contended for the assertion of a claim sanctioned by the most weighty authorities, and observed that, in addition to the law of nations, to established practice, and the opinions of courts of maritime law, he could adduce the strict letter of engagements with the three northern powers, requiring a different conduct from that which they were at the present moment preparing to adopt. He could also show, that Sweden, when engaged in a war against Russia, had acted upon the very principle which we wished to enforce, though she now refused to submit to it; and Denmark, in the last autumn, had solemnly promised not to send out another convoy till the point should be determined; yet that court was now ready to maintain by force of arms the stipulations of a confederacy similar to that of the year 1780. Would it be prudent for Great Britain to acquiesce in such violations of treaty, to endure such glaring insults? Would it be expedient to give opportunities for the navy of her foes to be recruited, to connive at the supply of blockaded forts with warlike stores and provisions, or to suffer neutral nations, by hoisting a flag upon a sloop or a fishing-boat, to convey the treasures of South America to the harbours of Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or Toulon? Such acquiescence would tend to the ruin of our naval preponderence; and, if we should lose that advantage, the spirit of the country would be in a manner annihilated.

An amendment promotive of an inquiry was rejected by a majority of 182, the numbers being 245 and 63. When the address was reported, Mr. Bankes lamented that it contained no intimation of a desire of renewing the negotiation with France: the secretary at war replied, that the time was unpropitious for treating, and coolly argued, that greater evil was to be dreaded from an early peace than from a continuance of the war: Mr. Nicholl recommended a change of the ministry, that the return of peace might be accelerated; but Mr. Wilberforce said, that such a change was unnecessary, as Mr. Pitt and his associates had given sufficient evidence of their pacific disposition. The address was then voted without a division.

In these debates occasional reference was made to the case of the Hibernian catholics, whose claims, after the completion of the act of union, formed a particular subject of discussion in the cabinet. The premier and lord Grenville represented an acquiescence in the wishes of those sectaries as necessary for the perfect consolidation of the interests of the united kingdom, and affirmed, that, as no danger could arise from it, policy required the concession. Several of the royal counsellors expressed opposite sentiments; and his majesty took a decided part in the dispute, alleging that the oath taken by him at his coronation precluded his assent to a scheme which might in its consequences endanger the religious establishment. As this repugnance obstructed the recommendation of the measure to the parliament, and diminished the probability of its success, Mr. Pitt declared that he conceived himself bound by his duty, his conscience, and his honour, to resign that situation in which he was not at full liberty

to pursue his ideas of equity and public benefit. His resignation was accepted, as was also that of lord Grenville; and earl Spenser, at the same time, relinquished all concern in the affairs of the admiralty, which he had directed with credit to himself and advantage to his country.

Whether the reason alleged by Mr. Pitt for his retreat from office formed his real motive, or was merely a pretext, may fairly be doubted. I am inclined to imagine, that he was less influenced on this occasion by the disappointment of his hopes of gratifying the catholics of Ireland, than by a wish to extricate himself, with some appearance of honour, from that unpleasant situation in which he had involved himself by his declarations and his conduct during the war. He was convinced that peace was the general desire of the nation; and, being apprehensive that his efforts for procuring it would not be successful, as he had rendered himself highly obnoxious to the rulers of France, he resolved to give way to the appointment of a successor, and thus make an opening for an effectual negotiation.

The motives by which he was evidently influenced were honourable to himself, and promised the most propitious consequences to the nation, and his candour and magnanimity were met with equal delicacy and judgment on the part of his sovereign. Mr. Addington, long the intimate friend of Mr. Pitt, was selected by the king to the office of his first minister. He received his majesty's commands to attend him at Buckingham-house, and was there directed to turn his attention to the formation of a ministry, of which he should be the leader. On this trying occasion, Mr. Addington acted with becoming candour and characteristic integrity. He apprised Mr. Pitt of the interview to which he had been called; he even endeavoured to avert, as far as his influence extended, an event which he regarded as detrimental to the interests of his country; and, in his letter to the house of commons, he expressed, in the language of truth and sincerity, his regret at leaving the speaker's chair, on so melancholy an occasion, guided solely as he was by the respect which was due to the mandate and the wishes of his sovereign. Lord Hawkesbury was selected for the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of lord Grenville, and the earl of St. Vincent succeeded to lord Spenser. Mr. Pitt remained in office after the virtual appointment of his friend, that he might adjust the national accounts, and regulate the supplies of the year.

The recurrence of the sovereign's mental indisposition retarded for a while the public business. It was apprehended that a regency would be necessary; but the return of health, after an illness of three weeks, enabled his majesty to renew his attention to affairs of state. He then gratified Mr. Addington with a formal appointment to the two offices which Mr. Pitt had so long enjoyed, substituted lord Hobart and Mr Charles Yorke for Mr. Dundas and Mr. Wyndham, who had followed the example of resignation, and appointed the earl of Hardwicke to the post of lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Previous to the resignation of Mr. Pitt, the most vigorous efforts had been made to bring the war to an honourable conclusion, and his measures were followed up by the most strenuous exertions of the new ministry. The hands of government were strengthened by the unanimous support which, for a while, the *ci-devant* ministers cordially afforded to their successors, and the liberality with which the parliament granted the supplies. Among the last objects of warfare which had demanded the attention of the preceding ministry, the expedition to Egypt was one of the most prominent and arduous; and public curiosity was now intensely directed to its progress and its issue. I have already recorded the proceedings of the expedition, from its arrival off the bay of Cadiz to its ultimate destination for the shores of Egypt, and it will now be necessary to trace the operations of the forces, from their landing to the final evacuation of the country by the French.

The fleet of lord Keith, with our army under general Abercrombie, arrived in Marmorice harbour, upon the coast of Coria, on the 28th of December, 1800. Having waited there nearly two months, during which time a small reinforcement arrived from England, it sailed for Egypt on the 22nd of February, 1801. The troops, in health and spirits, arrived in Aboukir bay on the 2nd of March, 1801, at ten A. M. A sham descent had been practised in Marmorice to exercise the soldiers. It was found by this, that 6000 men might be landed in the most perfect order,

and ready for immediate action, in the short space of twenty-three minutes. Their passage had been boisterous. Several Greek transports parted from the fleet during a gale of wind, and disappeared for many days, with part of the 12th and 26th, and Hompesch's regiments of dragoons. From these circumstances, and the lateness of the day, the landing was postponed to the day following, and therefore a great advantage lost. Had the landing been attempted then, there would have been no opposition. The enemy, although long before informed of our approach, was totally unprepared, and the lives of many brave soldiers would have been saved. The army was unable to land on the following day, and thus the enemy gained time to collect their forces. Preparations were accordingly made for a stout resistance. The succeeding morning was equally unfavourable, and six days were lost in the same manner. During all this time, the English fleet continued in sight of the French army, and were at length so little regarded, that the French, becoming dupes to the delay, actually believed that the whole was merely a feint to cover operations in another quarter; and that our real intention was to set off in the night, and land at Jaffa on the coast of Syria.

This delay, however, was not solely owing to the weather. A part of it may be referred to another cause. Major M'Arras, chief engineer, had preceded the fleet from Marmorice, to reconnoitre the country. He had been twice on the Egyptian shore, and with the greatest success. He had observed the lake of Aboukir; had surveyed all the adjoining territory; ascertained the different heights; and selected a convenient spot for landing. Having finished all his plans, he unfortunately ventured on shore a third time, to confirm their accuracy, and was observed by a French armed boat at the very instant he was putting off to return to his ship. The wind was against him, and the crew of his boat, finding every effort ineffectual, fell alongside the enemy, and surrendered. By a most dastardly instance of cruelty on the part of the French, they poured a volley of musketry into the boat, after the surrender had taken place; by which major M'Arras was killed. Our fleet arrived very shortly after this disaster; and the commander-in-chief, instead of obtaining the information expected, was compelled to wait till the business of reconnoitring, now become more difficult than ever, could be accomplished.

Thus was the descent of our army postponed until the 8th of March. The French had now gained even more time than they thought proper to use as the means of defence, and were stationed on the sandy heights eastward, and within gun-shot of Aboukir castle, between that fortress and the entrance of the lake Said. The spot selected for landing was immediately under this hill, and that a worse place could hardly have been chosen, is evident from this circumstance, that the enemy had, besides their artillery upon the heights, a covering for their flanks of eight field-pieces on the right, and four upon the left. These, together with the guns of the castle, bore down upon the place of landing. The day prior to the descent, signals were made to cook three days' provisions for the troops, and for the boats of every description to put off from their respective ships, and to repair to the Mondavi brig, as a point of rendezvous, when a false fire should be shown from the Foudroyant, the ship of the commander-in-chief. On the following morning, the 8th of March, at three o'clock, A. M. the expected signal was made. Every boat instantly repaired to the several ships to take in their quota of troops; and then proceeded to the appointed station, close under the hill, about three miles from the enemy, whence they were to move according to the order of battle. Thus they all remained, until the whole of the reserve was collected around the Mondavi. 1801.

Never was any thing conducted with greater regularity. The French, to their astonishment, as they afterwards related, instead of beholding a number of men landed pell-mell, saw the British troops preparing a regular line as they advanced in their boats, although the wind was directly in their teeth, and finally landing in regular order of battle, under the heaviest fire perhaps ever experienced. Shells, cannon-balls, and grape-shot, coming with the wind, fell like a storm of hail about them; yet not a soldier quitted his seat or moved, nor did a single sailor shrink from the hard labour of his oar. Not a musket was suffered to be charged until the troops could form upon the strand. They were commanded to sit still in the boats; and

this command, with inconceivable firmness, did these men obey; with the exception only of returning, for each volley of shot from their enemies, three general cheers, an effect of ardour, in which their officers found it impossible to restrain them. The feelings of those who remained in the ships were not proof against such a sight. Several of our brave seamen wept like children; and many of those upon the quarter-decks, who attempted to use telescopes, suffered the glasses to fall from their hands, and gave vent to their tears.

But the moment of triumph was at hand. For three long miles, pulling in this manner against the wind, did our brave tars strain every sinew. Several boats were sunk by the bursting of the shells, and about 270 men were killed before they reached the shore. At length with all their prows touching the beach at the same instant the boats grounded. Then a spectacle was presented that will be ever memorable. Two hundred of the French cavalry actually charged into the sea, and were seen for a few seconds hacking the men in the boats; these assailants were every one killed. It was now about ten o'clock in the forenoon; and within the space of six minutes from this important crisis, the contest was decided. The 42nd regiment leaping up to their middle in water, formed rapidly upon the shore; and with a degree of impatience nothing could restrain, without waiting to load their muskets, broke from the main line before it could be formed, and ran gallantly up the hill, sinking deep in the sand at every step they took. In this perilous situation a body of French cavalry pushed down upon them; but, instead of being thrown into any disorder, they coolly received the charge upon the points of their bayonet; and the rest of the army coming up, routed the enemy on all sides. The French fled with the greatest precipitation. Our troops had been taught to expect no quarter, and, therefore, none was given. The wounded and the dying neither claimed nor obtained mercy; all was blood and death. Humanity remembers some things she may wish to forget. Let us express a hope that British glory will not often be thus impaired by such unnecessary havoc on a subdued enemy. Our loss in killed and wounded amounted to 560.

When our troops landed Jaques Abdallah Menon, commander-in-chief of the French army, was in Cairo. Intelligence had been repeatedly sent to him, accompanied by entreaty, that he would hasten to the relief of Alexandria. The French described him as a pompous, obstinate, corpulent man, entirely absorbed in composing or delivering harangues to his soldiers. No persuasion could induce him to move. He considered the affair of our invasion as of little importance. Until our army had actually gained footing in the country, and twice defeated the French troops, he took no measures to interrupt their progress. According to the French statement, general Friant with a body of cavalry, amounting to 1500 men, was the only force upon the spot to oppose the landing of the English army. Had the resistance been greater, and Menou present, it is believed that the superior advantages of the French position would have rendered a descent upon the coast impracticable.

A skirmish took place on the 12th of March. In this affair the 12th regiment of dragoons, by too precipitate a charge, suffered considerably. Colonel Archdale, who commanded it, lost an arm, receiving a shot at the very instant he was raising his sabre as a signal for his troops to advance. This did not prevent him from leading his men gallantly through a body of the enemy much superior in numbers. Captain Butler of the same regiment was also taken prisoner. This brave but rash action was publicly noticed by the commander-in-chief, and a caution added against the ill effects of such intemperate valour.

On the 13th, the following day, our army attacked and drove the enemy from the heights to which they had retreated after the action of the 8th. This battle was desperately fought on both sides. The result, however, proved the superiority of the English bayonet. The French were found on this occasion to have used bullets and cannon-shot of copper and brass, generally deemed a dishonourable practice, as calculated only to gratify cruelty and malice. The slightest wounds so inflicted are said to be mortal. This species of ammunition was obtained from the sheathing of the ships in the port of Alexandria. Several of those balls were exhibited in the fleet, and some of them were afterwards found in the sand where the action took place. This

action, it was reported, was not duly followed up. The enemy were allowed to establish themselves in a most advantageous position, upon some heights, whence it was found extremely difficult to dislodge them. To this place our army pursued them, and then retreated to an eminence near some ruins, rendered afterwards renowned as the theatre of the most dreadful carnage during the battle of the 21st.

About the 19th Menou arrived in Alexandria, pouring forth a torrent of abuse against the garrison and troops who had opposed the landing of the English army. He reproached them in one of his turgid harangues, with "*allowing to their everlasting shame, an army of heroes to be chastised by a mob of English schoolboys.*" The fat figure of Menou, added to his blustering and gasconading manner, rendering him a pleasant object of ridicule to the vivacity natural to the French, who distinguished him by the name of *Cochon General.* Immediate preparations, however, were made for a general attack upon the English with his whole force, *pour les anneantir*, as he expressed it. The day for this great event was fixed for the 21st, when our army was to be surprised before daylight in its encampment, routed, and tumbled into the lake Aboukir.

At the hour appointed the attack was made. In the beginning of it the French conducted themselves with admirable skill. It is certain our army did not then expect them, although for two preceding nights the soldiers had been ordered to lie down upon their arms, and to be ready at a moment's notice. They came silently on, and in good order. With amazing perseverance they even crept upon their hands and knees through the fear of alarming our videttes. The French videttes, however, were observed to draw nearer and nearer to ours, until, at length, the English sentinel observed the French army close behind, coming slowly on in a line. This man gave the alarm by firing his piece and retreating with all possible expedition. The French instantly and rapidly charged up the hill, beginning a false attack upon our left, and carrying a redoubt by means of the bayonet; intending thus to draw our attention from its right where the main assault was designed. This project, however, was soon perceived by our commander and failed of its effect. It was still dark. The firing ceased upon the left, and was soon heard very warm upon the right. To that point, therefore, general Abercrombie directed all his attention, although both armies discharged their artillery without discerning a single object, except during the flashes of the cannon, when, as an officer belonging to the reserve assured us, the French army was not otherwise visible, although now so near, than by the appearance of a long black line, disclosed during those momentary coruscations. As dawn appeared, the French were found to have succeeded in turning our right wing; and a party of their cavalry were actually seen advancing to the rear of the 28th regiment. The prudence and gallant conduct of this regiment gave the first favourable turn to the conflict of the day. Cavalry in the rear of the infantry have generally the power to throw them into disorder. It was at this critical moment, decisive as to the fate of Egypt, that an adjutant of the 28th gave the word, *rear rank right about, face.* This was readily obeyed; and the soldiers, with astonishing firmness and presence of mind, sustained a severe attack in front and rear at the same time, without a single man moving from his place. At this juncture the 42nd regiment, coming up to aid the 28th, were themselves overwhelmed and broken by a body of the enemy's cavalry. Still, though dispersed, they resisted to a man, and were seen so intermingled with the enemy, that the flank companies of the 40th, stationed in the openings of the ruins upon the right, were afraid to fire lest they should destroy them. Menou had promised a louis to every French soldier who might be concerned in establishing a position in that building, and several attempts were made for the purpose. The 58th had been stationed there in the beginning of the action, with a part of the 23rd, and had already repulsed a column of the enemy in its attack upon this place; when during the severe conflict sustained by the 28th in front, three columns forced in behind the redoubt where that regiment was stationed, and while some of them remained to carry on the attack upon its rear, the principal part penetrated into the quadrangular area formed by the ruin. Here they were received by the 58th and 23rd, and followed by a part of the 42nd, who cut off their retreat, so that a most desperate conflict ensued. Our men attacked them like wolves,

DEATH OF GENERAL ABERCROMBIE.

Wm. Ld.

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with less ardour than valour, displaying a degree of intrepidity nothing could resist. After spending all their ammunition, they had recourse to stones, and the butt end of their pieces, transfixing the French with their bayonets against the walls of the building, until they had covered the sand with the blood and bodies of their enemies, where they remain heaped at this hour, a striking monument of the horror of that day. Not fewer than 700 Frenchmen were bayonetted or shot among those ruins.

By some unaccountable negligence, the principal part of the artillery and ammunition had not been brought to the station then occupied by our army; hence originated a saying, that the French had been beaten by an enemy destitute of artillery. Certain it is, that both the 28th and the 42nd regiments, towards the termination of the conquest, were reduced to the necessity of throwing stones. General sir Ralph Abercrombie, with a view, as it is related, of rallying the 42nd, hastened towards the dreadful conflict in the ruin upon the right, and was nearly surrounded by a party of French cavalry. A dragoon made a thrust at him; but sir Ralph, receiving it between his breast and his left arm, wrested the weapon from his antagonist. At this moment, an English soldier, seeing another ride towards the general to aim a blow at him, and being without a ball, thrust his ramrod into his piece, and with it shot a dragoon. Soon after, sir Ralph was seen without his horse, the animal having been shot under him, when sir Sidney Smith, coming up, supplied him with that on which he was mounted. It was on this occasion, that sir Ralph presented to sir Sidney the sabre he had wrested from the dragoon. Soon after, our venerable commander received in his thigh the fatal shot, of which he afterwards expired.

Victory now declared itself for the English, and it may be said to date from the moment when Abercrombie received his mortal wound. Five French generals were killed. Menou's horse was shot under him. It is said that he wept when he beheld the fate of the day, and exerted himself in vain endeavours to rally the retreating army. Among the wounded on our side were generals Oakes, Moore, Hope, and sir Sidney Smith. The loss sustained by the French was not less than 4000. Eleven hundred of their dead were buried by our own troops. After the action both armies maintained the same positions they had occupied before the battle. The French also left behind 400 horses killed, two pieces of cannon, and the standard of the regiment so proudly termed *Invincible*, inscribed with the names of the principal scenes of Buonaparte's triumph in Italy. The glory of securing this trophy belongs to Anthony Lutz, a private in the Minorca regiment. It had first been taken by major Stirling, and consigned to the care of a serjeant in the 42nd regiment, named Sinclair, from whom it was wrested by the French. It was afterwards recovered by Lutz, who received the reward and honours due to the achievement.

After the 21st of March, the affairs of the expedition remained at a stand. The death of sir Ralph Abercrombie threw a gloom over every thing. Although general (now lord) Hutchinson followed precisely the plan which was understood to be general Abercrombie's, the regret of the army and navy was only expressed by murmurs and discontent. No one, however, as the event has proved, could have devised a more wise scheme for the ultimate deliverance of Egypt. He directed the operations of the army successively to the different stations held by the dispersed forces of the enemy: subduing them one after another, instead of allowing them to combine their strength, he was enabled to effect what no other plan of carrying on the campaign could possibly have brought to pass. If matters did not proceed as speedily as before, they proceeded safely and surely.

The first effort was to cut off all communication between the garrison of Alexandria and the rest of Egypt. This was effected by destroying the canal of Alexandria, and thereby not only preventing a supply of fresh water, but also causing the waters of the lake Aboukir to fall into the antient bed of the lake Marcotis. The canal was cut through in two places; the current, rushing vehemently down a steep of eight feet, soon carried away the intervening mound, and produced an inundation, extending to such a prodigious distance, over all the desert to the east and south of Alexandria, that, before the middle of May, the French (than whom no

people show more alertness in converting even disaster to some advantage) had a flotilla of gun-boats on this new-created sea.

About this time, Fort Julian, upon the Rosetta branch of the Nile, was taken by the English and Turks, which was followed by the evacuation of Rosetta. Rhamanceh, an important fort, was then attacked and carried; by the capture of this place all communication with Alexandria was said to be interrupted. Immediately after this capture the English army began its march to Cairo. Their rout was along the banks of the Nile. They proceeded about ten miles a day, suffering much as well from the heat as dews. Barelos and Damietta, upon the coast, were abandoned by the French. On their route over the intervening sand and trackless desarts, the general and his troops were cheered by the intelligence that the grand vizier, assisted by a detachment under major Holloway, had gained, May 15th, a complete victory at El Hanea, over a body of forces sent by Belliard to oppose his march from Balbeis, and had pursued the enemy to the plains of Heliopolis. This event and the capture of two valuable convoys on their progress, which afforded the army a seasonable supply of provisions and camels, and the intelligence that soon arrived of the surrender of fort Lesbé and the fort of Damietta to our arms, animated the troops with sanguine hopes of the final success of the expedition. Encouraged by the representations of the Turkish grand vizier, and of the other generals with whom he obtained an interview at Menouf, general Hutchinson concerted his plan for the reduction of the city, and having crossed the Nile on a bridge constructed of small vessels, was preparing for an attack on the enemy's forces posted at Gaza, when a flag of truce arrived from general Belliard. An interview, in consequence, took place between generals Moran and Hope, and a capitulation was concluded, by which it was agreed, that "the French forces should be conveyed to the French ports in the Mediterranean with their arms and effects within fifty days from the date of the ratification; men of letters and naturalists were permitted to retain their papers and collections; an exoneration was granted to such of the people as had adhered to the cause of France; and it was stipulated that Menou might avail himself of these conditions for the surrender of Alexandria, provided his acceptance of them was notified to the general commanding before Alexandria, within ten days after receiving the communication made to him." The subsequent ratification (June 26th,) of this treaty surrendered to the English general full possession of all that the French had held in the interior parts of Egypt, and opened a flattering prospect of final success. His anticipations of good fortune were soon confirmed by the arrival, a few days after the capitulation, of 5000 troops under sir David Baird. That gallant general, on learning the state of affairs in Egypt, had set sail from India in the month of December 1800, by the course of the Red Sea, but terminated his voyage too late to gratify his passion for military fame, or his zeal for the service of his country. During these successes in the interior, general Coote was invested with the command of the forces left to maintain the ground which the British army had occupied before Alexandria. His army, although reinforced with 1800 men from England, was too weak to enter upon active operations, till the several divisions of the grand army had arrived from Cairo.

When general Menou was informed of the surrender of that city, and particularly of that article in the treaty which concerned himself, he expressed much indignation, and declared that he would bury himself in the ruins of the city rather than surrender it to the enemy. All the forces being assembled before Alexandria, the English gun-boats having passed through the cut from lake Aboukir to Mareotis to assist in the siege, and lord Keith having prepared to co-operate in the Mediterranean, hostilities were commenced with great vigour. They were continued for twelve days, and considerable advances were made by the besiegers; when, finding all his efforts ineffectual, Menou sent an aid-de-camp to desire an armistice for three days, which was granted him, but could not be renewed, even at his earnest request. General Hutchinson declared that he would recommence hostilities if an answer to his proposals were not instantly given. A capitulation was then concluded of the same purport with that signed by Belliard, such as embraced every desirable object, without unnecessarily driving the conquered to despair, and which deliver-

ed Egypt, and consequently India, from the miseries and the dangers of French possession and invasion.

While Great Britain was thus extending the glory of her arms, her commercial prosperity was endangered by the combination of the maritime powers against the fundamental principles of her naval existence, and against the exercise of that right of search, which is indispensible to the prosecution of her foreign trade. Paul I. in a fit of derangement, having assumed the title of grand master of the order of knights of Malta, and being refused possession of that island, which he had taken by blockade, ordered the English vessels in his ports to be detained, and their crews to be marched into the interior of the country, prevailing, at the same time, on the Danish and Swedish courts to concur in the formation of an armed neutrality.

CHAPTER LII.

GEORGE III.

[1801.]

Hostile Measures of Great Britain against the Northern Powers—Admiral Parker's Fleet passes the Sound—Battle of Copenhagen—And Armistice—Further Operations of the English Admiral—Conduct of the Emperor Paul—His Sudden Death—Declaration of the Emperor Alexander—Hamburgh occupied by the Danes—Declaration of the King of Prussia to the electoral States of Hanover—And Convention between him and the Regency—Danish and Swedish Islands in the West Indies taken by the British—Conventions for the neutrality of the Elbe—And the Evacuation of Hamburgh—Occurrences in the Baltic—Convention between Russia and Great Britain—Spain declares War against Portugal—Military Operations—Peace of Badajos—And Treaty concluded by the Portuguese and French Government.

While the flames of war were gradually expiring in the southern parts of the European continent, the progress of the northern alliance presaged events of incalculable consequence to the future interests of the maritime powers. The alarm excited in the minds of the inhabitants of this country by the magnitude of so extensive a confederacy, was gently suppressed by a strong confidence in our navy, which has maintained, with increasing glory, the safety and dignified attitude of the nation. Amidst reiterated censures on ministerial incapacity, we enjoyed one source of honest exultation; while the eye ranged along the ocean, we every where beheld the British fleets traversing it, triumphant.

Denmark, as the most ostensible agent in provoking the dispute, and as nearest and most advantageously situated for an attack, was selected to be the first that should experience the weight of our indignation. Singly she could not presume to enter the lists with Britain. Her population, extent, and revenues, being comparatively scanty, the scale of preparation, both military and naval, must in time of war be apportioned to her feeble resources. A long repose had rendered 1801.

doubtful the skill and courage of her soldiers; and her seamen, notwithstanding the favourable state of her commerce, were not inured to maritime warfare. In fine, her power was little; her experience less. Yet roused to exertion by the supposed violence and aggression of Britain, she had hastily arranged what means of defence the sudden hostility of the latter allowed her time and opportunity to collect. Her enemy, in the full vigour of a naval strength, which eight years of war had completely matured, could instantly divert part of that force to crush a weak antagonist. The confederated powers must have calculated, that England, intimidated by the apparent greatness of the combination, would a second time temporise with their measures; or that her attention was so much attracted by the contest with France, as to afford them time to assemble a fleet for their protection. They do not seem to have ever surmised that she would anticipate their designs by attacking them singly, before their defensive plans were completed.

1801. The British fleet arrived in the Cattegat on the 20th of March, and next day Mr. Drummond presented a note to the Danish government, and had an interview with the minister. In this *ultimatum* he required Denmark to secede from the northern alliance, grant a free passage through the sound to the fleet, and consent that Danish vessels should no longer sail with convoy. The answer given by count Bernstorff was an explicit and firm refusal to abandon the confederacy. Mr. Drummond, therefore, left Copenhagen in the evening, on his return home. Admiral Parker, on the 28th, sent a flag of truce to colonel Stricker, commandant of the fortress of Conenberg, with a despatch, importing that the hostile conduct of Denmark, and the dismissal of the English *charge d'affaires* from Copenhagen, rendered it necessary to demand, whether the fort would permit the ships to pass without molestation. The colonel, by direction of his court, gave a positive refusal; upon which Parker replied, that he considered the answer as a declaration of war, and would immediately commence hostilities. Accordingly, on the morning of the 30th, he entered the Sound, a few of his headmost ships maintaining a brisk cannonade with the Danish batteries, but the rest without firing a shot. The five vessels in the van sustained some damage; but, by keeping towards the Swedish side, the whole fleet passed without any material injury. The town of Helsinberg, on the Swedish coast, is an open place; and by antient stipulations, the court of Stockholm are not allowed to erect any fortifications there, that no obstruction may be given to the rights of Denmark to the toll duties. No opposition, therefore, was attempted, or could be made, by the Swedes to the passage of the English.

What preparations time would permit, were made, to put the capital in a state of defence. The harbour of Copenhagen is surrounded by the fortifications of the town. Its entrance, which is secured every night by a boom laid across it, is so narrow, that one vessel only can enter at a time. The citadel forms a regular fort, with five bastions, a wet ditch, and several advanced works, and defends the passage on one side, while it is protected on the other by a strong block-house, well mounted with heavy artillery. Batteries had also been erected on the island of Amack, which shelters the harbour from the surge of the sea, and contributes greatly to the security of the anchorage. The haven is capacious; and, being surrounded by a wooden gallery, exhibits a most interesting scene, particularly when the port is crowded with ships. In the approach by sea, Copenhagen is seen lying at the bottom of an extensive bay in the form of an immense amphitheatre, and gently sloping to the water's edge, so as to present to the spectator an expanded view of all its extent and grandeur. The docks are in the centre of the city, and the harbour at present contained ten or eleven sail of the line, all newly built or repaired, and in excellent order. Besides these, a number of old vessels had been equipped for the purpose of forming an external line of defence, which will more particularly engage attention.

The crown prince took the command in the city, and put himself at the head of the military and armed burghers. He was indefatigable in his exertions; superintending every thing, shewing himself every where, inspiriting the courage of the people, and rewarding their zeal. The houses of the inhabitants were provided with pails of water for extinguishing flames, and the fire com-

panies stationed near the most exposed parts of the city. Mortar and gun batteries were erected in the most approved defensive points, and wherever they could be brought to bear against ships; and all the approaches to the town were fortified, from the narrow channel called the Grounds on the south, to its northern extremity, where the citadel is situated. The crown batteries, two forts constructed on piles, were mounted with artillery, the largest with fifty-two twenty-four or thirty-six pounders, and four mortars, and the other with thirty-six pieces of the same calibre. In a line with the city, and along the edge of the channel, seven men of war, (one pierced for 74 guns, the rest for 60 and under) two frigates, and six smaller vessels, carrying from 18 to 24 cannon, lay aground. All these ships were old hulks cut down into pontoons, or floating batteries, which were again commanded by two ships of 70 guns and a frigate, in the inner road, off the crown batteries to the north, while two old sixty-fours were moored on the flat to the right of the entrance into the arsenal.

After reconnoitring the enemy's position, the British admiral resolved to make the attack with his fleet, in two divisions. Lord Nelson, with twelve sail of the line, four frigates, four sloops of war, two fire-ships, seven bomb vessels, and all the small craft, proceeded to the southward, in order to approach by the Middle Ground to the king's Diep. He had previously explored the channel, which was rendered more doubtful and intricate by the removal of the ordinary sea-marks and buoys. Admiral Parker, with seven or eight men of war, and the rest of the fleet, were to weigh at the same moment, and menace the crown batteries, and four ships of the line at the entrance to the arsenal; and likewise to cover the disabled vessels as they came out of the engagement.

On the 1st of April, lord Nelson's division weighed, and stood through the channel. In the afternoon he anchored within reach of the enemy's shells, a few of which fell among the ships, and would have greatly annoyed them during the night, in the midst of so hazardous a navigation, if, fortunately, the Danes had not ceased firing. At six next morning, the signal was made to prepare for action, when the vessels proceeded to their stations. Admiral Parker's division, at the same time, bore away, under a press of sail, for his point of attack; but, on account of the nature of the plan, and the line of approach, the wind, which was favourable to Nelson, was the reverse to the other; so that this division was but slightly engaged in the subsequent battle.

As soon as his lordship's leading ship passed those of the enemy lying towards the south, admiral Fischer, the Danish commander-in-chief of the outer range of defence, gave the signal for action. The English, as they came up, formed in close line. The Agamemnon, unable to weather the shoal of the Middle Ground, was obliged to anchor beyond cannon-shot. The Russel and Bellona also grounded; yet, although not in the stations assigned them, they shared in the engagement, and particularly the latter. The Polyphemus appears likewise to have kept at too great a distance; but this was amply compensated by the favourable larboard position of the Desirée frigate of 40 guns, which raked the enemy's most southerly vessel from stem to stern, without her being able to return a shot, and after she had been previously saluted by the fleet in passing.

Between ten and eleven, the engagement became general; and as the winding channels and shoals did not allow the combatants to retreat, the issue on either side was complete victory or destruction. The Danish courage might not perhaps be stimulated to the same degree of desperation as was that of the assailants. To these there was no friendly harbour, and no coast from whence they could derive succour and safety; to those again, their proximity to the shore afforded an easy escape at the termination of the contest. In taking their stations, the English vessels had been thrown into some confusion; and the Monarch and Defiance, the most northern ships, being much exposed to the strongest quarter of the enemy, and a little subjected to the red-hot balls of the crown batteries, were repeatedly on fire. But the moment the whole line was formed, with the bombs ranged abreast of the midmost ships, the British opened such a tremendous discharge, that both fleets were soon enveloped in smoke, flames, horror, and death.

For nearly five hours, the battle raged with the most destructive fury. By four o'clock, all the Danish vessels lying to the south of the Crowns, one frigate excepted, were aban-

doned by their crews, and either taken, sunk, or burned. Those captured were so damaged by the enemy's fire, that they became mere wrecks, and were destroyed after the engagement, one block-ship and four gun-ships only being preserved. The loss of the Danes amounted to sixteen or eighteen hundred men, killed and wounded; and that of the British to nearly a thousand. If admiral Parker had been able to come to close action with the left wing of defence, consisting of the crown batteries, and the four men of war and the two gun-brigs that flanked and supported them, the success of the day would have been more complete. The long duration of the battle may be ascribed, not only to the enemy's valour, but to the circumstance of the British vessels having struck the ground in their approach. Nine of our men of war, and all the heavy frigates, were in full action, and two other ships of the line in considerable play; in short, the Agamemnon alone, by her unfortunate situation, was prevented from participating in the glories of the fight. In their protection of the outer line of defence, the Danes seem, most injudiciously, not to have employed their mortar-batteries on shore. The British bomb-ketches threw shells during the whole of the engagement, but without any consequential effect, and perhaps with the sole intention of preventing the approach of aid to the exterior line, and, if possible, annoying the inner harbour.

There still remained the left line of defence, which was composed of the men of war, and a range of fortifications mounting about 100 pieces of artillery. The destruction of the right wing enabled the English fleet to warp themselves into deeper water, and take a more advantageous position. Towards the close of the action, lord Nelson sent a flag of truce on shore with offers to negotiate. His proposals were,

1. That Denmark should recede from her alliance with Russia.

2. That the English should be permitted to repair their ships in the Danish docks.

And, 3. That the wounded should be taken care of in the hospitals.

The two first articles were positively rejected, with the additional declaration, that Denmark still possessed courage and strength to defend her independence; but as to the third, she should never omit to exercise the duties of humanity, even towards an enemy. A short armistice, however, was consented to, which being prolonged to the 9th, a new one was then concluded, to continue for fourteen weeks, with a notice of fourteen days before recommencing hostile operations. It was stipulated, that the Danish ships of war should remain in their present situation, as to equipment and position, and the treaty of armed neutrality, as far as related to Denmark, be suspended during the truce. On the other hand, neither the British fleet, nor any other British naval force, were to molest the city, or any of his Danish majesty's ships, or trading vessels of his subjects, on the coasts of the different islands and provinces of Denmark, Jutland included. Admiral Parker was allowed to provide himself at Copenhagen, and all the Danish ports, with every thing necessary for the health and comfort of his crews. The prisoners taken by the English were to be landed; and for them, and the wounded set on shore after the battle, an acknowledgment was to be given, that they might be accounted for, in favour of Great Britain, in the unfortunate event of a renewal of the war.

At the conclusion of this armistice, lord Nelson, from whom the overture first proceeded, and who had addressed his first letter to "the brothers of Englishmen, the Danes," obtained an interview with the crown-prince, which terminated in the most satisfactory conviction, that the Danish government was now inclined to measures of permanent conciliation. The hopes of his lordship, and the interests of humanity, were at this time promoted by the violent and unexpected death of the Russian monarch. The conduct of Paul, since his accession to the throne, was certainly not calculated to inspire the minds of mankind with a love of monarchical government. His restless caprice and violence had alienated the affections of his subjects; and as all military and civil offices, and even the liberty and fortunes of individuals were held by a tenure so very insecure, his severity excited a general alarm and dissatisfaction among the higher classes. The vexatious police he established, and his numerous, contradictory, and ephemeral edicts rendered insupportable a residence in the capital. His rupture with England was unpopular, for Russia, having no trading vessels

of her own, had carried on with the former a very beneficial and extensive commerce, which served to confirm the connexion of the two states. During the latter years of Catherine, offices were obtained and preserved by liberal donations only to her favourites, whose avarice or extravagance requiring constant supplies, it was found prudent to overlook the gradual introduction of a system of depredation on the revenue and commerce of the country. It would be erroneous to suppose that the interests of the people were calculated upon at the court of St. Peterburgh, where the grandees, or persons in superior stations, are alone recognised to have a political existence.

On the departure of the young king of Sweden, who had paid a visit to the Russian capital while the treaty of neutrality was negotiating, a singular article appeared in the court gazette; but its private history is not sufficiently known to warrant our giving it as indubitable and authentic. Whether this eccentric production owed its origin to the whim and disordered intellects of an emperor, whether it flowed from the sportive fancy of some humourist, or was a forgery modelled by the dark policy of a cabinet intrigue, we presume not to decide. Among the many tales circulated respecting it, the most plausible ascribed it to the following incident. The emperor, on the day preceding, had exhibited a tournament in honour of the king of Sweden;—a diversion of which Paul was fond, and partook as a combatant. In the evening the festive cup circulated; and, during the entertainment, his imperial majesty received a despatch from Buonaparte, with some caricatures from England representing him as a madman. The conversation turning on the northern league, and the amusements of the day, the monarch, fired with the spirit of chivalry, resolved to insert a challenge to the European potentates, in the conclusion of which he declared himself insane. From a wish, he said, to terminate a war which had raged for eleven years, he intended to propose a place, where the royal warriors might enter the lists, attended by their most distinguished ministers and generals, in the capacity of squires.

The time was when this intimation would have roused the valour of every sovereign in Christendom, and attracted myriads of redoubted knights; but Paul, though grand master of the chivalric institution of Malta, found himself exposed to the general sneer of that inglorious race, whose puny arms are more befitting the distaff than the lance. Notwithstanding the sarcasms so liberally bestowed on his majesty's plan, it was, perhaps, not the most irrational mode of settling the quixotic differences of these monarchs. It was not, like ordinary warfare, sanguinary, tedious, and expensive; it afforded every imperial champion an honourable opportunity of acquiring practical experience of that species of tilting, in which he can involve his subjects with so little repugnance; and, moreover, it had the additional recommendation of affording pastime to those, whose honest industry is taxed to support pantomimic exhibitions no less ridiculous.

This famous challenge employed the conjectures of politicians for a few months; but these were absorbed in the more important affairs of the north. The English armament had just appeared in the Sound, when the Russian capital was thrown into consternation by intelligence that the emperor was—murdered. I shall refer to the historian of Russia, the detail of the less known particulars of this transaction, and merely record those facts which are generally acknowledged. After spending the day in hilarity and good health, Paul had retired to rest at half-past nine o'clock, and at twelve he was found dead in his bed-room. A fit of apoplexy was publicly assigned as the cause of the event; but the conspiracy was intrusted to too many persons to remain long a secret. The principal regicide is reported to have been count Zubow. This minion was the last favourite of the late empress,—if we may degrade our pen by using the softened phraseology of an iniquitous court. Even in her old age, the frail Catherine indulged herself in that wanton dalliance, to which she had devoted her earlier life. Zubow, who had officiated in this ignoble station, lost his power on the death of his mistress, and fell into neglect, or was disgraced by her successor. In revenge, the daring adventurer associated with a party of the ministers, who had formed a plan to dethrone and confine the emperor, but who were, by intervening circumstances, induced to follow up their scheme by putting him to death. As the publication of the

challenge was generally considered to be a prelude to the dethronement of the emperor, and the elevation of his son, these events had been confidently circulated in England six weeks before their occurrence ;—a circumstance which exposed the English ministry to the calumnious insinuation of their being privy to the affair : but the most exceptionable part of their conduct was their open satisfaction at the fate of a man, whom they once revered as a divinity, and now branded as a lunatic.

In this manner died Paul I. at the age of 46, after a bustling reign of four years and four months ; and was succeeded by his son, Alexander,—a young man, who had hitherto displayed those bland virtues which adorn a crown, and that piety which beatifies a saint. His fate excited no regret, except among his immediate dependants. If his subjects had brought him to the scaffold for his tyranny, the cry of revenge would have resounded through Europe ; but as his death was effected by titled ministers and nobles, according to the antient and revered form of court-etiquette, it did not draw forth one solitary expression of horror from the surrounding princes. That the young monarch participated in the rebellion against his father, it would be extremely unjust to aver ; but as he instituted no inquiry respecting it, we cannot applaud his affection as a son, or his justice as a sovereign. Perhaps he felt himself unable to bring the principal conspirators to condign punishment ; yet as this state of pupilage must have soon elapsed, his forbearance provokes animadversions, which I feel no inclination to hazard. On his accession he published a proclamation, announcing his resolution to govern the people committed to him by 'the Almighty according to the laws and heart' of her who rested in God ; and, to leave no doubts as to the identity of this glorified female, he added,—the empress Catherine the Great. Among the first acts of his administration, he repealed all the obnoxious ukases of his predecessor, and removed the restraints imposed on commerce. A spirit of benevolence appeared in his measures, and the people hailed him as the tutelary genius of the empire.

The news of Paul's death reached Berlin on the 3rd of April, and Stockholm on the 4th. The messenger whom I mentioned to have been despatched by the Russian ambassador at Copenhagen to admiral Parker, was the bearer of a declaration from the emperor Alexander, intimating the acceptance of the offer which the British court had made to his predecessor, to terminate the dispute by an amicable convention. Faithful, he said, to the engagements entered into with the courts of Stockholm, Berlin, and Copenhagen, he had signified to them his resolution not to act but in conjunction with his allies, in whatever might concern the interests of the neutral powers. He could not have expected that the British court would undertake a hostile attack against Denmark, at the very time its envoy at Berlin was authorised to enter into conferences with the Russian minister in that city. The measures taken by his majesty originated solely from a desire for peace, and were meant to prevent a destructive misunderstanding between the contending powers. The acts of warfare against Denmark, and the arrival of a hostile fleet, would have frustrated his majesty's wish to preserve tranquillity, had not the attack upon his allies preceded the proposal made by him to the court of London. But as the English had sailed for the Sound before he ascended the throne, he would await the measures of the British cabinet, when it should be informed of that event. Admiral Parker was therefore required to desist from all farther hostilities against the flags of the three united powers, or be held personally responsible for the consequences that might ensue from a prosecution of the war. His majesty concluded with repeating his professions of a disposition to restore concord, although he declared himself prepared to repel force by force. But the justice and moderation of the Britith cabinet must enable him to reconcile the demands of humanity, which he owed to his crown, and the interests of his allies.

The substance of these proposals by Russia was, that the right of search should be recognised, but with the limitation, that it be exercised only by public ships of war, and not by privateers or letters of marque ; that the search of vessels under convoy should take place instantly, and in presence of an officer, or other person, deputed by the escorting ship ; that if, upon the investigation of her papers, it was thought justifiable to stop and detain a vessel, the reasons should

be notified by the captors to the escort; and that it should be left to amicable negotiation, to ascertain what articles were to be considered contraband of war. It is obvious that these terms recognised the right of search, as far as any useful purpose could require, while they endeavoured to exclude abuses incident to its exercise; in fine they were sufficiently ample to meet the demands of Britain, but certainly much short of those claimed by Denmark.

Upon the day preceding that on which the English fleet passed the Sound into the Baltic, prince Charles of Hesse, with a body of 4000 Danish troops, took possession of Hamburgh; and four days afterwards laid an embargo on all English ships, goods, and other property. When intimation of this proposed visit of his royal highness, with the corps he commanded in the neighbourhood, was given to the senate, they sent a deputation to make the most urgent remonstrances. They even threatened opposition; but the prince, after hearing them with great coolness, took out his watch and said, *Gentlemen, it is now eight o'clock; by this time to-morrow morning I will be at your gates.*

The motives which induced the Danish court to this step, were made public in a manifesto circulated by the prince. It purported that the attacks of the English government, in opposition to all the principles of the law of nations, on the navigation of the states which had confederated for the purpose of securing and maintaining the rights of neutral flags; and its arbitrary and hostile measures, notwithstanding the most pressing and continued remonstrances, had imposed on these states the disagreeable necessity of adopting every means which might serve to bring it to a more just way of thinking. As the exclusion of the English commerce from the Elbe appeared an effectual mode of promoting this object; and as the possession for a time of the imperial city of Hamburgh was considered as unavoidably necessary for that purpose, his Danish majesty, obliged to give way to a crowd of imperious circumstances, had charged his excellency to carry the measure into execution with the troops under his command. But the prince declared that he would conform himself to the positive orders he had received, and most vigilantly take care, that the strictest discipline should be observed by the troops while they remained in the city, and that the tranquillity, property, and municipal rights of the inhabitants should not only be undisturbed and unmolested, but assiduously guarded and preserved.

Lubec and Travenmunde were, at the same time, occupied by a Danish corps under prince Frederic of Hesse; and on the 29th, an embargo was laid in all the ports of Denmark on what English goods remained in them; but strict injunctions were given to provide for the comfort of the crews. All these steps were taken in concert with his Prussian majesty, whose envoy, general Schullumberg, presented a declaration, on the 30th, to the regency of Hanover, respecting the occupation of the electorate by Prussian troops. In consequence, said the general, of the oppressions which neutral navigation and commerce had experienced on the part of the English navy since the beginning of the war, the different courts interested could no longer refrain, after so many useless complaints, from adopting more effectual measures to protect the violated rights of their subjects. Having alluded to the convention between Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, to which his majesty had acceded, he stated that the contracting parties were on the point of communicating it to the belligerent powers, and forming with them the arrangements necessary for its observance, when England, by an unexpected and hostile proceeding, disconcerted their friendly design, and laid an embargo on all the ships of the maritime northern states in her ports.

The king, continued he, could not be supposed to have looked on this conduct with indifference. He sent to the court of London a formal avowal of his accession to the treaty of St. Petersburgh, and, at the same time, pointed out the means by which the differences might be accommodated, and a rupture avoided. England did not adopt this expedient, but persisted in treating as enemies the flags of the north, and informed the courts of Sweden and Denmark, that the embargo would not be taken off, while they remained attached to the confederacy; and soon afterwards an English fleet arrived on the coasts of Zealand. From these circumstances it appeared that the British cabinet would not desist from its inadmissible demands. His majesty, therefore, was forced, in conformity

with his engagements, to follow the most efficacious means of supporting the convention, and resist the hostility directed against him. For that purpose he would not only shut up the months of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Embs, but take possession of the electoral states of of his Britannic majesty; and he required the regency to submit to this arrangement without delay or reply, and execute willingly the orders for carrying it into effect. He demanded that the Hanoverian corps, stationed in observance on the line of demarkation, should be disbanded, with a proportionate number of other troops; and that the generals and officers should promise, in writing, not to serve against Prussia, but, on the contrary, follow the king's orders, till a final settlement of the differences. After pointing out the cantonments of the troops retained in service, and enjoining the surrender of all the strong holds, his majesty announced to the electoral college of privy counsellors, and military commanders, that all connexion between him and the king of England was to cease, and that the public authorities were to be responsible to no other power than Prussia. In the hope of a voluntary submission on their part, he solemnly promised to protect persons and property; but if they attempted to prevent the execution of the measure, and oppose the entrance of the troops, he would be obliged to treat them as enemies. He concluded with counselling them to submit, and thereby prevent the rigorous steps which would inevitably be taken in case of refusal.

The military establishment of Hanover amounted to 20,000 men, of whom prince Adolphus of England was at that time commander-in-chief. But as this force did not authorize any resistance on the part of the regency, and the emperor of Germany was unable or not inclined to interpose, the occupation of the electoral territories was accomplished without opposition. On the 3rd of April; the regency published a conventional declaration acquiescing in the wishes of his Prussian majesty, and issued the necessary orders to enforce obedience. The principal part of the troops were disbanded, and the rest distributed in different cantonments. The fortress of Hemeln and other places of strength were evacuated, and delivered up to the Prussians, detachments of whom spread themselves through the electorate. Bremen was likewise occupied on the 12th, but without any interruption being given to its trade with Great Britain.

At the commencement of the dispute with the northern powers, rear-admiral Duckworth was sent to take possession of the Swedish and Danish islands in the West Indies. On his arrival at Antigua he took on board 1500 troops under the command of lieutenant-general Trigge, and proceeded against St. Bartholomew, which belonged to his Swedish majesty. He reached the island on the 20th of March, when the governor, being totally unprepared, surrendered upon the first summons. After this success part of the armament was detached to the Danish island of St. Thomas. The rest being opportunely joined by a reinforcement from England, sailed to the Swedish settlement of St. Martin, and a landing being effected on the 24th, the commandant, after a few smart skirmishes, surrendered by capitulation. As soon as they had obtained possession of St. Martin, the British commanders set out with most of their forces to the island of St. Thomas, off which they were joined by the division sent from St. Bartholomew. The governor, on being summoned, consented to the terms offered to him. From this place part of the armament directed its course to the Danish colony of St. Croix, where it arrived on the 31st, and on the same day took possession of the island by capitulation. St. Eustatius having been abandoned by the French and Dutch troops, the inhabitants sent a deputation to St. Kitts, to place the settlement under the protection of the English; and a small party of a hundred men were accordingly dispatched to occupy it.

Rear-admiral Totty, who had been detached to the Baltic, with a reinforcement of four sail of the line and sixteen inferior vessels, arrived on the 5th of May in Copenhagen roads. The alarm which the Danes had produced by occupying Hamburgh, occasioned a very serious interruption to commerce; and as the cause of that measure had ceased in a certain degree, an arrangement was made, on the 7th, by the prince of Hesse and the British envoy at that city, by which the neutrality of the Elbe was to be completely restored, and free entrance and return granted to every vessel, whatever flag it might bear. In case of a renewal of hostilities between England

and Denmark, the ships then in the Elbe were not to be subjected to embargo or molestation; and all English goods or property, arriving after the date of the convention, were to be free in every case from sequestration or search. Great Britain, in return for these conditions, was to grant passes to Danish vessels, bound from the harbours of the Elbe to Greenland or Norway. Admiral Parker had already declared, in answer to a letter from admiral Cronstedt, by order of his Swedish majesty, that he would not interrupt the Danish, Swedish, and Russian commerce in the Cattegat and Baltic, in consequence of the pacific sentiments expressed in the Russian declaration; and that he had readily complied with the emperor's wish for an armistice, until the present differences between Great Britain and the northern powers should be adjusted.

Lord St. Helen's was appointed plenipotentiary on the part of Great Britain, and sent to Copenhagen, whence he was to repair successively to the courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburgh. To give weight to his proposals, the British fleet traversed the Baltic in several directions,—one division lying in the Sound, a second cruising off Carlscrona, and a third off Revel. On the 20th of May, the Danes evacuated Hamburgh and Lubec, assigning as their reason for this step, that his majesty, in consequence of the late events, having essentially altered political relations, was induced to make a corresponding change in the measures which he had adopted. He thought proper, therefore, to remove those obstructions to English commerce on the Elbe, which were considered as necessary to oppose the hostilities commenced by the court of London. The free navigation of the river having been already re-established by the convention between the prince of Hesse and the British envoy, circumstances no longer required the occupation of Hamburgh by Denmark; and as his majesty, when he resolved on that measure, solemnly and publicly declared that he yielded to the imperious and unavoidable pressure of these circumstances only, he was the more readily inclined to limit its enforcement to the duration of the cause, which produced that necessity. This evacuation, however, was probably the result of the reiterated applications and peremptory tone of the British minister.

Although the Russian cabinet manifested a disposition to terminate all disputes in an amicable manner, they did not abandon defensive preparations. As soon as the harbour of Revel was free from the ice, twelve Russian men of war left it on the 2nd of April, and sailed to Cronstadt, in order to effect a junction with thirty-two more lying at that place. This force was formidable in point of number at least; and as lord Nelson, on whom the command of the English fleet devolved by the recal of admiral Parker, had only twenty-four sail of the line, and a final adjustment had not yet been accomplished, it became a matter of prudence not to allow the Swedish and Russian fleets to unite, until something definitive should take place respecting the points in discussion. His lordship, therefore, intimated to admiral Cronstedt at Carlscrona, that, although the former British commander, at the request of the emperor of Russia, consented not to interrupt the Swedish navigation, he was not himself directed by his government to abstain from hostilities, if he met the Swedish fleet at sea. But he requested admiral Cronstedt, who could not mistake the object of this communication, to consider it as a friendly step.

While his lordship appeared alternately off Revel and Cronstadt, the emperor Alexander consented to remove the embargo on British ships in Russian ports, and ordered the crews to be released. His example was immediately followed by the king of Sweden. Lord St. Helen's, on his arrival at Copenhagen, had several conferences with the Danish ministry; but not being able to bring the affair to a conclusion, he continued his journey to St. Petersburgh, while count Bernstorff repaired to London. On the 29th, his lordship reached the Russian capital, where Duroc, the French envoy, had arrived on the 24th; and at the same time M. de Markow, who was appointed to succeed the Russian *charge d'affaires* at Paris, set out on his destination. From the migrations of these diplomatic agents, mankind augured events favourable to a peace.

The northern powers, notwithstanding these transactions, continued to strengthen their naval depôts. The whole Russian fleet, consisting of sixty sail, of which thirty-five were of the line, were concentrated at Cronstadt, the defensive works of the town com-

pleted, and several block-ships, and other armed vessels, stationed at the entrance of the road and harbour. Carlscrona, and the adjacent parts, were placed in as formidable a condition as the abilities of the Swedish monarchy permitted; and the Danes had repaired their losses. The settlement of the existing differences may, therefore, be considered as fortunate for this country, without any disparagement to the transcendent valour of our seamen, and the intrepidity of admiral Nelson. On the 4th of June, the embargo on Danish and Russian vessels in the ports of Great Britain and Ireland was taken off by an order of the privy-council; and, on the same day, count Woronzow, the former Russian minister at the court of London, produced his new credentials, reinstating him in the character of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. A convention was concluded at St. Petersburgh, on the 17th, by the Russian ministry and lord St. Helen's, to which Denmark and Sweden were invited to accede, and, on doing so, were to receive back their ships and colonies. The terms were similar to the proposals accompanying the declaration. The contracting parties engaged to abide by the ordinances prohibiting any trade in commodities which are contraband of war, with the enemy, against whom one of them might be in a state of hostility. The ships of neutral nations were at liberty to sail to the harbours and coasts of the belligerent powers, and the effects on board of them, with the exception of contraband articles, or the property of an enemy, were to be free.

After the conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio, the French government were at leisure to turn their attention towards Portugal, which had hitherto eluded their vengeance. A convention was concluded (March 21st) between France and Spain, by which it was stipulated, that they should form a combined army, to oblige Portugal to detach herself from her alliance with England, and to occupy a fourth of the Portuguese territory till the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace, and other conditions were stipulated, absurd in themselves, and never carried into execution. To enforce the acquiescence of Portugal in the established conditions, the prince of peace invaded Lusitania, and was opposed by the duke d'Alfrens; but these two witless and feeble generals, after doing little more than look at each other, advised their respective courts to accommodate the dispute; and a negotiation was accordingly commenced, which terminated in a treaty, as ridiculous in itself as gratifying to the generals. During these transactions, the British government despatched a competent naval force, having a body of troops on board, to take possession of the island of Madeira; an enterprise which they accomplished without any opposition. The measure was adopted, not from any design to share in the plunder of our ally, but to prevent the possible cession of that island to France.

CHAPTER LIII.

GEORGE III.

[1802.]

Conclusion of the Definitive Treaty of Amiens—Debates upon that Subject—Attacks on the Public Character of Mr. Pitt—Speech of Mr. Wyndham on the policy of the Preliminary Treaty—Vote of Thanks to the late Administration—Attempt to destroy the First Consul of France by the Infernal Machine—His gradual Advance to despotic Power—Expedition to Marengo—Conquest of the Island—Toussaint L'Ouverture is entrapped by the French General, and sent to France, where he dies a miserable Death—Subjugation of Switzerland —Buonaparte is declared Consul for Life.

INTELLIGENCE of the final conquest of Egypt reached Paris before the British cabinet could be apprised of it, through an inconsiderate permission, granted by general Hutchinson to the French commander, to despatch a swift-sailing vessel to apprise his government of the event, the moment the capitulation was signed. It is too much, perhaps, to expect the general and the politician to be united in the same person; but without meaning to impute culpable negligence to the British general, it is impossible not to lament that he did not take special care, in the critical state in which Europe was then placed, that his own government should be first apprised of an event, of which the interest of the country required that they should receive the earliest possible information. In consequence of the knowledge thus obtained, the first consul derived an important advantage, in a treaty of peace which he hastily concluded with the Turks, and which contained many provisions highly favourable to the French, who had grossly violated every agreement which they had entered into with the porte, and who had even invaded her territory in time of peace,—and greatly prejudicial to the English, who, from the important assistance they had rendered to the Turks, and from their honourable and disinterested conduct towards them, on all occasions, were entitled to every return which justice, generosity, or gratitude could confer. The evacuation of Egypt, (the Turkish ambassador not knowing that it had actually taken place) was the consideration held out by the French, for the benefits which they claimed, and the privileges which they acquired, by this new treaty.

It was the more necessary to impart information of this importance to the British ministers, with all possible expedition, as they were engaged in a negotiation for peace with the French; and, had the expulsion from Egypt been known to them, it is fair to suppose, that they would have insisted upon terms more favourable than those which they actually obtained. The negotiation was carried on in London, between lord Hawkesbury, on the one hand, and Louis William Otto, who had been some time resident in this country, as a commissary for the exchange of prisoners, on the other; the former, by a departure from the established rules of diplomatic etiquette, having consented to reduce himself to a level with a private citizen of France. It had continued in the whole of the summer of 1801; and in its progress many impediments arose, and some curious discussions took place, relative to the liberty of the press in this country, which the Corsican consul was fearful might be employed

to delineate the hideous features of his own character in the colours of truth. With every disposition to concede, as far as possible, the British ministers made a firm stand at this point, and lord Hawkesbury resisted, strongly and resolutely, every attempt to encroach on that freedom of discussion, to which much of the excellence of the British constitution may fairly be ascribed. At length, the cabinet of Paris, having received Menou's despatches from Egypt, hastened the conclusion of the business; and, on the 1st of October, the preliminaries were signed by lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto, and the event was immediately communicated to the public through the accustomed channels. By this treaty, Great Britain restored to France and her allies every possession or colony taken from them during the war, with the exception of the Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch settlement at Ceylon. The cape of Good Hope was to become a free port; and Malta was to be restored to the order, but under the express guarantee and protection of a third power, to be fixed upon in the definitive treaty. In order to bring that treaty to a speedy conclusion, lord Cornwallis was despatched to France; Amiens was the scene of negotiation appointed by the first consul; and his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, received full power to treat with the British plenipotentiary. In the course of the discussion which ensued, France, with her usual artifice, started fresh difficulties, and preferred fresh demands; which occasioned so much delay, that it was supposed by many that war would be renewed. On the 25th of March, however, matters were finally arranged, and the seal was put to the treaty of Amiens, which differed but little from the preliminaries of London. Malta was to be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, till such times as the knights could form a sufficient force themselves, for the defence of the island, the independence of which was to be secured by France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

Thus ended the revolutionary war, in defeat of all the hopes and expectations which had been formed, of indemnity for the past, and security for the future; and in the accomplishment of all those gigantic plans of subversion and conquest, which had been conceived by the first founders of the French republic, and pursued with unremitting activity by all her successive rulers. By the peace of Amiens, a great part of the continent of Europe was laid prostrate at the feet of France; and French influence remained predominant, from the German Ocean to the bay of Naples. In short, Jacobinism triumphed; her child and champion established his ascendancy; her firmest advocates were honoured and rewarded; and the stamp of success was given to her boldest projects. Not one of the objects which the princes, originally confederated against France, professed to have in view was attained. On the contrary, her power was extended, her territories were enlarged, her influence was increased, and her principles had surmounted every obstacle opposed to their progress. Her government, it is true, had assumed a new form, less terrific in appearance than the murderous system of Robespierre and his sanguinary associates, but more despotic in reality. A military despotism, formed out of the elements of Jacobinism, destroyed every vestige of civil liberty, and imposed the most galling and odious fetters on the minds as well as on the persons of the people.

England indeed escaped the yoke to which the powers of the continent had, in a greater or less degree, submitted. She had secured her constitution and her government from the effects of that revolutionary poison, which had destroyed so many antient institutions, and which had subverted so many thrones. She had even enlarged her dominions by the acquisition of an important settlement in Asia, which afforded her the long-sought-for advantage of a safe and commodious harbour for her fleets in the Eastern Ocean; and by an island in the West Indies, of consequence more from its relative situation to the Spanish main, than from its produce or probable revenue. She had also kept inviolate her faith with her allies, and had preserved her national character pure amidst surrounding corruption. Here ends the catalogue of her advantages. In every other point she had completely failed. None of the objects which she had pursued, in common with the other powers of Europe, had she been able to attain. Her failure, indeed, was not owing to any defect, either of wisdom in her councils, or of vigour in her efforts. She had bounteously opened her

treasures to those who fought for the preservation of social order against revolutionary anarchy; she had made every exertion which her undaunted spirit could suggest, and her ample resources command. And had her allies but displayed equal wisdom, resolution, and vigour, their united efforts must have been crowned with success.

1802. The terms of this treaty were certainly not such as the relative state of the contending parties could justify. If France were mistress of the continent, England was queen of the ocean. If the latter could make no impression on the continental territory of her enemy, she was invulnerable, at all points, from his attacks. She commanded the commerce of the world; she had taken the principal colonial possessions of France and her vassals, and had wrested from them every resource but what arose from the interior of their respective countries. They could not dispute with her the empire of the sea; they could not attack any portion of her dominions; and, with a reduced military establishment, she might have maintained, at a comparatively little expence, which her monopoly of trade would amply supply, a contracted system of naval warfare, which would secure to her the possession of all the advantages which she actually enjoyed, and enable her to aggravate the distress of her enemies, to destroy their commerce, to diminish their revenue, and to cripple their resources of every kind. Thus circumstanced, she might and ought to have commanded much more advantageous terms of peace: in addition to Ceylon and Trinidad, she should have insisted on retaining the cape of Good Hope, and on the unconditional retention of the sovereignty of Malta. But the inordinate desire for peace, displayed by the new ministers, and the weakness of their plenipotentiary, gave an advantage to the French, in the negotiation, of which they skilfully availed themselves. Hence it was, that, by the treaty of peace, while France was suffered to retain all the conquests she had made, England submitted to restore every place which she had taken from France. By this conduct the British cabinet gave a kind of sanction to the monstrous principle of *indivisibility*, which the revolutionary legislators of Paris had the audacity to promulgate.

Peace, however, has something so alluring in her aspect, that not only the unthinking multitude, but men of philanthropic feelings, and good intentions, are apt to rush into her embraces, without any previous examination of her principles, and without attention to the mischievous poison which sometimes insidiously lurks beneath her charms. Thus the preliminaries were received by the public with every demonstration of unbridled joy; and the reflecting few, who, looking beyond the superficies of things, and feeling, perhaps too acutely, for the honour and dignity of their country, refused to join in the general delirium, experienced the usual marks of popular resentment. The public satisfaction was increased by the conclusion of the definitive treaty; and the people indulged themselves with delusive dreams of permanent tranquillity, and with a confidence of enjoying all the blessings which peace, abstractedly considered, is calculated to produce.

In parliament, the preliminary treaty was defended by Mr. Pitt, who, though he thought better terms ought to have been obtained, preferred the acceptance of the conditions which had been procured, to a farther continuance of the war. In his speech on this subject, (Nov. 8th, 1801) he acknowledged that the restoration of the monarchy of France would have been more consistent with the wishes of himself and his colleagues, and with the interest and security of the country, than any other state of things; but they had never insisted on such restoration as the *sine qua non* of peace. The great object of the war was defence for ourselves, and for the rest of the world, in a war waged against most of the nations of Europe, but against us with particular malignity. Security was our great object; there were different means of accomplishing it, with better or worse prospects of success; and, according to the different variations of policy occasioned by a change of circumstances, we still pursued our great object, security.

Mr. Pitt confessed, at the same time, that he gave up his hopes of restoring the antient monarchy of France, with the greatest reluctance; and he should to his dying day lament, that there were not, on the part of the other powers of Europe, efforts corresponding to our own, for the accomplishment of that great work; there were periods, during the continuance of the war, in which he had

hopes of our being able to put together the scattered fragments of that great and venerable edifice; to restore the exiled nobility of France; to re-establish a government, certainly not free from defects, but built upon sober and regular foundations, in the stead of that mad system of innovation which threatened, and had nearly accomplished, the destruction of Europe.

> Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
> Auspiciis, et sponte mea componere curas;
> Urbem Trojanam primum, dulcesque meorum
> Reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
> Et recidiva manu possuissem Pergama victis.

Thus, it was true, had been found unattainable; but we had the satisfaction of knowing, that we had survived the violence of the revolutionary fever, and we had seen the extent of its principles abated; we had seen jacobinism deprived of its fascination; we had seen it stripped of the name and pretext of liberty; it had shown itself to be capable only of destroying not of building, and that it must necessarily end in a military despotism. Mr. Pitt trusted, that this important lesson would not be thrown away upon the world. Disappointed in our hopes of being able to drive France within her antient limits, and even to raise barriers against her farther incursions, it became necessary with the change of circumstances to change our objects, for he did not know a more fatal error than to look only at one object and obstinately to pursue it when the hopes of accomplishing it no longer remained. If it became impossible for us to obtain the full object of our wishes, wisdom and policy both required that we should endeavour to obtain that which was next best. In saying this he was not sensible of inconsistency, in his former language or conduct, in refusing to treat with the person who now held the destinies of France; because, when he formerly declined treating with him, he expressly said, that, if events should take the turn which they had since taken, he should have no objection to treat with him.

The peace, however, was strongly condemned by Mr. Winham, who truly represented it as an armed truce, entered upon without necessity, negotiated without wisdom, and concluded without honor. He consided it as productive of no one advantage to the country, but as pregnant with ruin. He drew a masterly picture of the actual state of France, and ridiculed the idea that Buonaparte, having established an absolute monarchy in his own person, would become the most determined enemy of that jacobinism, to which he was indebted for the dignity he enjoyed, and the power he exercised. Mr. Windham admitted, that Buonaparte, like other demagogues and *friends of the people*, having deluded and gulled the people sufficiently to make them answer his purpose, would be ready enough to teach them a different lesson, and to forbid the use of that language towards himself, which he had before taught them as perfectly proper towards others. Never was any one, to be sure, who used less management in that respect, or who left all the admirers of the French revolution, within and without, all who admired it as a system of liberty, in a more whimsical and laughable situation. Every opinion for which they had been contending was now completely trodden down and trampled upon, or held out in France to the greatest possible contempt and derision. The members of opposition, Mr. Windham remarked, had really great reason to complain of having been so completely left in the lurch. There was not even a decent retreat provided for them. But, though such was the treatment which the principles of the "Rights of Man," and of the "Holy duty of insurrection," met with in France, and on the part of him who should have been their natural protector, it was by no means the same with respect to the encouragement which he might choose to afford them in other countries. Though they used none of these goods in France for home consumption, they had always a large assortment by them ready for foreign markets. Their jacobin orators were not to be looked for in the clubs at Paris, but in the clubs of London. There they might talk of cashiering kings, and use other language of a similar import; but should any orator, more flippant than the rest, choose to hold forth in that strain, in the city where the great consul resided, in the metropolis of liberty, he would soon put him to silence in the way adopted in the reign of *the Good Woman*. Buonaparte being invested, in virtue of the Rights of Man, with despotic power, could afford to sanction the promulgation of those doctrines in other countries, of which he would not suffer the least whisper in his own. While he was at the head of an absolute

monarchy in France, he might be the promoter and champion of jacobin insurrection any where else. The object as well as the wicked nature of jacobinism in England, which, while it would rebel against the lawful authority of its own government, was willing to enslave itself to France, found no difficulty in allowing to him these two opposite characters; and Mr. Windham knew no reason why the house should suppose him disinclined to accept them.

THIS was a correct delineation of the spirit of the French government, and was well calculated to expose the strange misconception of those who thought, and who maintained, that, because Buonaparte had assumed kingly rank, and regal power, he would not suffer the same means to be used for subverting the thrones of his enemies, as those which he had adopted for the destruction of that of his lawful sovereign; and for raising his friends in other countries, to the same eminence which he enjoyed himself, so as to establish his influence beyond the limits of his personal power. To suppose that there was any magical charm in the instrument signed at Amiens, that could make the consul abandon every principle which he had publicly consecrated, and forego every design which he had secretly cherished; that would produce in short a radical change in his mind and conduct, and work a moral and political regeneration, so as to convert a cruel, atrocious assassin, into a mild and virtuous sovereign, was to admit a supposition which credulity alone could sanction, and which common sense must reject.

It was remarkable in these discussions, that the peace was supported by Mr. Pitt and most of his personal friends, while it was opposed by nearly all the Portland party who had joined his administration soon after the commencement of the war. The head of that party, indeed, the duke of Portland himself, joined the new ministry, and concurred with them in their opinions of the peace; while on the other hand, lord Grenville and his family united with Mr. Windham and the other opponents of the measure. This circumstance strengthens the belief that Mr. Pitt had the present period in view, when he suffered the catholic question to induce him to abandon his post. For had his administration continued, it is clear that a serious difference in the cabinet must have occurred, and it is a matter of doubt whether, on a division, Mr. Pitt would not have been left in a minority. A consideration of this nature was sufficient to fix his resolution, if, in point of fact, he had any doubts on his mind as to the propriety of his resignation on the ground of the catholic claims.

A farther difference occurred between the several parties in the house of commons, respecting the establishment necessary to be maintained after the conclusion of peace. By those who considered the peace as nothing more than *an armed truce*, as it was described by a member of the new ministry, Mr. Charles Yorke; or even by those who, like Mr. Pitt, were more sanguine in their expectations of its continuance, but who were, at the same time, highly jealous and mistrustful of the French government, contended that the establishment should be unusually large, and, in some degree, commensurate with the danger to which the nation would be exposed. While, on the other hand, those who thought with Mr. Fox that the French, when left to themselves, were a harmless, an inoffensive people, incapable of injury or injustice to a neighbouring state, and only stimulated to acts of hostility, by wanton and unprovoked aggression, insisted on the propriety and necessity of an *ordinary* peace establishment. In all these questions the ministry, supported by Mr. Pitt, carried with them a decided majority in parliament; and had, undoubtedly, the voice of the public on their side.

THE part which Mr. Pitt now took in parliament upon all questions, was precisely that which every independent and conscientious representative of the people ought to take. He connected himself with no party; he joined neither the minister nor the opposition; he considered every question submitted to discussion, on the ground of its own merits, that is, in its tendency to forward the public service and to promote the public welfare. If he thought a measure conducive to the object which he professed to have in view, and found that object laudable, he did not stop to inquire by *whom* it was introduced, but carefully examined its various parts; and if, after such investigation, he found the measure defective, he honestly endeavoured, by the exertion of his talents and experience, to supply the defects to the best of his judgment; if it appeared to him wise and good, he gave it his

unqualified and cordial support; and if he judged it to be radically defective, he opposed it with firmness and decision. Such was the line of conduct which he pursued, with undeviating rectitude, at this new æra of his political life. The ministers were, on various occasions, indebted to his advice still more than to his parliamentary vote; and had the premier continued to pay it that attention which it so richly deserved; had he not formed a false estimate of his own power, influence, and resources; had he not imputed to positive desert that strength which arose from a combination of fortuitous circumstances, his political career might have been greatly protracted, and Mr. Pitt's last days might have been passed remote from the turmoils of office, and bustle of a court.

On the 5th of April, 1802, when the minister opened the budget for the year, Mr. Whitbread embraced the opportunity of attacking Mr. Pitt's system of finance, by expressing his exultation at the supposed desertion of it by his successor, from the circumstance of his having recourse to a loan of 25 millions. Mr. Pitt, however, resolved that no misrepresentation of any part of his public conduct, however weakly urged, should pass without an answer, made the assailant's blows recoil upon himself.

In the following week, (April 12th) another attack was made, not merely on the public character of Mr. Pitt, but on his whole system of policy, and on all the measures of his administration, by sir Francis Burdett, who concluded a long and tedious philippic, in which he enumerated every ground of objection which had been urged, and rejected by the house, for the last twelve years, with a motion for a committee of enquiry. He was answered by lord Temple and Mr. Archdall. The last of these gentlemen, after delineating in strong and just colours the prominent features of Mr. Pitt's administration, and alluding to the generosity manifested to foreigners, added, "Let other nations, when they think of this, tell the honourable baronet what is now the English character abroad. And let this united nation, when it looks back to the contrast,—on the one hand the ministry calling forth the virtues of the country, and placing them in unison with those of the sovereign,—on the other a selfish and disaffected party, in their Jacobin uniform of thread-bare sophistry, and patch-work declamation, who once were troublesome, and might have become formidable in the course of this war of principle, as well as power, had they not been defeated by arguments, as well as by facts, and at last driven into obscurity with the indignation of the public,—let this be recollected, and the honourable baronet have the pleasure and the pride to tell what is now the English character at home." Mr. Archdall then pronounced a strong panegyric on the personal character of Mr. Pitt; and, having referred, in illustration of his positions, to various parts of his public conduct, he concluded with this pointed remark,—"If after this some one should come forward to criminate his merits in the parliament which witnessed them, even he would presume to speak what Mr. Pitt need not condescend to speak for himself;—that to this house it would be enough to say, what his illustrious father said before him, *You know these hands are clean;* and to his accuser it would not be too much to say,—

"Disce puer virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
"Fortunam ex aliis.——"

The question was met by a direct negative, which was supported by 246 members, while 39 only countenanced the motion.

Uninstructed by this example, Mr. John Nicholls made a similar attempt on a subsequent day, (the 7th of May) when he moved a vote of thanks to his majesty for having *removed* the right honourable William Pitt from his councils. The awkward construction of this gentleman's mind appears to have betrayed him into the commission of perpetual blunders. As on a former occasion, he attempted to support his argument by a precedent which made directly against it, so on the present occasion he proposed to thank his sovereign for an act which he had never performed. The king did not remove Mr. Pitt from his councils, but Mr. Pitt, as has been seen, removed himself. The issue of this curious motion was such as might have been expected, by any one but the person that moved it. The vote of censure was converted into a vote of approbation, and the motion ended in a generous acknowledgment of the services of him whose good name it was intended to tarnish.

The amendment, in the first instance, was moved by lord Belgrave in the following words; "It is the opinion of this house, that by the wisdom, energy, and firmness of his majesty's councils during the late arduous contest, supported by the unparalleled exertions of our fleets and armies, and by the magnanimity and fortitude of the people, the honour of this country has been upheld, its strength united and consolidated, its credit and commerce maintained and extended, and our invaluable constitution preserved against the attacks of foreign and domestic enemies." It was not to be supposed that an amendment of this nature would pass without animadversion or resistance, from that party in the house who had uniformly opposed all the measures of Mr. Pitt's administration. It was not left to the impotent efforts of the insignificant mover of the original question to oppose it. The whole phalanx of opposition united on the occasion; Mr. Grey, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Fox, spoke long and vehemently against it. On the other hand, the amendment was strongly and ably supported by the young nobleman who moved it, by sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Samuel Thornton, and sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert, a commercial man himself, bore testimony to the unrivalled knowledge of Mr. Pitt in the commercial concerns of the country. His disinterestedness, he maintained, was as conspicuous as his knowledge; for he had been the benefactor of his country, and had neglected no one's interest but his own. "It has, indeed, been said," pursued sir Robert, "that though he did not enrich himself, he secured his influence by bestowing pensions and titles on others. But he had no occasion to have recourse to such arts; he had secured sufficient support by honourable measures; three parts of the house, who were incapable of being bribed, were his friends." Sir Robert was of opinion, that the house ought to bestow on Mr. Pitt some more solid mark of its approbation than a vote of thanks; and that it would be a disgrace to the nation to allow such a man to retire to languish in poverty. "I, for one," said the baronet, "would be happy to contribute to prevent this; not from any personal motives, for I have not the honour of being acquainted with the right honourable gentleman, but on account of the great and important services which he has rendered his country."

These independent tributes of justice from opulent individuals, who spoke the real sentiments of their minds, careless whom they might please, or whom offend, could not fail to be highly grateful to the honest patriot, who felt that he deserved them. The amendment was farther supported by his successors in office; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of opposition, was carried by a decisive majority of more than four to one. The same success attended a motion which immediately followed this decision, proposed by sir Henry Mildmay, for a vote of express and separate thanks to Mr. Pitt;—211 voted for it, and 52 against it.

These attacks on the character of Mr. Pitt tended only to call forth a more open display of attachment on the part of his friends. On the 28th of May, a festival was held at Merchant-Taylors' Hall, in commemoration of his birth. And, it has been truly observed, on no similar occasion was ever witnessed so large a concourse of men, eminent in rank, station, and talent; and never was such a celebration distinguished by so much genuine enthusiasm.

While Buonaparte was triumphant abroad, and his intrigues were about to complete the subjugation of Europe, a conspiracy at home had nearly put an end to his career; it was composed of Jacobins, royalists, and moderaters, men of ruined fortunes and disappointed ambition, who united in one common project of anarchy, for the sake of pillage or promotion; they were animated with no patriotic desire to free their country from slavery, for Buonaparte had not proved himself a tyrant; but, though the scheme failed, it gave him a pretence to assume an authority inconsistent with liberty, and with his flattering professions on the 10th of November, 1801. The instrument intended for his destruction was a canvas machine, which, by some mismanagement, exploded too late, and suffered him to pass by, on his road to the opera, unhurt. Some intimation of this plot had been given to the minister of police on the day before it happened, and he informed Buonaparte of it the next morning; he replied, with great indifference, "That's your affair, not mine." "Will you go to the opera.

then?" said the minister. "Without doubt," returned the consul.

The first circumstance which testified the disposition of Buonaparte to dispense with the constitution, and to govern by his own will, was a law which he got passed in the two legislative councils, by a very small majority, for the creation of a special criminal tribunal, suspending the trial by jury, and enabling the judges to pronounce summarily on all offences affecting the safety of the state, or in any measure violating the social compact,—a latitude of expression which put the life of every man in danger. The judges were partly civil and partly military, and were permitted to decide merely in written evidence. The precedent of such an attack upon the constitution was fatal; wherever there are certain principles established as the guarantee of liberty, they should be guarded with the utmost jealousy, for the first inroad may be considered as breaking down the whole. Buonaparte's advances to supreme power, with all the state dignity which attended it, were slow and regular; the tricks and trappings of state were assumed first, to see how they would be received; the etiquette of a court, the establishment of a levee, of drawing-rooms, and all the pompous ceremonials of monarchy, were seemingly well relished by the Parisians, who had not yet lost all their affection for royalty; the appellation of female citizen was abolished, and the antient feudal title of Madame was restored; and though the name of citizen, as founded on political equality, could not be easily dispensed with by a people who had not entirely forgot the late revolution, yet the term Monsieur was allowed to be used at pleasure: all these things seemed to indicate pretty strongly, that the first consul wished to banish the remembrance of that revolution which had given him his place, and to be thought to possess an authority long established. His attacks upon liberty corresponded with his approach to empire; and almost every day produced some new violation of that sacred right, for which the French had suffered so much calamity. The increase of the consular guard took place about the same time with the dismissal of the councils; and the re-establishment of religion had not long preceded either.

Buonaparte always affected to be the patron of science and literature, and his brother Lucien was the dispenser of his bounty, the Mecænas of his favours; for Lucien too pretended a passion for literature, and by the help of his dry-nurse, Foutanes, delivered two or three well-turned speeches, which gained him the fame of possessing taste and liberality. Tyrants do well to purchase the praises of men of letters, that they may make a decent figure with posterity; but all the writers in the pay of Buonaparte will not be able to efface the recital of his enormities, nor to varnish over the hideous blemishes of his character. The paltry pension of £100 a year, granted by the government to the virtuous St. Lambert, ruined by the revolution, and eighty years of age, was a poor recompense for his philosophy and poetry; yet when governments plead poverty in such cases, as the minister, Lucien, did in his letter to the aged marquis, they mean it an excuse for their profligacy and neglect of merit. 1802.

Among the many other schemes to entrap the confidence of the nation, and make them believe that Buonaparte was sincerely interested in the public welfare, was the method adopted by the minister of the interior to extend the boundaries of knowledge, and promote the improvement of the country; for this purpose he commenced a correspondence with the prefects of departments, with the school of medicine, the society of agriculture, and class of sciences belonging to the public institute, for the sake of obtaining a statistical account of the country; all this had the effect of imposing upon the public, but it produced little good, and was soon abandoned; the man who adopted it had neither steadiness of disposition, strength of mind, nor virtuous principle sufficient to pursue such an undertaking, and bring it to maturity; he was a man of lively talents, but not possessed of solidity requisite for so great a purpose; and neither he nor the great consul himself were hearty in the cause; they had both adopted the cant of philosophy, without embracing its principles; and their only object was to delude the people with an idea of their being actuated by patriotic motives, which they neither felt nor understood; this will be a sufficient key to all Buonaparte's schemes

of public good, for he neither possessed the desire nor the means of promoting general improvement; he knew that this was an age in which men talked much about it, and some actually intended it; but he had no further view himself than to fall in with the temper of the times, in order to gain himself just so much popularity as may be requisite to the support of his power.

Buonaparte, soon after he had obtained the consulship, began to feel his way, in order to try how far he might proceed, and to sound the temper of the people; he very early dropped a hint of his expecting some greater reward of his services than what they had already conferred; for in July, 1800, he declared to a committee, which had been sent to him for some unimportant purposes, "that after the time of his consulship was expired, and for a year longer, he would accept nothing from the people; but if, after that period, they chose to apply to him the article of the constitution which decrees, that some great recompense shall be given to those warriors who have signalised themselves in defence of the republic, he would then accept their kindness with gratitude." It is not improbable, that the very article alluded to was inserted for the purpose of being so applied.

A civil code was one of the greatest wants of France; for after a revolution which had subverted all old institutions, even to the laws which regulate the conduct of men towards each other, so as to secure the persons and property of individuals, it was requisite that these articles, of the first necessity, should be placed on some solid basis, and preserved from the effects of passion and private interest, which are too apt to influence the conduct of mankind. Buonaparte, therefore, in order to provide for these pressing wants of the people, which cannot remain unsatisfied without the danger of the whole social fabric coming to pieces, charged the minister of justice to appoint a committee, for the purpose of enquiring into the nature of the different civil codes now existing, to decide upon that which it would be most proper to adopt, and to discuss the principal bases of legislation in civil affairs. The minister named Portalis, Tronchet, Bigot, Preameneau, and Moleville, who, some time after, published the project of a civil code, prefaced by a long and able essay, explaining the principles on which they had proceeded, derived from the established laws, the customs of society, and applicable to the present times. The result of their studies was also officially communicated to the tribunal of cassation, and to the tribunals of appeal, who returned it to the minister of justice, with their remarks, which were also published. After this project had been the subject of public and private discussion for six months, it was revised and drawn up afresh, in the council of state, by the section of legislation, and then presented to the legislative body, and by them to the tribunal, where several of its obnoxious articles underwent a severe examination, and were finally rejected. The chief consul had himself attended to the particulars of the code, during the whole time it was before the council of state; his vanity was piqued that any of it should be rejected, and his pride was irritated to find any opposition to his will; he therefore withdrew, in disgust, the remaining articles, by a message, which stated, that the time was not yet come, when such great discussions could be conducted with temper. The code was, however, revised, and submitted to a more complying set of judges, for several of the refractory members were excluded by new elections. Several of its articles went peaceably through the assemblies, not entirely without opposition, yet none of them were rejected; it had now passed the two councils, and remained to be tried by the great test of all human inventions—experience.

The farce of liberty, which Buonaparte had so often got up with success, was again represented by the consulta at Lyons, and the Italians were to pay the expence; 450 of the most enlightened and respectable men, according to French account, were chosen in the Cisalpine republic, to become the puppets of Buonaparte's pleasure, and the instruments of his ambition; these men, as if not a spark of liberty or patriotism was to be found amongst them, declared, with one voice, that the sovereignty of the country could be conferred on no one more properly than Napoleon Buonaparte; as if, because he was the man to whom they were indebted for their liberty, therefore to him they must surrender it: thus, after a pompous speech from their

president, and another speech from Buonaparte, they threw themselves at his feet, and desired him to become the head of their government: in all this farce it was easily to be seen, that both sides had carefully rehearsed their parts, that he had told them what to say, and that they knew pretty well what he would answer. The first act was thus ended; they proceeded to the second, in which was brought forward a thing called a constitution, where the different powers of government were so jumbled together, that not one of them could be clearly discerned, except the supreme power of the president; but all these pains were only to disguise despotism; this, at least, however, was a compliment to the spirit of the times, for tyranny cannot now be swallowed in the gross, and to make it palatable it must be gilded with the name of liberty. The power and influence of Buonaparte would, no doubt, always have been considerable in a state which, in a great measure, owed its existence to the sword; but it never was supposed that he meant to place himself at its head, and rule like a superior being, in a country where he could have no personal presence.

Though Buonaparte had forfeited almost every promise that he made, both in France and Italy, and blasted every hope that was formed of him; yet, in some respects, both countries were in a better situation than they were before the revolutions which happened in each, except so far as concerned the character of the individual by whom they were governed, for these revolutions in both suppressed many exclusive privileges, which exalted the few at the expence of the many; and the mass of the people are also relieved from the enormous accumulation of property, whether landed or personal, in few hands; they were freed from the load of an arbitrary aristocracy, and an insolent, purse-proud clergy, with which they can hardly ever again be oppressed; but for this relief they were not indebted to Buonaparte; whatever pressure they could sustain would be imposed on them, if he found it in his power; all of which they were deprived they attributed to him.

The unexpected news of the preliminaries of peace being signed between England and France, on the 1st of October, 1801, diffused a general joy over the civilized world; some were even sanguine enough to believe that it would never be disturbed, while others thought it might last a few years, till the strength of both parties was recruited; but those who believed it only to be a hollow truce for a few months, proved themselves the best politicians; they had better calculated the effects of power upon Buonaparte's mind, or knew him better than those who supposed him sincere and honest.

The council-general of the department of the Seine, with the servility of a Roman senate in the times of the empire, proposed to erect a monument to Buonaparte, which he refused with great appearance of modest dignity; but he had higher things in view, and it was no great proof of self-denial in a man who always despised popular applause; his answer, however, was well conceived, and well expressed;—"The idea of dedicating monuments to men who render themselves useful to their country is honourable to nations; I accept your offer; let the place be marked out; but leave to future ages the care of constructing the statue, if they confirm the good opinion which you entertain of me." Nero said almost the same thing when the senate returned him their servile thanks; for his answer was, "*Quum meruero;*" and Nero began his reign somewhat like Buonaparte.

To dazzle the eyes both of the French and English at once, a splendid display of pious mummery was got up, to celebrate the restoration of religion and the return of peace; the 18th of April, 1802, was appointed for the purpose of a grand religious ceremony in the church of Notre Dame, at which the consul's whole family were present; and, had his moral worth been equal to his civil exaltation, it would have been a gratifying spectacle for his uncle and his mother; but if they knew his heart, they must have been inwardly depressed, when they compared it with the eminence to which he was raised, and sighed to think how much that eminence had cost humanity, and how dearly it was yet to be preserved. The sword of Buonaparte, as if to indicate his future exaltation to empire, was consecrated by the archbishop of Paris; all the splendour of religion, and all the pomp of the state, were brought into action, to impose upon weak minds, and connect in their ideas the altar and the throne.

The conduct of Buonaparte to the wretched inhabitants of Hispaniola forms the blackest feature of his character, if any one can be blacker than another, where all is cruelty, rapacity, cunning, anger, pride, and malevolence. The island of Hispaniola, after it was ceded to the French in 1795, by the treaty with Spain, had suffered, under all the successive tyrants of France, the miseries of anarchy, oppression, and cruelty; it had been torn in pieces by its own inhabitants, and by the petty despots sent to rule it. In order to put an end to these agitations, the directory, in 1797, appointed the black general, Touissaint Louverture, who had defended it so nobly against the English, and shewn every disposition to restore internal tranquillity, commander-in-chief and governor-general of the island. Touissaint was a man of no common talents, for, though born and bred a slave, he was endowed with all the milder virtues of a Christian, and by his generosity and noble manners, put to shame the most enlightened Europeans; by his influence over the blacks, he performed all that was expected of him, and restored the island to such a state of order and tranquillity, that cultivation went on more rapidly than ever, and its prosperity almost daily advanced. Such was the state of things when Buonaparte was chosen chief consul of France; and Touissaint, thinking, no doubt, that by the same right he might be chief consul of Hispaniola, drew up a constitution for the island, similar in principle to that of the French constitutional assembly, and differing solely in the choice of the executive power, which was confided to him for life, with the power of nominating his successor. The first article of the constitution acknowledged the dependence of the island on France, but that profession of dependence, it was easily to be seen, was merely nominal, and inserted with a view to save appearances; for, by this new constitution she was, in fact, separated most essentially; she was rather the ally than the dependent of France. Buonaparte not choosing to tolerate the creation of an independent sovereignty in any country which had formerly belonged to France, or willing that any man, whom he thought he could enslave, should be independent of him, determined to bring Touissaint to an explanation, or to reduce him by force; the attempt was illiberal, unjust, and cruel, for, had he been actuated by honest and virtuous motives, he would never have sought to subjugate a man who had done so much good as Touissaint, and whose power was equally as legal as his own; in point of justice he had no right to do so, and it was cruel, because it must inevitably cost many thousand lives, and hazard the disturbance of a fertile and flourishing colony; in direct contradiction to all these considerations, Buonaparte being satisfied with nothing short of the sovereignty and subjugation of the island, fitted out at an enormous expense a fleet of 26 ships of war, and an army of 25,000 men, to enforce the obedience of Touissaint. By sword and pestilence was the cause of the blacks avenged, for not 1000 of all these unfortunate men ever returned to France! The command of the army, which was chiefly composed of veteran troops, whose residence in France perhaps caused the consul some disquiet, was given to his brother-in-law general Le Clerc, a fit agent of despotism. To assume the appearance of moderation and humanity, Buonaparte addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and a letter to Touissaint, in which he invites the former to adhere to their allegiance, and the latter to accept the office of lieutenant under Le Clerc, whom he appointed captain and governor-general of the island.

Two things are remarkable in this proclamation, its deceitful profession, and its affected language. Buonaparte, in addressing the natives of different countries, generally attempted to adapt his style to theirs, but the sentiments were always his own, fierce, terrific, and arbitrary. To Touissaint he speaks the language of flattery, but, at the same time, that of authority; he reminds him of his former services, and intreats him not to depart from the allegiance he owes to France; and, in order to ensure his obedience if possible, he sent his two sons, who had been educated in the mother country, on condition that they were to remain with him if he put himself into the power of Le Clerc, but if not, they were to be retained as hostages for his future submission.

The French fleet arrived at the Cape on the 2nd of February, 1802; the general dispatched an officer on shore to inform Christophe, the commandant of the place, that he was sent by the first consul to take possession

of the island, and to receive the submission of the inhabitants; he sent him the proclamation of Buonaparte, and his own, also telling him that he expected no opposition would be given to the landing the troops. To this, Christophe, no doubt by the orders of Toussaint, replied, that he would not acknowledge the authority of France, nor suffer a man to land. After much interchange of messengers, and the final refusal of Christophe, the French general landed his whole army in different parts of the island, and thus commenced the most desperate and horrid war that history can produce, for the French set the example of giving no quarter. The account of the meeting between Toussaint and his sons is related by Coisnon, their tutor, in a letter to the minister of the marine, and though it is evidently written to convey an unfavourable impression of the black general, yet it bears a strong testimony to his affectionate disposition and high minded generosity. The crafty preceptor, when he saw the father and his sons melted in tears, hanging upon each others necks, judged it a favourable opportunity to touch him on his fidelity. "Is it," said he, "Toussaint, the friend of France, whom I am about to embrace?" "Can you doubt it?" replied the general; his son Isaac then related all that had been told by the chief consul and the captain general. Toussaint listened with the most profound silence. "I then," says the tutor, "presented to him the box containing the consul's letter, which he read, and appeared satisfied. I entreated him to declare that he had no knowledge of the cruelties which had been committed at the Cape, and pressed him to surrender himself to the captain general." Thus far the narrative of the tutor; but he omits to add, that this great man, after hesitating and almost yielding to his proposal, suddenly replied, "No, I cannot betray my brethren and my God, take back my children since it must be so." The next day Toussaint wrote to Le Clerc, and the correspondence was continued for some time, but neither party being satisfied with the other, hostilities recommenced with greater vigour than before. It has been asserted, that Le Clerc, finding himself sure of victory, published an order, by which all the blacks were delivered to the former power of their masters, but this has never been sufficiently proved, for though Buonaparte's professions, in his state of the republic for the year 10, are no proof to the contrary, yet even his treachery should never be believed without evidence.

On the 5th of May the blacks submitted to the terms of the French; the children of Toussaint were restored to him, and he retired to his estate at Gonaive, a fatal example of mistaken confidence in Buonaparte. Here was an opportunity for the exercise of clemency and justice; but as, in the first instance, it appeared that nothing but unconditional submission would satisfy the imperious temper of the first consul. He was not to be gratified but by the basest treachery, and accordingly, under the pretence of a conspiracy, which he had hardly time to meditate, much less to execute, the wretched Toussaint was, in direct violation of the most solemn treaty, seized, with his whole family, at the dead of the night, put on board a frigate, and sent in irons to France, from which he never returned, but was dispatched in some manner best suited to the vengeance of the tyrant. An act of treachery so abhorrent to all the customs and sentiments of civilized nations could only have been perpetrated by any other man on the coast of Africa or the wilds of America. But Buonaparte's ambition and love of power rendered him a savage at the most civilized period of society. When the ngroes are calumniated as cruel, stupid, and incapable of civilization, let the character of Toussaint be contrasted with that of Buonaparte, and then let it be said which reflects most honor or most disgrace on human nature. The blacks of Hispaniola have since too severely avenged the cause of liberty and the murder of Toussaint; but who can wonder at the sanguinary excesses of savage Africans, when they can plead the example of civilized Europeans; let those who teach "bloody instructions" forbear to wonder if they are put in practice; it is only to be lamented that the punishment in general does not fall where it ought.

The imperious nature of Buonaparte was again displayed in the constitution which he dictated to Switzerland at the point of the sword; that unfortunate country, which was once the abode of peace, happiness, and virtue, was the last to feel the tyranny of the French, after they had departed from the original principles of the revolution, and determined

to new model the government of every country within their reach, and plunder others after they had exhausted their own. Switzerland had been compelled to adopt every successive whim of the French constitution-makers, and to suit themselves to the fickle variations of their taste; but not relishing entirely the last constitutional dish, which was hashed up for them by the high-seasoned cookery of despotism, they determined to resist the French mandates by force; for a while they held out against their oppressors, with a spirit worthy of those who supported William, but French gold and French intrigues having divided their councils and their forces, they were no longer able to oppose the French arms; the diet at Schweitz, the head-quarters of insurrection, dissolved itself, and thus was sealed the doom of Switzerland as an independent country, though it seemed good to the supreme will of the chief consul to accommodate the constitution he gave them, in some degree, to their antient habits and prejudices, and to rule them with a rod of iron not quite so heavy as formerly.

The proclamation which he addressed to the Swiss, in order to allay the confusion he and his predecessors had caused among that unhappy people, is the *ne plus ultra* of his insolence, arrogance, deceit, and perfidy; when tyrants speak of patriotism and public happiness, it is the lion in the skin of the lamb—the crocodile alluring to destroy—the wolf in sheep's clothing—and such was Buonaparte.

The time was now approaching, when Buonaparte was no longer to keep any terms with republicans, or profess any further respect for those principles which brought him into power; to discerning eyes, he had long shewn a contempt for every thing connected with a republic, and given indisputable proofs of his attachment to monarchy, not theoretically, as a form of government which he preferred, but as relating to his own person, and affording the utmost means of gratifying his ambition. Among many other things apparently trifling, which seemed to shew his predilection for royalty, was the word "subjects," which crept, not unintentionally, into the treaty of peace between France and Russia; for when the word *subjects* is used, as applied to the people, all idea of a republic is abandoned: the term gave alarm to the few zealous republicans who remained in the tribunate, and an explanation was required of the government; but the explanation, far from doing away the force of the word, evinced more strongly the intention with which it had been applied. The line drawn for presentations at the court of the first consul shewed also his design to take his seat among the legal monarchs of Europe; and every opportunity which arose was eagerly embraced, to display the same disposition; in his letter to the unfortunate Toussaint, when he speaks of himself, he uses the word *We*, which is the appropriate distinction of sovereigns, and it was afterwards not very unfrequently nor unintentionally employed.

Among the many means which Buonaparte employed, to pave the way to his assumption of supreme hereditary power, the press was an engine too powerful to be neglected; and, to the disgrace of literature, and the scandal of France, he found men of talents who were willing to serve in the base office of pioneers to his ambition, and hirelings in the cause of despotism; the press was completely enslaved; no publication was permitted, which had not the sanction of government; and even the English prints were of too free a complexion to be admitted into a country, which was in a state of preparation for slavery; Buonaparte not only said what the people should not read, but what they should read; for he left them nothing but the venal effusions of men completely in his pay, and hired to degrade the public mind by their mean and abject sentiments. The liberty which remained in England became the object of their perpetual indignation; the freedom of election, which is not very great for a people who boast of their political privileges, was attempted to be proved rather a detriment than a blessing; in short, a regular system of depreciation was commenced against every thing which could tend to revive the cause of the people in France, and every thing was said to enforce the necessity of returning to the principles and practices of arbitrary monarchy; such men as Roederer, Fievee, and Portalis, who had formerly been the zealous advocates of liberty, now lent themselves to forward the views of a crafty tyrant, who was sapping the fundamentals of every thing great and valuable in the human mind, in order to prepare his subjects, as he

had already dared to call them, for the most depressing slavery. The unbounded incitements to luxury and dissipation which were constantly held out to all ranks, by opening houses for balls, gaming, and lotteries, were no doubt intended to corrupt and degrade the public mind, and make the people more ready to receive the yoke of despotism, while Buonaparte, to suit his purpose in another quarter, was preaching morality to the institute, and religion to the clergy.

The first blaze of the great fire, which was to consume the vitals of liberty in France, burst out on the 6th of May, 1802, by an unexpected and audacious proposal in the tribunate, to decree some striking mark of national gratitude to Buonaparte; this wish was carried to the chief consul by a deputation appointed to congratulate him on the peace with England, and he returned an answer in the same style of fulsome philanthropy he had so often used on former occasions; it is, indeed, a melancholy consideration for the honour of human nature, and the good of mankind, that in almost every public declaration of public men, particularly throughout the French revolution, and more particularly with Buonaparte, so many things must be understood by the direct contrary of what is expressed. The words patriotism, country, philanthropy, public happiness, and social good, in the mouths of a certain set of men, are expressions which mean nothing but ambition, vanity, and self-interest; yet, on the other hand, it is some consolation to reflect, that these professions bear testimony to the spirit of public opinion, and that, instead of the empty names of glory, honour, and renown, they shew, that in order to gain the public confidence, men must pretend at least to consult the public good in things more conducive to general happiness than fame and glory. Lewis XIV. cheated the French by flattering their vanity, Buonaparte cheated them by pretending to consult their interest.

The whole affair of Buonaparte's advance to the supreme power must be considered as a sort of tragi-comedy, by which the French people were deceived, and cajoled into a surrender of their most valuable rights, their liberty and civil equality; and every successive scene must be regarded as preparing for the great denoument of the piece, which ends in hereditary empire.

The degradation of the French was not the only subjection required to advance the ambitious projects of Buonaparte; the complete subjugation of the other nations of Europe was also requisite to complete his purpose, and this was to extend, not merely to their power, but even to their minds; they were to be rendered not merely passive, but timid; not merely humbled, but self-abased; not merely despised by others, but ashamed of themselves: they were to exhibit a spectacle such as a civilised Europe had not lately seen, of one insolent, imperious individual trampling upon the necks of all the other potentates; they were to revive the times of popery, when Gregory VII. inflated with spiritual pride, as Buonaparte was with temporal ambition, extended his proud dominion over France, England, Germany, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Dalmatia, when he treated kings and princes as subjects, and mounted on horseback, with his feet on the neck of an emperor, while two monarchs held the stirrups of his saddle.

The first scene of Buonaparte's drama being finished with success and applause, the conservative senate were to play their part next, and decree him an addition of ten years to the term originally assigned for the consulship, but to the two other consuls they decreed only their gratitude, keeping them very properly in the back ground; for this favour he returned them a gracious speech, full of affected patriotism, self-denial, and humility. During the discussion of this decree in the senate, Lanjuinais, one of the few republicans left in France, observed, "that it was rather singular the French should give themselves a master from that very island, whence the Romans disdained to take their slaves. On which it has been happily said by Peltier, "that the Romans were at liberty to choose their slaves from whence they pleased, but not their masters." So it is with France. The two other consuls then came forward and declared, that the resolution of their colleague to accept the honour conferred on him, is a splendid homage to the sovereignty of the people! and decreed, that the people shall be consulted on that which concerns their dearest interests, "Shall Napoleon Buonaparte be consul for life?" and for that purpose registers shall be opened in the different communes of the republic, for

taking the votes on this important question. This was in appearance a mark of respect to the people, but, from the manner in which it was conducted, turned out to be an insult. The military power was too strong to suffer any man to give a negative which might endanger his life or at least his liberty, and the number of votes, actually given, bore a very small proportion to the population of France. One solitary instance of exalted virtue was, however, found amidst the general debasement; Carnot, who was formerly banished to Cayenne by the infamous directory, and who had been dismissed from office by the more infamous Buonaparte, braved his ruin, and gave a negative:—"I have signed my own proscription," said he, when he did the deed, but it passed without notice. The success which attended this part of the drama gave the actors spirit to go on with the piece, and the next scene opened with the question, "Shall Napoleon Buonaparte nominate his successor;" This was pretended to come from the people themselves, but as they were slow in filling up the registers, it is most probable that they were both bullied and calumniated; on the 10th of August, however, the senate thought proper to close the registers and proclaim the result of the election, which was easily foreseen; they then passed a decree declaring Buonaparte consul for life, which was presented to him with a fulsome speech from Bartelemy, in the midst of a diplomatic audience, to which the chief consul returned an answer such as might be expected from him, filled with exultation at the past, and professions for the future; "I am happy," says he, "to have been called by him from whom all things emanate, to restore justice, power, and equality on earth." Either this is blasphemy, or we must deny the benevolence of the Deity. Here the first act of the piece closes, and never was a drama presented to the public more replete with incidents of the most important nature.

CHAPTER LIV

GEORGE III.

[1803. 1804.]

Determined Antipathy of Buonaparte towards England—His Remonstrance to the English Ministers—Trial of Peltier—His Britannic Majesty's Declaration—State of Ireland—Establishment in France of the Legion of Honour—Detention of the English Resident in France—Domestic Politics—Contentions in Parliament—Debates upon the Peace, and on the Situation of the Country—Imbecility of the Addington Administration—Menaces of Buonaparte towards England—Inactivity of the British Administration—Political Discussions and Intrigues—Lord Grenville's Letter—Mr. Pitt resumes the Reins of Power—Buonaparte is exalted to the Throne of France, with the title of Emperor—Motion of Mr. Pitt respecting the Military Force—Trial and Execution of Colonel Marcus Despard and his Associates for High Treason.

THE feverish peace or rather the uncertain truce, which had been concluded at Amiens, was rapidly drawing to a close. It was indeed easily perceived by those intelligent Englishmen, who had lately visited France, that nothing was farther from the wish and disposition of Buonaparte than to maintain a state of real peace and cordial

harmony with Britain. He never could forgive the noble opposition which she had made to the revolutionary power of France; he considered the freedom of her constitution as a libel upon the galling despotism which he had established in his new empire, and the liberty of her press through the medium of which the most bitter truths were conveyed to his irritable mind, was a source of constant disquiet and of incessant complaint to one whose conscience acknowldged that his crimes set the powers of exaggeration at defiance. In rapid progress he had risen to the summit of supreme power, and a trembling people had recently conferred on him the consulate for life. But the extent of his authority at home only served to render him more impatient of contradiction abroad, and as he had succeeded in subduing, by military terror, all opposition in his own territories, he had the presumption to imagine that he could as easily silence the voice of reproach in other countries. The success indeed which had attended all his nefarious attempts in the different states of the continent, seemed to justify this opinion, all preposterous, as in fact it was. He had brought his negotiations in Germany, consequent to the peace of Luneville, to a successful termination; and having rendered Russia and Prussia the simple tools of his power, he made his will their law; plundering the ecclesiastical princes of the empire, to indemnify those whose territories he had seized on the French side of the Rhine; and taking special care to reward most amply those wretched potentates who had displayed the most cowardly subserviency to his interest, and the most base treachery to their lawful chief. Among these the petty sovereigns of Baden, Bavaria, and Wurtemburgh, were raised by him to the dignity of electors, as preparatory to their subsequent elevation to the rank of kings. He had been equally successful in reviving the antient jealousy between the Prussian monarch and the emperor of Germany. The former of these monarchs, with a littleness of soul, an imbecility of mind, and a miserable want of foresight, while intent on the humiliation of a rival no longer formidable, and on the pursuit of petty schemes of personal aggrandisement, enlarged the influence and power of an implacable enemy, and prepared the way for his own destruction. In Italy, also, Buonaparte had assumed the sovereignty, under the denomination of president of the Italian republic, for such was the title now assumed by the Cisalpine republic. He had united the kingdom of Sardinia and the duchy of Parma to France; and he had taken effectual means for rivetting the chains of Switzerland.

Possessed of power so extensive, and inflated by success so unexpected, Buonaparte was little solicitous to afford proofs of a pacific disposition to the only enemy that had resisted his efforts with effect. In fact the stand which England alone had made against his towering ambition, had severely galled his pride, and increased the inveteracy of his hatred. The idea that she should presume to question his omnipotence, while the trembling powers of the continent submitted their necks to his yoke, was intolerable to a mind which acknowledged no honourable principle of action, which was inaccessible to every laudable sentiment, which regarded all competition as an intolerable presumption, and opposition to his will as an unpardonable crime.

With this disposition, the Corsican consul betrayed in all his communications with the British cabinet, an overbearing and insupportable pride. First to M. Otto, and afterwards to his ambassador, general Andreossy, he sent instructions to complain of the freedom of those animadversions which the public writers of Great Britain passed upon his character and conduct. Those complaints were reiterated as well by Talleyrand as by the first consul himself to lord Whitworth, who, in November 1802, had repaired to Paris as ambassador to the French court. In all the communications which took place on this subject, Buonaparte betrayed not only a petulence of temper utterly incompatible with the new character which he had to support, and a profound ignorance of the laws and constitution of this country. He could not be persuaded that the British government were unable, to exercise over the press, the same unlimited power, the same boundless tyranny, which he himself exercised over every public writer throughout his vast dominions. With him it was literally *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*; his word enforced obedience to every mandate which his wayward disposition prompted him to issue. It was impossible then to make him understand

that in England the ministers were subject to the same legal restraints as the lowest subject of the realm; that they could proceed only according to the forms of law; and that, if what the law deemed a *libel* should be uttered or written against the first potentate of Europe, he must have recourse to the same mode of proceeding which is prescribed to Englishmen themselves under similar circumstances, in order to punish the offender. Reasoning of this kind was lost upon a man who acknowledged no law but his own will, and who daily doomed his subjects to banishment or death, in virtue of his own assumed authority, without trial, and without the observance of any legal form. Every attempt to procure new laws, for imposing additional restraints upon the press, having proved fruitless, as might have been anticipated, and the first consul remaining unconvinced by the forcible and judicious observations of lord Hawkesbury, a constant state of irritation and ill-will continued to prevail between the two countries.

From general complaints the great consul descended to *particulars*, and, in the autumn of 1802, he directed his agent, Otto, to prefer complaints against certain English public writers, and against Peltier, who conducted a journal in the French language, entitled *L'Ambigu*.

Although, as lord Hawkesbury had pertinently observed in his instructions to Mr. Merry, who was then at Paris, the French press poured out constant libels against the English government,—libels too authorised by the French cabinet; although Rheinhardt, the Jacobin representative of Buonaparte at Hamburgh, had violated the neutrality of the senate, and had *compelled* them to insert a most virulent attack upon the English government in the Hamburgh paper; although Buonaparte himself had publicly uttered similar libels: and although, to use the words of lord Hawkesbury, "it might indeed with truth be asserted, that the period which had elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty had been marked by one continued series of violence, aggression, and insult, on the part of the French government:" so ardent was the desire of the British ministers to gratify the Corsican, and so averse were they to any line of conduct which could have even a tendency to produce a renewal of hostilities between the two countries, that they instructed the attorney-general to file a criminal information against Peltier, in compliance with the demand of Buonaparte, preferred through the medium of Otto. The cause was tried before lord Ellenborough, on the 21st of February, 1803; and in the course of that trial such principles were advanced in support of the prosecution, both from the bar and the bench, as, were they to be received as the law of the land, would effectually annihilate the liberty of the press, and impose eternal silence on the historic muse! It was stated as a crime "to bring Napoleon Buonaparte into great hatred and contempt among the liege subjects of our lord and king." It is with concern I observe, that the whole prosecution was marked by that strong political prejudice, which, wherever it occurs, pollutes the pure current of public justice. The defendant was convicted, but the renewal of hostilities was allowed, inconsistently enough, to secure him from punishment. Indeed the first consul was less complaisant; not one of the numerous libels which appeared in France, against the British government, was made the subject of prosecution or of punishment. Nor could they well be so made, since they were all published under the express sanction of the first consul himself.

At the very time when this extraordinary trial was pending, the difference between the two governments was such as to render hostilities unavoidable. At the latter end of February, lord Whitworth had a personal interview with Buonaparte, in which the latter so far forgot himself, or rather so far sunk his assumed in his real character, as personally to insult the British ambassador, and to threaten his government, in the presence of other diplomatic characters. On this occasion he openly avowed his ambitious designs, clearly developed his views upon Egypt, (which indeed had been fully explained in a report previously made by his agent, Sebastiani, who had been sent in a military capacity to that country,) boldly justified his unprincipled usurpations in Switzerland, Piedmont, and Italy, and peremptorily insisted on the immediate evacuation of Malta, as the *sine qua non* of continued peace.

By the treaty of Amiens, the king had stipulated to restore, within a 1803.

given time, the island of Malta to the order of St. John, under the express guarantee of its independence and neutrality by the principal powers of Europe. Circumstances, however, tending to destroy the independence of the order itself, by depriving it of a considerable portion of its revenue, had subsequently arisen, which rendered it highly imprudent to carry that article of the treaty into effect. Besides the stipulation had been made with a reference to the relative situation of the contracting parties at the time of concluding the treaty. That situation had experienced a material change, by the fresh acquisitions of territory which Buonaparte afterwards made, and by the consequent addition of power which he had secured. The Corsican's intention also to dismember the Turkish empire, and to monopolize the commerce of the Levant,—objects against which specific provisions were made in the treaty,—was too notorious not to call for measures of precaution on the part of Great Britain. The British ministers, indeed, were to blame only for having carried a system of conciliation and concession to a greater length than was compatible with the dignity of the national character. It was easy to perceive, from the very beginning of the peace, that such a system would have no other effect on the mind of Buonaparte, than to increase its insolence and presumption. And, to say the truth, he had more reason than would be generally admitted, to infer from what had been borne what would be borne; though his inference proved unjust, from his ignorance of the real character of the English nation. At last the inutility of every attempt to make the irritable and perverse Corsican recede from the fixed purpose of his mind, and to listen to the claims of justice, became so obvious, that the British ambassador received orders to return to England. He accordingly left Paris on the 12th of May, 1803, and on the 18th of that month the declaration of the British cabinet was published. Thus, after a peace of little more than thirteen months, from the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens,—if that can be called a peace which brought with it no friendly disposition, no symptom of returning amity, no suspension even of aggressive measures, on the part of France,—the nation found itself, by the obstinate temper and insatiate ambition of a low-born usurper, once more exposed to all the dangers of protracted warfare; and the public were compelled to acknowledge the wisdom and foresight of those statesmen and writers, who had early warned them to place no reliance on a continued state of abstinence from hostility, which depended entirely on the will of an individual, who subjected his passions to no control, who confined his hatred within no bounds.

The state of Ireland demanded no small portion of the attention of ministers. The flames of rebellion, though stifled for a time, had never been completely subdued; and the lurking spirit of discontent threatened to break out into open revolt. Even the conciliatory conduct of lord Hardwicke did not secure the viceroy from an attempt to subvert his power, to assault his person, and to overthrow the government. On the 23rd of July, a body of insurgents, under the direction of Robert Emmett, whose brother had been deeply engaged in the rebellion of 1798, flew to arms, murdered the lord-chief-justice and colonel Brown in the streets of Dublin, and for some hours spread consternation and dismay throughout the capital. The shops and houses were shut up in the middle of the day, and the officers of the volunteers and yeomanry were intercepted as they repaired to their respective quarters. Fortunately for the public, the insurgents passed the whole day in useless acts of licentious violence, till they were attacked by two parties of fifty men, belonging to the 21st regiment, and in a few minutes compelled to fly. Their leaders then effected their escape, and the insurgents retired to their homes. Emmett, and others of the chief conspirators, were soon after apprehended, tried, and executed.

Though the friends of liberty and moral melioration clung to Buonaparte as long as they could believe him honest, even after he had given many indications to the contrary; yet when the prospect of a rupture with this country had irritated him to the highest pitch of resentment, and urged him to transgress even the common bounds of decency, and his determination to accomplish our ruin, could no longer be concealed; even those who forgave him for re-establishing popery, for asking the consulship for life, for demanding the suppression of English newspapers,

(no longer able to give him credit for a single virtue,) acknowledged themselves to be deceived by their own hopes and by his specious subtlety, and with all the honest feelings of insulted patriotism, joined in the common execration of a deceitful and unprincipled tyrant.

The most dangerous institution of Buonaparte, which had in view the support of his future throne, was the legion of honour, which, like Washington's order of Cincinnatus, was an insidious attempt to introduce aristocratical distinctions, and destroy republican equality, which suffers no one to rise above its level but by their merits, their talents, or official authority. It is a motley progeny of spurious birth, engendered between a republic and an empire, before their union was complete, and bears a resemblance to both its parents, though it will probably be of little use to either; inasmuch as it embraces all ranks of the people it bespeaks republican origin, and as it is founded on the principle of honour it resembles its imperial father; but as honour ceases to be honourable when bestowed upon knaves, this institution neither promised to consolidate the new government nor to strengthen public morality. The sword was sheathed for a time between England and France, yet the pen was let loose with intemperate violence; the Moniteur on the one side, the Times and the Sun on the other, alternately pouring forth the full stream of their contempt against each country, to degrade their constitution, government, and resources; from all this it was perceived by many, that the peace which had been hastily patched up could not be of long duration: which party was most in fault it is difficult to say; it shewed, however, that the hostile mind was not yet subdued on either side, and therefore was likely soon to break out again into armed violence.

The legion of honour was no sooner decreed, than Buonaparte resolved to quench the last sparks of liberty which remained in the constitution, and for this purpose it was new modelled, so as to leave not even the embers which might burst out into a flame, not satisfied with having the power of arbitrary imprisonment, arbitrary banishment, and arbitrary suppression of every species of writing, even to a sixpenny pamphlet, which displeased him, he determined to reduce every civil office to an entire dependence on himself, and to control even the administration of justice, and as if intentionally to shew the mockery of the late appeal to the people in the strongest light, he caused the new constitution to be passed through the conservative senate with only one day's deliberation, and promulgated in the form of a law the day after, with great public solemnity.

While Buonaparte was thus successful at home in establishing arbitrary power, he was not less so abroad in new modelling the German empire, and teaching the other powers of Europe a lesson of subjection to his will. The arrangement of the indemnities having proceeded with German slowness, little suited to his hasty, imperious temper, he prevailed on the emperor of Russia, by false professions and promises never fulfilled, to join with him in the office of mediator for settling the different claims of the various parties, whose jarring interests were not likely to be soon adjusted by the slow medium of discussion; accordingly these two potentates agreed upon a settlement which was submitted to the German diet, and with some slight variations, accepted as the conclusum of this tedious affair. By this arrangement bishops were unfrocked, cities were disfranchised, and new electors created, men were transferred from one master to another like cattle in a market, towns and principalities were bargained for and sold like herds of sheep and oxen, and civil communes conveyed like goods and chattels at a sale or an auction; all this was the blessed result of Buonaparte's conquests in Italy, or, properly speaking, the result of the first coalition against French liberty. A passage in the Mercure de France speaks the sentiments of Buonaparte on this subject in a language not to be misconceived:—"Protectress of Italy, arbitress of Germany, and the terror of other nations, France has elevated her friends, humbled her enemies, and established herself in a country which the treaty of Luneville seemed to have delivered from external war only to give her up to an intestine war of secularizations and indemnities. Buonaparte has realized the wishes of Henry IV, and the schemes of cardinal Richlieu; their projects are accomplished, and France is avenged of the degradation which she had suffered by a departure from the rout which they had traced out."

To banish completely the simplicity of the republican regime, and to recal the forms of

anarchy, in order to prepare for the essence, Buonaparte decreed, that the dresses of all the public functionaries of justice should be nearly such as they were under the old government, wishing, if possible, to obliterate entirely the republican axiom, of estimating every man by his merit, and by no other standard. The best friends of monarchy, who are also friends to the gradual melioration of mankind, have long since acknowledged the inutility of forms. Nothing remained for him but, by force or by fraud, to prevent the opposition of England to his schemes of universal dominion; England alone excited his jealousy by her commerce, by her liberty, and her weight in the affairs of Europe; to ruin the first, he endeavoured to shut her out from all communication with the continent; to destroy the second, he attempted to silence the freedom of her press; and to reduce the third, he began to sound the temper of our government, by laying down, in his official publications, a new system of policy for the different states of Europe, by which Great Britain, on account of her insular situation, was supposed to be excluded from all continental alliances, was declared to be unequal to contend single-handed with France, and therefore to be reduced either to slavery or insignificance. Had our ministers been such traitors to their country as to subscribe to this doctrine, and meanly to accept the share of importance which was allotted her by the lion-like justice of Buonaparte, his dominion had then been complete, and England, even at this moment, might have been a department or a dependant of France. Their refusal to submit to this arrangement produced the full display of Buonaparte's character, and leaves him stripped to the world in all his naked deformity; he has thrown off completely his whole disguise, with all the violence and impatience of an assassin who is reduced to defend himself by force, when his intentions are found out. His conduct to lord Whitworth is too well known in every cottage in Great Britain to be repeated; it was the first public instance of his being thrown off his guard, and was such a violation of decorum as seemed to set at defiance all the established forms of society. The coolness of the English courier formed a striking contrast to the Corsican's indecency.

Buonaparte's first measure of violence, after the declaration of hostilities, was the detention of the English, who, under the general protection of the laws of hospitality, had gone to visit the land of wonders, which the short interval of peace had rendered accessible to their curiosity, and had remained there under the special promise of security. So extravagant a violation of all the rights of nations, and the laws of civilized war, is not to be found in the annals of modern history, and was a dreadful specimen of the manner in which the contest was to be conducted on the part of France; but, in the heat of his vengeance, nothing was too horrid for him to execute, and after such an act, nothing in his conduct, however extravagant, could excite wonder. It is a singular instance of good fortune that our countrymen were not put to death, and it was not improbable they yet might suffer.

The renewal of hostilities, after so short an interval of tranquillity, exposed the fallacy of those hopes, and the weakness of those expectations which the new ministers, and their literary partisans, had fondly cherished and sedulously diffused respecting the permanence of the peace of Amiens. Mr. Addington had even flattered himself, that, in calculating its probable duration, he might assign it as long an existence as any peace concluded in the last century. It is matter of surprise, indeed, that any one who had attended to the principles of the revolutionary government of France, to the public conduct of its successive rulers, and to the sentiments and disposition uniformly displayed by the man who had recently usurped the sovereignty of that unhappy country, could, for one moment, have drawn a conclusion so utterly destitute of foundation, in the premises whence it was deduced. But the premier was unwilling to dispel, in his own head, the delirium which he had excited in the heads of the great majority of the people. The peace was his darling child; it was at once the end and the reward of his ambition; it was the idol at whose shrine he bowed, with blind and superstitious reverence; it was the basis of his popularity; the great specimen of his political wisdom; his paramount claim to pre-eminence of patriotism; the foundation of his fame; the theme of his admiration; the object of his daily contemplation; the constant food of his self-approving mind.

The rude hand of the Corsican, however, had abruptly dispelled this strange delusion; and the minister had now to contend with difficulties of a far different description, and which required the exertion of far different talents, from those which presented themselves at the conferences of Amiens.

Mr. Pitt, who had thought the peace an experiment necessary to be made, and who was persuaded that, unless it were tried, the nation at large would never be brought to discredit the groundless assertions of that factious party, which had incessantly represented the war as equally useless, unnecessary, and unjust; and had uniformly insisted on the pacific disposition of the French government, and consequently that they would never give that full, cordial, and unanimous support to the prosecution of the war, which is at all times desirable, and which is often necessary to insure success to the efforts of the government, now stood forward on the renewal of hostilities, to give the ministers the same manly and independent support which he had hitherto afforded to all such of their measures as he could conscientiously approve.

In the discussions which took place in parliament, upon this subject, those members who had opposed the peace proved the most conspicuous and determined opponents of the principle on which the war was renewed. But they narrowed the question too much by contending, that the refusal to surrender Malta was the sole cause of renewed hostilities. It must, indeed, be admitted, that the grounds on which the ministers and their supporters defended the peace, justified, in some degree, this contracted view of the subject. It had been stated, by the author of the Memoirs of Mr. Addington, whose sentiments were assuredly approved by the ministers, that the war being a war of conservation, not of aggrandisement, a war defensive to secure ourselves, not offensive to injure others, the conditions of the peace corresponded with the professed objects for which, at first, we had entered into the conflict; for by these we maintained our constitution unimpaired—our territories undiminished—our national honour untarnished. Besides these advantages, we had gained two valuable islands, and a large tract of country in the East Indies. It was farther contended, that as the British empire, now left alone, had no object for which to contend, with any prospect of success, the protracting of war would be but to waste treasure, to shed blood, and to exhaust strength, for no useful purpose whatever; an act this, of political imprudence, if not of moral wickedness, when the war could be terminated on conditions of peace, fair, equitable, salutary, and honourable; and such, the ministers insisted, the conditions of the peace of Amiens were. If this were a true state of the case, the arguments of those who opposed the grounds on which the war was renewed, would be irresistible. For certain it is, that if the ministers had surrendered Malta, peace might have been prolonged, at least for a short time. And if we had no object for which to contend with any prospect of success, at the period when the treaty of Amiens was signed; and if by that treaty we had secured the professed objects of the war; if the aggrandisement of France were really, as it was contended, not an object of sufficient consequence to justify a continuance of the contest; and if, as was also maintained, all the objections to the surrender of Malta were unreasonable, our object having been "to rescue it from foreign domination, not to capture it as a common spoil of war," and therefore it would be unjust to retain it; if all this were admitted, as it was by ministers, the renewal of the war could not be defended. For no act of France, subsequent to the definitive treaty, could make such an alteration in the state of Europe, as, consistently with the principles thus laid down, could be of sufficient consequence to justify the British government in departing from that pacific system, which had led to and followed this treaty. Besides, if there were no prospect of success in contending with France, for any object of national importance, at the period in question, certainly that prospect was not at all brightened by the ministerial operations during the short interval of peace. A very large portion of our army had been disbanded; the greater part of our fleets dismantled; our naval arsenals nearly exhausted; and, from a miserable system of mistaken œconomy, no care had been taken to replenish our naval stores with such articles as were indispensably necessary for the equipment of a large fleet, at the commencement of a war. The ministers, then,

had much the worst of the argument on this point.

But taking up the argument in another point of view, and without any reference to the dicta of ministers, the renewal of hostilities was as much an act of necessity as the original war in 1793. For although France had taken several steps to increase her power, between the period of the preliminary treaty and that of the definitive treaty, yet still she had made farther strides towards the unlimited extension of her dominions and influence, which fully justified a government actuated by becoming principles of national dignity and of national security, principles more noble and expansive than those on which the peace of Amiens was formed, to declare war against her. The relative situation of the two countries had experienced, by the progressive acts of Buonaparte, a material change; and it was manifest to the world that his policy was directed to the attainment of such an ascendency in Europe, as would enable him to prescribe laws to surrounding nations, and to contend successfully with the only power which had set his threats at defiance. Here was a legitimate ground of war; such a ground as had induced our ancestors both whigs and tories to fly to arms, in order to chastise the insolence, to repress the ambition, and to check the career of their natural enemy. Farther acts of aggression, too, had been committed by Buonaparte in sending agents to Egypt, and to different parts of the British territory, avowedly for commercial purposes; (though most of them were military men,) for in fact for no other purpose than that of taking correct accounts of all those matters and objects which a power, wishing to conquer a country, and to reduce it under its own dominions, would be solicitous to obtain.

1803. It was on these grounds that Mr. Pitt defended in parliament the justice and necessity of the new war; of the merits and nature of which he took a luminous view, when it became the subject of discussion, in the house of commons, on the 20th of May, 1803. He then expressed his conviction that some system far more vigorous and effectual than any which had yet been adopted, would be found necessary both in our finance, and in the preparation for national defence. On the provisions to be made for these two primary and paramount objects, it would principally depend, in his estimation, whether we could effectually disconcert the favourite projects, and disappoint the main hopes of our enemies. It was evident that if they indulged themselves in any expectation of success in the present contest, it was built chiefly on the supposition that they could either break the spirit and shake the determination of the country, by harassing us with the perpetual apprehension of descent upon our coasts, or that they could impair our resources, and undermine our credit, by the effects of an expensive and protracted contest. To defeat the first of these purposes, it was not, in his judgment, sufficient to make those military and naval preparations, which would prevent any invasion, that might be attempted, from being ultimately successful; (an event which he trusted he was justified, in common with others, in considering as utterly impossible,) but to make such vigorous and extensive arrangements for national defence, as might diffuse a sense of the most complete security against even the temporary impression to be produced by such an attempt, and might enable every individual to lay down his head in rest, in the persuasion and confidence that nothing was omitted which could enable us at once to meet and repel the danger, at any moment, and in any quarter, in which it might threaten us.

In order to defeat the second object, that of wearing out our resources, Mr. Pitt trusted the house would, from the beginning, form a system of finance, not with a view only to the expence which might be necessary in the first year of the contest, but that they would look at once to the possibility of its being protracted to as long a period as that which had been lately terminated; that they would consider fully what, on the probable scale of the war, would be the whole extent of the burthens necessary to be imposed on that supposition. He was persuaded that it could only be by providing, at the outset, means adequate to the whole extent of these purposes, that we could, in fact, prevent the ultimate amount of our expences from being unnecessarily, and, perhaps, intolerably augmented; or that we could ensure the best chances, either of bringing the contest to a speedy conclusion, by convincing the enemy of our ability to maintain it, or could meet its continued exigencies, if necessary, without

the annual recurrence of growing and accumulated embarrassments. He trusted, therefore, that ministers would feel the necessity of bringing both these points under consideration, with all practicable promptitude and dispatch; and that if possible not even a fortnight might be suffered to elapse, without enabling parliament to adopt such measures as would convince both France and the world that we had, from that hour, provided the means of supporting the force, and of defraying the expenditure, which might be necessary for the maintenance of our internal security, and for the vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war, to any period to which it could be reasonably expected to extend. He was aware that these measures could not be effected without material and extensive personal sacrifices, and without great additional burthens, which must, in a certain degree, affect the ease, convenience, and even comfort of many classes of society. He lamented these consequences as much as any man; and if he saw any prospect that, by present concession, we could obtain a real and desirable interval of peace, security, and repose, he should be as anxious as any man to avoid the necessity of such arduous and painful exertions; but, under the present circumstances, a weak and timid policy would, perhaps, scarcely even postpone the moment when they would become indispensable for our existence, and would infallibly expose us to the certainty of a similar struggle at no distant period, without those means which we now possessed, and with a diminished chance of finally conducting it to a successful issue. At that moment we had not an option between the blessings of peace and the dangers of war. From the fatality of the times and the general state of the world, Mr. Pitt observed, we must consider our lot as cast by the decrees of Providence in a time of peril and trouble. He trusted the temper and the courage of the nation would be conformable to the duties which such a situation imposed, that we should be prepared, collectively and individually, to meet it with that resignation and fortitude, and, at the same time, with that active zeal and exertion, which might be expected, in proportion to the magnitude of the crisis, from a brave and free people; and that we should remember even in the hour of trial, what abundant reason we had to be grateful to Providence for the distinction which we enjoyed over most of the countries of Europe, and for all the advantages and blessings which national wisdom and virtue had hitherto produced, and which it now depended on perseverence in the same just and honourable sentiments, still to guard and preserve.

It had been well for the ministers had they followed this able, manly, and judicious advice; but it very soon appeared that they were but ill qualified for guiding the helm of state in such a stormy and tempestuous season; and the nation became convinced that the solemn and stately tone and demeanor, the sterile knowledge of parliamentary forms, and that superficial information respecting common constitutional points that may be collected from any of our elementary law books, which suffice to qualify a man for the discharge of the monotonous and laborious duties of speaker to the house of commons, are by no means adequate to constitute an able minister of state. Nor were they more slow to acknowledge the difference between the talents necessary to make a good commander of the fleet, and the abilities necessary to form an official first lord of the admiralty.

In the month of June 1803, colonel Patten brought forward a formal motion of censure on the ministers, comprised in five resolutions, which substantially charged them with having deceived the nation and betrayed the interests of the country, by holding out hopes of continued peace, at the very time, when according to their subsequent declarations they knew that France was pursuing an unvaried course of aggression, violence, and insult. As a proof of their incapacity and criminal inattention to their duty, it was stated in one of these resolutions, that on the 16th of October, 1802, counter orders were despatched by ministers, revoking the orders before given for the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the other conquests made by England during the late war; and that the final orders, in consequence of which that settlement was actually evacuated, were issued on the 16th November, when the hostile spirit of France had (as was afterwards avowed by ministers) been manifested for more than six months, by one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult, for which, neither reparation nor

redress had, till that moment, been attained; that the offensive principle had already been distinctly advanced of excluding his majesty from all concerns in the affairs of the continent: that the Spanish and other priories had already been withdrawn from the order of Malta; Piedmont, Parma, Piacenza, and Elba, had been annexed to France; Switzerland had been attacked and subjugated; and the remonstrance of his majesty's government upon that subject had been treated with indignity and contempt; the territory of the Batavian republic was, at that very moment, still occupied by the armies of the chief consul of France, and its internal administration still controuled by his interposition; and the French government was then actually engaged in the pursuit of those plans and measures for the subversion of the Turkish empire, to which his majesty's declaration referred, as a violation of the treaty of peace; that in directing, under such circumstances, the final surrender of the Cape, without having previously explained and arranged the differences and complaints which then actually subsisted between the two governments, his majesty's ministers acted in contradiction to the sense which they had themselves manifested of their own duty, and had, improvidently, exposed to danger some of the most important interests of his majesty's dominions.

Mr. Pitt, in considering this question, differed from both sides of the house; for, on the one hand, he did not think that sufficient proof of the alleged misconduct had been made to justify the charges preferred in the resolutions, to their full extent, and therefore he could not vote for them; and, on the other, the justification offered by ministers did not satisfy him that their conduct was exempt from blame; and therefore he could not vote for a direct negative on the resolutions, which would be tantamount to a denial of all ground of censure. For this reason he moved, that the other orders of the day should be read. Though it is perfectly clear, that, in his view of the subject, he could not conscientiously adopt any other mode of proceeding, he was, nevertheless, blamed for his conduct by both parties. The ministers thought that, as he could not concur with their opponents, he ought to have voted with them; and the opposition conceived that, as he could not justify the whole conduct of the ministers, he ought to have joined in their vote of censure. But Mr. Pitt was of no party, and consequently his conduct was not influenced by party motives. He did not consider whether the effect of his vote might tend to secure ministers in their seats, or drive them out. The real merits of the question were alone allowed to bias his judgment, and to influence his vote. He, indeed, expressly declared, that his esteem for many members of the administration should not prevent him from the strict discharge of his duty, and from concurring in an address to the throne for their removal from office, if the papers upon the table afforded evidence of their incapacity, misconduct, or criminality. But as they did not, in his opinion, supply such evidence, it would have been a gross deviation from moral rectitude, and political honesty, to vote for a motion founded on a supposition that they did supply it. On the other hand, if he thought that ministers had not acted with sufficient caution, vigilance, and firmness, he could not, without a sacrifice of conscience, concur in a vote which went to exempt them from all imputation of blame. In short, his conduct upon this, as upon all important occasions, was that of an honest, upright, independent member of parliament. As in administration, so "in retirement"—to use the words of one who had well studied Mr. Pitt's character—"we see him displaying the same greatness, the same activity, the same patriotism. His loyalty depended not upon office; his love of his country was equally evident in every situation. Instead of a peevish secession from the discharge of his public duty, or a hostile obstruction to the measures of the new administration, which must instantly have sunk under the weight of his opposition, he gave them the best claim to credit, by an open declaration in their favour, and by a direct avowal of his determination to assist them while they acted upon the principles which had been the rule of his own conduct. This assistance he gave publicly and privately, with a zeal and disinterestedness, of which there is no other instance in the history of political parties."

Mr. Pitt took an active part in all the discussions on the best means of defending the country against the threatened invasion of the enemy, at this critical period. The

national defence was a subject to which, it appears, he had directed all the powers of his active, acute, and comprehensive mind. The measures proposed by ministers, for the general defence of the country, in the summer of 1803, had his support as far as they went; but it was his opinion,—an opinion, indeed, in which the nation concurred,—that they did not go far enough; that government did not seem to have a proper sense of the danger to which the country was exposed, and that, consequently, they did not apply means of adequate strength for repelling it. In all the debates on this important point, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham distinguished themselves most; both of them differing essentially from ministers, in the measures which they proposed in 1804; both equally solicitous to render the military power of the state efficient for offensive as well as for defensive purposes; but not entirely agreeing with each other as to the most eligible means of producing that desirable effect. Mr. Windham considered the volunteers as useless, if not worse than useless, and contended for the necessity of an exclusive reliance on a regular army; while Mr. Pitt regarded a formidable and regular force as indispensably necessary; but, at the same time, thought a large body of volunteers as essentially important to the defence of the country.

In a debate on the 27th of February, 1804, Mr. Pitt reproved ministers for not having taken sufficient care to render the volunteers as useful and efficient as they were capable of being made, by proper discipline and instruction in military evolutions. After pointing out the means which appeared to him most proper for remedying this defect, he adverted to the low state of our naval preparation. In this statement he declared, he was not influenced by the slightest prejudice against any man; on the contrary, in the whole of his observations, he wished to keep aloof from every description of asperity, which, he thought, ought not, upon any account, to be introduced in the course of that discussion. This was not a time for the operation of any party spirit. Every mind should be engaged, every heart should be devoted to the consideration of public defence; and, in the prosecution of it, he expressed his hope that ministers would weigh well the sacred duty they had to perform, the awful responsibility of their situation. It would not be enough for them to say that our preparations were great; they ought to be complete. He postponed, however, the full declaration of his sentiments on the actual state of the naval defence of the country till the 15th of March, when he made some specific motions on the subject.

His first motion was for an address to the king, "that he may be pleased to give directions to have laid before the house, an account of the number of ships of the line, ships of 50 guns, frigates, sloops of war, bombs, hired armed vessels, &c. in commission on the 31st of December, 1793, on the 30th of September, 1801, and on the 31st of December, 1803, specifying the service in which they were respectively employed." His next motion was, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, for a copy of the contracts made, and the orders given, by the lords of the admiralty in 1793, 1797, and 1803, with respect to the number of gun-vessels to be built, distinguishing the time at which such contract was made, the period at which it was to be brought to a conclusion, and the account of the sum to be paid for the performance of it. His third motion was, "that there be laid before the house a list of such ships as have been built in the king's yards in 1793 and 1801.

Mr. Pitt acknowledged that the object of these different motions was to obtain proof of a criminal neglect, in the board of admiralty, to provide sufficient force for the defence of the country, in the present critical situation of public affairs. He stated that, since the present lords of the admiralty had come into office, only two ships of the line had been contracted for, to be built in the merchants' yards, out of twenty-nine ships of the line; and that there were, at that moment, docks and slips in the river unoccupied, which were calcuted for building fourteen or fifteen ships of the line. He also charged the admiralty with having admitted the necessity of gun-brigs, and other vessels drawing little water, to counteract any efforts which might be made, by the immense number of light vessels, stationed at Boulogne and elsewhere, for the avowed purpose of attempting a descent upon some part of the British shores. Mr. Pitt expressed his surprise at the opposition which was made to his motions, because

ministers had previously applied to him to be informed of the nature of them, and which information he gave them; and he understood that it was their intention to assent to two of them without any objections being suggested.

One of the most strenuous opposers of Mr. Pitt's motions was Mr. Sheridan, who did not blush to declare, "that he could only be actuated by factious and party motives." He was probably led to prefer this most unfounded charge, by a consciousness of its applicability to his own public conduct for some years past. He could not bear the smallest reflection upon a Whig minister; and therefore sought to counteract the effects of Mr. Pitt's plain statements, by a declamatory panegyric on the services of lord St. Vincent, of which, however, he deemed it prudent to avoid all specification. In the blindness of his zeal, he ridiculed the idea of gun-brigs, although the admiralty had recently acknowledged their utility by ordering twenty of them to be built, and totally forgot that there were numerous parts of our coasts, most exposed to attack, which ships of the line could not possibly approach; and which, therefore, in the event of an attempt at invasion, would admit of no other naval defence than gun-boats, or armed vessels of a similar nature. He proclaimed abuses in every department of the navy, and highly extolled the zeal displayed in their correction; although, in fact, that zeal had been exerted only, or at least chiefly, in a way the most prejudicial to the naval service, and consequently the most detrimental to the interests of the country. Lord St. Vincent, seeing nothing but abuses, and blind, as it were, to the inestimable services which the navy had rendered to the country, under this system of imputed corruption, began a radical reform, with all the zeal and energy of a modern Whig. Acknowledging even the existence of abuses, to a considerable extent, in that department, no man of sense, judgment, or reflection, could suppose that they admitted of an instantaneous cure. It was manifest, that if, instead of alteratives administered by the slow and cautious hand of prudence, to work a gradual melioration in the constitution of the navy, a rash empiric should administer the most powerful medicines, he might chance to kill where he proposed to cure. The harsh and severe measures adopted by the admiralty gave great disgust to the workmen employed in the dock-yards, and to every description of persons throughout the naval department. From a mistaken principle of œconomy, blended perhaps with an unwarrantable confidence in the pacific disposition of the French cabinet, the naval stores were suffered to be wholly exhausted; the hemp collected by the late ministers was publicly sold, and the agents of France were the principal purchasers; no care was taken to procure a fresh supply; even the most advantageous offers of providing ship timber were rejected; the shipwrights employed in the king's yards were abruptly dismissed, without being allowed to finish the vessels which they had contracted to build; the ships which, upon the declaration of war, it was necessary to send against the enemy were, many of them, actually under repair; and no new ships were in such a state of forwardness as to afford a prospect of supplying the void occasioned by the inevitable casualties of the service. In short, so incompetent a board of admiralty had not been seen for a long series of years.

Mr. Fox, and other members of the new whig party, took a different side from that which Mr. Sheridan adopted, and voted for the inquiry, in the full conviction that it would terminate to the honour of their favourite admiral. The inquiry, however, was strenuously resisted as unnecessary, and as only calculated to waste the time of the house, by the minister, who vied with the opposition in panegyrising the first lord of the admiralty. Nothing, however, but presumption and ignorance combined, could have compared him with the late lord Chatham, and have assigned to him the compliment bestowed on that real patriot,—"*clarum et venerabile nomen, &c.*" It is a matter of doubt, whether unmerited praise is not more prejudicial in its effects than undeserved censure. The latter may discourage, but the former must disgust; and it is more easy to stimulate a discouraged spirit, than to conciliate a disgusted mind. No man ever enjoyed so high a reputation, who had done so little to deserve it, as lord St. Vincent. In the whole course of his naval career, there is not much to applaud, and very little to admire; and whoever has taken pains to inves- 1804.

tigate the details of that gallant action to which he was indebted for his title and pension, must, if he be not influenced by prejudice, or biassed by party, acknowledge as far as lord St. Vincent was concerned in it, there was no opportunity for the display of particular skill, spirit or judgment; while the peculiar circumstances attending it must satisfy the impartial mind, that never was service so slight so profusely rewarded.

Besides there were many defects in the public character of this nobleman, which it is not necessary for the historian to enumerate. But lord St. Vincent was a whig; and party spirit was suffered, as is unhappily too often the case, to supply the place of superior merit. It is true, however, that Mr. Pitt himself concurred in the praises so bountifully lavished on lord St. Vincent.—"I admire," he said, "the uncommon valour, I extol the vast renown, the glorious achievements of lord St. Vincent. To him we are highly indebted for shedding extraordinary lustre on our national glory." But as, in attentively examining the public services of his lordship, I have not been able to discover any solid ground for this admiration and praise, I cannot acquiesce in its justice, by whatever authority advanced. Mr. Pitt at the same time expressed his opinion "that between his lordship as a commander on the sea, and his lordship at first lord of the admiralty, there is a wide difference."

In his reply Mr. Pitt entered more largely into the subject than he had done in opening his speech. Alluding to Mr. Sheridan's observations, he said,—"But we are amused with a brilliant flash of eloquence, (not lately a source of ordinary entertainment in this house,) and we are told 'all this scheme of gun-vessels is a job.' This sentiment, clothed in a wandering meteor, which fixed its ray of indignation upon me, shall not so far dazzle my organs of vision, as to prevent me from discovering the way by which I may relieve myself from the terrors of its effulgence. It is not necessary to conclude, because a service has been converted into a job, that it is an useless service. If pernicious food had been given to the honourable gentleman he would not conceive it to be a reason for abstaining from all nourishment; so, in the former case, we must learn to distinguish between accident and substance, and rejecting what is injurious, retain what is valuable." Ministers having boasted of the comparative force of the navy, at a period when they came into power, and at the time of the present discussion Mr. Pitt stated, that in 1801 we had 101 sloops, whereas now we had but 84; we then had 69 gun-vessels, we had now 37; we then had 101 cutters, we had now 52.

The difference between the statements of ministers and those of their opponents, was so great, that nothing short of the production of the official documents moved for by Mr. Pitt, could suffice to ascertain the truth and to satisfy the public mind. The ministers, however, pertinaciously refused to produce them, and a majority of 71 sanctioned their resolution, 130 having voted for Mr. Pitt's motion, and 201 against it.

The eyes of the country began to be opened by these discussions to the incapacity of Mr. Addington's administration. The neglect not only to provide adequate means of defence at home, but to animate the drooping spirit of the continent, to resist the continued encroachments and aggressions of France, betrayed a systematic weakness, an absence of wisdom in council, and of vigour in action, which demonstrated their inability to conduct the affairs of the state with honour to themselves or with advantage to the nation.

In the year 1803 Buonaparte had the insolence to address, through the medium of his official gazette, the following language to the British government:—"You shall not retain Malta; you shall not obtain Lampedosa; and you shall sign a treaty less advantageous to you than that of Amiens." Such language as this was never used with impunity to England before this revolutionary period; and the only becoming answer to it would have been the most instantaneous adoption of an active and vigorous system of offensive warfare, a system which would have enabled our fleets and armies to hurl destruction on their insolent foe; to keep his coasts in a constant alarm; to exhibit his impotence even for the purpose of self-defence, in a striking point of view to his subjects, his tributaries, and his vassals; and to rouse, by the powerful operation of example, the dormant energies of the continent into strong and effective action. But so far was Mr. Addington from the adoption or encouragement of such

decisive measures, that he seemed lost in self congratulation and in self confidence. It might naturally have been inferred that he was stupified by the extraordinary height to which he had been unexpectedly raised; that his weak head felt giddy when he looked down from the proud eminence on which he stood; that his feet tottered under him, and that the strength of his intellects proved inadequate to sustain the awful weight of responsibility which he had, without due consideration, incurred; had not the confident tone which he invariably assumed, the boldness with which he rejected the most judicious advice, the assurance with which he defended his own feeble, torpid, and impotent measures, forbidden the supposition that he harboured the smallest doubt of the sufficiency of his own powers to guide the vessel of the state in perfect security, through the storms and tempests that assailed her on every side.

Whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that no efforts, adequate to the emergency, were made either to counteract the effects of the enemy's boasted preparations, or to carry hostility to his own shores. The nation then was alarmed, and justly alarmed, at the torpidity of the cabinet; and the incipient opposition of Mr. Pitt, whose friendly disposition to the ministers was well known, tended materially to increase the apprehensions of the public. As soon, indeed, as a renewal of hostilities became unavoidable, Mr. Addington acknowledged the necessity of giving additional strength to the cabinet, and for this purpose made some overtures to Mr. Pitt in the spring of 1803. Mr. Pitt met this proposal with becoming candour; he professed his readiness, should he be honoured with his majesty's commands for that purpose, to form a strong and efficient administration, including, of course, those statesmen with whom he had before acted; particularly earl Spencer, lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham. But such an administration by no means suited the views of Mr. Addington, who if he did not retain the office of premier, to which it was scarcely to be supposed Mr. Pitt would submit resolved, at least, to preserve a majority in the cabinet. He therefore objected strongly to the admission of earl Spencer, and lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham, against whom, independently of the objection already stated, he conceived he had personal ground of complaint, as they had pointedly attacked him in parliament. On this difference the negotiation broke off. Mr. Addington made several appeals to the public through different channels, or rather perhaps appeals were made for him, with a view to justify his own conduct, and to inculpate that of Mr. Pitt, on the subject of these overtures. Various attacks were published on both sides, but all the powers of sophistry were inadequate to conceal the plain state of the question from the public eye. In fact, one moment's reflection will suffice to convince any rational being of the justice and reasonableness of Mr. Pitt's proposal. Had he acceded to Mr. Addington's terms he would have been placed in a situation in which no minister ever yet stood, and in which it might have been impossible for him to act with benefit to the country or with honour to himself. Solely responsible, in the eyes of the nation, for the measures of government, yet without influence and having but a single voice in the cabinet, in which those measures must originate, he might, and very probably would, have been not unfrequently reduced to the degrading necessity either of supporting in the house measures which he had condemned in the cabinet, or else of publicly opposing his colleagues in office, and, thereby, of producing dissentions which must have materially affected the public service. It was to avert this evil and to render his services effective, that Mr. Pitt refused to come into office without the aid of colleagues whose talents had stood the test of long experience, and on whose principles and cordial concurrence he could place the firmest reliance. His conduct then was equally distinguished by honour and by reason; and towering like the eagle on the cliff, he might look down with contempt on the weak efforts of the mole below to undermine the lofty eminence on which he stood.

After the rejection of these overtures, Mr. Addington's public conduct displayed something like splenetic resentment, as if it were an affront to the dignity of a new and untried premier to refuse to enlist under his banners on his own conditions. The possession of power seems to have produced a revolution in his mind; to have converted diffidence into confidence; and conscious inferiority into

asserted superiority. He certainly from this period received the valuable advice of that eminent statesman, to whom he was principally indebted for his rise from the private ranks of society to an elevated situation in life, with less deference and respect; he seemed to take delight in associating with himself, in the minority, one of the very few public men who had betrayed a marked personal enmity to Mr. Pitt; and rather anxious to stand forward in opposition to the motions which Mr. Pitt occasionally submitted to the house.

But it was not to be supposed, that, whatever confidence Mr. Addington might feel in his own powers, or in the support of his colleagues, his administration could long withstand the united attacks of Mr. Pitt and his friends, and of the other two parties in parliament, headed respectively by Mr. Fox and lord Grenville. Most of Mr. Addington's political associates were men of great respectability in private life, of sound principles, and of good intentions; but deficient in all the great essentials of statesmen, and destitute of that energy and decision which are indispensably necessary to the good government of a country in turbulent and troublesome times.

The defence of the country was the great rock upon which the Addington administration was destined to split. On the 23rd of April, 1804, Mr. Fox moved for a committee to revise the several bills which had been proposed for the accomplishment of this great object, and for devising efficient measures for complete and permanent security. Mr. Pitt supported this motion, and again took a comprehensive view of the actual state of the country, as to its means of military and naval defence. There was but one point on which he and Mr. Fox differed on this occasion;—the power vested in the king by the constitution, of calling out all the subjects of his realm to defend the country in case of invasion. Mr. Fox was certainly the first statesman who ever ventured to question the royal prerogative in this particular. For nothing is more clearly laid down in all our law writers, antient and modern, than that the power of calling upon every description of his subjects to repair to his standard, when the enemy is about to invade his country, is vested in the king. It is a principle sanctioned too by the practice, as well as by the theory of our constitution, and a principle conducive to the security of the nation. Mr. Pitt asserted and maintained this principle against the attacks of Mr. Fox. On all other points these rival statesmen agreed, and the result of this concurrence of sentiment was a strong division, in which the ministers carried the question against the motion by a majority of fifty-two. Two hundred and four having voted for the motion of Mr. Fox, and two hundred and fifty-six against it.

Two days after this discussion, on the 25th of April, another debate took place on the same subject, in consequence of a motion by Mr. secretary Yorke, for the house to resolve itself into a committee, on a bill for the suspension of the army of reserve act. This motion was resisted by Mr. Pitt; and on the division there appeared, in support of the ministerial plan 240,—against it 203, leaving to the minister a majority of only 37.

This additional mark of dissatisfaction with the conduct of ministers proved the death-blow to their expiring power. They immediately tendered their resignations; and the king, whose wishes were in unison with those of his people, consigned to Mr. Pitt the task of forming a new administration. When the strength of that cabinet, over which Mr. Pitt presided for so many years, was considered, nothing appeared more easy than the formation of a new ministry. It was naturally imagined that those statesmen who had so long and so cordially united their efforts to preserve the state from danger, in the most perilous times, would be ready again to stand forward in her support, and to resume, in obedience to the call of their sovereign, the same situations which they had so ably and so honourably filled before. Unhappily it appeared, that since their secession from power, these noble persons had formed some new connexions, or, at least, had imbibed some new ideas, respecting the materials of which a new administration ought to be formed. They thought, but it is difficult to conceive by what train of reasoning their minds had first been brought to such a conclusion, that no ministry could be efficient, unless it were composed of the leading members of the three parties in parliament;

those of Mr. Pitt, of Mr. Fox, and of lord Grenville. Mr. Pitt had no objection, if it should be the king's wish, to admit Mr. Fox into the cabinet; but his majesty objected to this proposal, and supported his objection on grounds, the validity of which no one who had studied the public character, and traced the public conduct of Mr. Fox, could for a moment dispute. Mr. Pitt urged his reasons, with becoming firmness, for the expediency of comprising Mr. Fox in the new ministry; but he did not think it compatible with his duty as a subject, nor decorous as a statesman, to press this point more strongly upon the king, much less to make it the ground of withholding his own services from his sovereign and his country.

Lord Grenville, however, and his associates in this new system, remained firm to their purpose, and rendered a compliance with their wishes the sine quâ non of their return to office. The following letter from lord Grenville to Mr. Pitt was published, as the defence of their conduct upon this occasion.

"My dear Pitt,

"I have already apprised you, that all the persons to whom, at your desire, I communicated what passed between us yesterday, agree with me in the decided opinion, that we ought not to engage in the administration which you are now employed in forming. We should be extremely sorry, if, by declining this proposal, we should appear less desirous than we must always be, of rendering to his majesty, to the utmost of our power, every advice of which he may be graciously pleased to think us capable. No consideration of personal ease or comfort, no apprehension of responsibility, nor reluctance to meet the real situation into which the country has been brought, have any weight in this decision; *nor are we fettered by any engagement on the subject, either expressed or implied;* we rest our determination solely on our strong sense of the impropriety of our becoming parties to system of government, which is to be formed, at such a moment as the present, *on the principle of exclusion.*

"It is unnecessary to dwell on the mischiefs that have already resulted from placing the offices of government in weak and incapable hands. We see no hope of any effectual remedy for these mischiefs, but by uniting in the public service "as large a portion as possible of the weight, talents, and character to be found in public men of *all descriptions and without any exception.*" This opinion I have already had occasion to express to you in the same words, and we have, for some time past, been publicly acting in conformity to it; nor can we, while we remain impressed with the persuasion, concur in defeating an object, for which the circumstances of the times afford at once so strong an inducement and so favourable an occasion.

"An opportunity now offers, such as this country has seldom seen, for giving to its government, in a moment of peculiar difficulty, the full benefit of the services of all those who, by the public voice and sentiment, are judged most capable of contributing to its prosperity and safety. The wishes of the public, upon this occasion, are completely in unison with its interests, and the advantages which, not this country alone, but all Europe, and the whole civilized world, might derive from the establishment of such an administration, at such a crisis, would probably have exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

"We are certainly not ignorant of the difficulties which might have obstructed the accomplishment of such an object, however earnestly pursued. But when, in the very first instance, all trial of it is precluded, and when the denial is made the condition of all subsequent engagements, we cannot but feel that there are no motives, of whatever description, which could justify our taking an active part in the establishment of a system so adverse to our deliberate and declared opinions.

"I remain,
"My dear Pitt, &c. &c. &c.
(Signed) "Grenville."

The want of that classical accuracy of language, which so generally marks the slightest compositions of the scholar and the gentleman, would lead me to question the authenticity of this letter, were it not for the consideration that lord Grenville's neglect to disclaim it, would, if it were really a fabrication, subject his lordship to a charge of culpable contempt for public opinion, which it would

be presumptuous to impute to him. Compelled, therefore, to receive it as the genuine production of his lordship's pen, it becomes a duty to expose the weakness and fallacy of the opinion which it contains.

It is perfectly clear from this letter, that the only obstacle which lord Grenville and his friends considered as insurmountable to an union with Mr. Pitt, was the king's objection to Mr. Fox, as a member of the cabinet. Respect for the sovereign, rising paramount to all delicacy or forbearance towards any of his subjects, renders it necessary to call the readers attention to the probable grounds on which that objection was founded. It must be remembered, then, that Mr. Fox had declared himself an enthusiastic admirer of the French revolution, which produced the murder of the king, the abolition of the aristocracy, and a general system of oppression and plunder;—that through the various stages of that revolution, he pertinaciously adhered to his original opinion, and uniformly derided the notion of danger to a foreign state from the infusion of those principles which had effected the destruction of the French monarchy. When these principles had made considerable progress in this country,—when all the sound part of the community were alarmed at the rapid progress of disaffection,—and when seditious societies, in every quarter, threatened to overthrow the venerable fabric of the British constitution, Mr. Fox, though a word of discouragement from his mouth in the senate would have silenced the voice of treason, and have compelled Jacobinism to retire within the inmost recess of her den, not only forbore to utter that word; but all his speeches, in parliament and elsewhere, were calculated to fan the flame of revolt, and to animate the agents of sedition. He systematically opposed every measure suggested by Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville, for stifling the rising spirit of anarchy, and for securing the church and the throne against the attacks of their numerous and infuriated enemies. Every legislative attempt to check the progress of treason and sedition met, in Mr. Fox, with a most determined opponent. The war which parliament and the nation at large had proclaimed to be just and necessary, he uniformly pronounced to be unjust and unnecessary. And lastly, when peace was concluded, he openly rejoiced at the event, because it was glorious to the enemies of his country! If such conduct, pursued systematically for the long term of seventeen years, did not supply as strong, as proper, as honourable, and as constitutional an objection as the mind of an Englishman can conceive, to the admission of Mr. Fox into the cabinet, no conduct whatever, short of convicted delinquency, could constitute an adequate objection. But there is another important point involved in this question. The constitution has, for the wisest purposes, vested exclusively in the sovereign the right of choosing the servants of the crown, without exception or restraint. That the right of choice includes the right of rejection, it would be a waste of words to prove by argument. To call the latter right in question is to impeach the former, and to destroy one of the leading features of a monarchical government.

But it forms not one of the least extraordinary parts of this case, that lord Grenville and his associates were members of that cabinet, by whose advice the king erased the name of Charles James Fox from the list of his privy-counsellors;—a mark of degradation never inflicted, but as the punishment either of declared delinquency or of imputed disaffection! Mr. Fox had never recanted any of those principles, had never retracted any of those expressions, which had induced the members of the cabinet to advise the infliction of this disgrace upon his head. If, then, it had been proposed to them, immediately after his exclusion from the privy-council, to receive him as a member of the cabinet, would they not have indignantly spurned such a proposal, and have regarded it as an insult to themselves? It is impossible to doubt, for a moment, that such would have been their conduct; for the same acts, on the part of Mr. Fox, which rendered him unfit to be a privy-counsellor, must, *a fortiori*, have disqualified him for a seat in the cabinet; and it is clear that Mr. Fox stood, at this moment, precisely in the same situation, in respect to his merits or demerits, as at the period when he incurred the disgrace in question; or rather he now stood in a worse situation, since he had exhibited additional proofs of the same sentiments, additional instances of the same misconduct, which had drawn upon him the signal mark of his sovereign's

displeasure. Here then lord Grenville had acted himself upon that principle of exclusion, which he now considered an insurmountable bar to his acceptance of office. His lordship too, it may be remarked, found no deficiency of "weight, talents, or character," in the administration of that day, from which, not only Mr. Fox, but all his political friends were excluded. The "public voice and sentiment" supported that administration, and there was not the smallest reason to believe, that they would not have given an equal support to a cabinet composed of the same individuals, at the present moment. Nor will it be contended that, perilous as the times unquestionably were, they were to be compared, for extent of danger, to the early periods of the revolutionary war, when hostilities abroad were less formidable than disaffection at home. Lord Grenville was not asked to associate with "weak and incapable men," but with men whose strength and capacity he had long experienced and uniformly acknowledged. The grounds, then, here urged by his lordship, for his refusal to come into power, without Mr. Fox for his associate, are not to be supported either by arguments or facts.

It is worthy of remark, that lord Grenville expressly denied that he was fettered by any engagement, either expressed or implied, to Mr. Fox or any other person; and that he did not conceive himself bound to make any stipulations in favour of the catholic claims, as the condition of his acceptance of office. It would have been a novel sight, for the nation to behold an administration founded on the *latitudinarian* system, admitting public men of all descriptions, and without exception. By the establishment of such a basis, public virtue would have been reduced to a level with public profligacy; loyalty and disaffection, patriotism and treason, would have been placed on the same footing; and the king might have boasted of a more motley cabinet than any to be found in the history of antient or modern times. To suppose that Mr. Pitt had ever publicly acted upon, or privately admitted any such levelling principle as this, would be to admit a supposition at variance with the whole tenor of his public life. It was his wish, indeed, to form a strong and efficient administration; envy and political animosity were strangers to his bosom; and he would willingly have acted in the cabinet with Mr. Fox and his friends, had it been the pleasure of his sovereign to receive them as his servants. But he never had acted for a moment, and never would have acted, on the strange notion of depriving himself of the privilege of objecting to any person, of whatever description, who might be proposed as his associate in power. Lord Grenville's statement, then, was loose, indefinite, unguarded, and unwarrantable. Mr. Pitt's conduct, when out of power, was framed on no such opinion, but on a plain simple sense of duty, which led him to consider measures without reference to men, and to vote upon every question, according to his conscience, without considering what description of men supported or opposed it.

Had the king yielded to the importunities of combined parties, at this important conjuncture, and suffered an administration to be formed agreeably to the wishes of lord Grenville, it is pretty evident, that the united friends of his lordship and Mr. Fox would have had a preponderating influence, and, indeed, a numerous majority in the cabinet. Whatever measures, therefore, they chose to propose, must of course have been adopted, or the administration must have been dissolved. Mr. Pitt then, in respect of weight in the ministry, would have been placed in as bad a situation as if he had met the overtures of Mr. Addington in 1803, and become a part of that administration. On the other hand, if Mr. Pitt had been as peremptory as lord Grenville in imposing on his sovereign a minister, in whom he could not confide, and to whom he had a strong and constitutional objection, the king would have been rendered a cypher in the state,—the tool, the pageant of an aristocratic party, in whose hands all the real power of the sovereignty would have been vested. But, happily for the country, Mr. Pitt knew his duty too well, and was too resolute in the discharge of it, to load the venerable head of his sovereign with sorrow and disgrace. He obeyed the royal commands; and, by the 12th of May, a new ministry was formed, without the assistance of the friends either of lord Grenville or of Mr. Fox.

The cabinet was composed of Mr. Pitt, first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; duke of Portland, president

of the council; lord Elden, lord chancellor; earl of Westmorland, lord privy seal; lord viscount Melville, first lord of the admiralty; earl of Chatham, master general of the ordnance; lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state for the home department; lord Harrowby, secretary of state for foreign affairs; earl Camden, secretary of state for the department of war and the colonies; lord Castlereagh, president of the board of controul for the affairs of India; and lord Mulgrave, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

Mr. William Dundas was made secretary at war; Mr. Canning, treasurer of the navy; Mr. George Rose and lord Charles Somerset, joint paymasters of the forces; the duke of Montrose and lord Charles Spencer, joint paymasters general; Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Sturges Bourne, secretaries of the treasury; sir William Grant, master of the rolls; Mr. Perceval, attorney-general; sir Thomas Manners Sutton, solicitor-general; lord Hardwicke, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; lord Redesdale, lord chancellor; sir Evan Nepean, chief-secretary; and Mr. Corry, chancellor of the exchequer.

1804. When Mr. Pitt now resumed the reins of power, he had no very encouraging prospect before him, to animate his hopes or to stimulate his exertions. At home the army and navy, particularly the latter, were by no means in a situation which corresponded with the immense resources of the country, and with the general spirit with which they were appropriated to the public service. The regular army had not been encreased to the extent necessary for hostile operations; while the most complete ignorance, and the most decided incapacity could not have left the navy in a worse state, in every respect, than that in which it was found by Mr. Pitt, on his return to office. The number of volunteers in the kingdom was indeed great, but they had been assembled without discrimination or judgment, and were destitute of those rules and regulations which are essential not only to the preservation of discipline but to the prevention of discord and anarchy. The evils resulting from this defect became daily more manifest and alarming; and it was evident that, without the adoption of some regular system, evil would flow from the very source of good.

Abroad the colossal power of France struck the astonished eye on every side. Buonaparte assigned no bounds to his ambition, imposed no controul on his passions, prescribed no limits to his vengeance. As he appeared nearer to the authority and dignity of sovereign he seemed resolved to annihilate, if possible, the sad relicts of that unhappy race which had given monarchs to France for so many centuries. The duke d'Enghien, the worthy representative of the house of Condé, had, since the continental peace, lived in retirement at the town of Ettenheim in the electorate of Baden. In this neutral territory the Corsican, who acknowledged no law but that of force, resolved to seize him; for which purpose he sent general Caulincourt, his aid-de-camp, with a body of cavalry, who entered the electorate without ceremony, on the 15th of March, and coming unawares upon the destined victim of the tyrant's rage, secured the duke and several of his friends without difficulty and even without opposition. The duke was immediately conveyed to Strasburgh, and thence, without delay and without any interval of repose, to Paris, where he was conducted to the same prison, the *Temple*, which had been the last scene of his sovereign's miseries. He was not, however, permitted to remain here, or to take the smallest rest, but was hurried away to the castle of Vincennes, where he arrived on the 20th of March; and that same evening, exhausted with fatigue, he was dragged before his judges. A mock trial ensued, and the illustrious prisoner was found guilty of having borne arms against the French republic, to which he owed no allegiance, and of having conspired to restore the French monarchy, to which he was bound by every tie that is obligatory on the human mind. In the night the Corsican's brother-in-law, Murat, (now the mock king of Naples,) with four other general officers, among whom were his own brother Louis Buonaparte, (the new sovereign of Holland) and Duroc, the Corsican's secretary, arrived at the castle, under an appropriate escort of *mamelukes*. The murderous deed was performed by the consul's bodyguards. The duke died, as he had lived, with the spirit of a christian soldier. He expressed his satisfaction that his assassins were not Frenchmen, (they were Italians,) as his wretched countrymen would have one crime less to answer for. And Heaven knows!

the black catalogue of their crimes needed no addition.

This act of wanton and needless barbarity rendered the unprincipled ruffian by whom it was committed an object of execration to the great mass of his new slaves; and could there have been an expedition directed at this moment, with a view to afford assistance and protection to the discontented in France, there is reason to believe that a very general insurrection might have been easily excited. But the military despot had such a powerful force at his command as to keep the people in that abject state of subjection which precludes all attempt at liberation, without the most powerful foreign assistance, and which, indeed, almost stifles the wish to obtain it. The effect which the murder of the duke d'Enghien had upon the different potentates of Europe was such as to show the wretched situation to which most of them were reduced. Russia and Sweden, indeed, evinced a spirit which would have done credit to better times; their remonstrances were strong, pointed, and decisive; they breathed the language of offended honour and of wounded humanity. But they were addressed to a wretch to whose bosom humanity, honour, and remorse were equally strangers. The correspondence which ensued, displayed on the part of the two northern powers, a manly perseverance in the same honourable principles and conduct; and on the part of France a contempt of every thing that is magnanimous, noble, and decorous; fraud, duplicity, and falsehood marked every communication which issued from the black cabinet of St. Cloud. The appeal which the emperor Alexander made, on this occasion, to the princes of the German empire, was received, with the solitary exception of the elector of Hanover, in a way which bespoke their abject degradation, their miserable state of dependence on a foreign usurper. Prussia, who might again have proclaimed herself the champion of violated justice, evinced a determination to support the Corsican in every act, however atrocious, unjust, and inhuman. The elector of Baden too, who if he had possessed one spark of honour in his bosom, should have been the first to resent the violation of his territory, and the gross insult which he had thereby sustained, vied with the Prussian monarch in professions of kindness and respect for the base assassin. Austria remained perfectly neutral and passive. Thus, for the present, Buonaparte had no opposition to dread on the continent, although it was evident that the resentment of Russia only waited for a more favourable opportunity to break forth into open hostility. Encouraged by this state of things the consul proceeded to ascend the last step on the ladder of ambition. When all the previous preparations were made, addresses were presented to him, by the legislative and municipal bodies and by the different armies, in the months of March, April, and May, (1804,) beseeching him to become emperor of the French. No extreme of baseness in adulation, which the human mind can conceive, could exceed that by which these addresses were marked. A man stained with every crime, and whose hands were still reeking with the blood of an innocent and a virtuous prince, was, with the most astonishing contempt of decency and truth, held up as a model of virtue. The slaves whom he ruled with a rod of iron, who trembled at his nod, and who held him in execration, were represented as happy under his mild and free government, and as ardently desirous to perpetuate his reign. When the public had thus been apprized of the consul's intentions, a decree was finally passed by the senate on the 18th of May, abolishing the constitution which the senators and consuls themselves had so recently sworn to observe and maintain inviolate, declared Napoleon Buonaparte emperor of the French, and the imperial dignity hereditary in the family of this upstart foreigner. The new emperor then addressed an impious letter to his bishops, in which he ascribed his elevation to Providence, and ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches on the glorious occasion. The bishops kept pace in their adulation with the military and civil bodies, and framed new prayers adapted to the new order of things; while, to crown the whole, and to render as it were religion herself the handmaid to usurpation, the pope was ordered to attend the ceremony of the coronation, and with his own hands to place the crown on the sacrilegious head of the usurper. This ceremony, which put the seal to the degradation of France, took place on the 19th of November, in the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris, the same church in which, with more zeal, the senseless Parisians had a few years before worshipped a naked prostitute, as the

goddess of reason, in obedience to the command of Buonaparte's friend and predecessor, Maxamilian Robespierre.

Mr. Pitt's attention was first directed to the increase of the military force, with a view to a co-operation with any of the continental powers, who might be induced to make another effort for the emancipation of Europe from the tyranny of France; and next to an endeavour to ascertain the intentions of the principal powers of the north, and to confirm those intentions should they be found to correspond with the enlarged views of the British cabinet. On the 5th of June he introduced a bill for the creation of an additional force by compelling every parish in the kingdom to supply, according to their respective population, a certain number of men towards an army of reserve destined to recruit the regular army, which by this means Mr. Pitt supposed would receive an annual supply of 12,000 men. This scheme met with considerable opposition in all its stages and was ultimately carried by a small majority.

It was evident, however, that the opposition given to this bill was not exclusively influenced by the objections which its opponents held either to its principle or to its provisions, much less to a concurrence in any other plan which might constitute a fit substitute or adequately provide for the defence of the country. It was natural, indeed, that on such a subject great difference of opinion should prevail, and that many should prefer from conviction one means of providing for the national defence to another. But, in the present case, the personal friends of Mr. Addington, with that gentleman at their head, independently of such objections, could not but feel a strong desire to prove the inferiority of the proposed plan to that suggested by the late minister; nor could they be expected to wish success to the measures of one by whose efforts principally they had lost their own situations. The members of the Grenville party were also stimulated by the pangs of disappointed ambition; while the keenest resentment sharpened the opposition of the excluded adherents of Mr. Fox. The operation of the various motives was too visible in the course of the debates on the bill in question to escape notice. Indeed, in the discussion of the 18th of June, when the bill passed through one of its stages, the spirit of party appeared, without the smallest attempt at concealment or reserve, and raged with such violence, that Mr. Sheridan devoted the greatest part of a long speech, on the motion for reading the amendments to the additional force bill, to a comparison between the merits of the late and those of the present ministry; to a farsical description of the latter; and to an unqualified panegyric on Mr. Fox. Indeed he did not hesitate to declare, that these litigations of party, that this contemptible struggle for place and power, were of infinite more importance than the bill itself which went to provide adequate means of defence for the country at a season of considerable danger. There were many circumstances by which this discussion was marked most disgraceful to the character of *that* house of commons: and eminently calculated to deprive it of the esteem, respect, and confidence of all serious friends to the constitution of the country. On the 15th of June, the opposition, at an early period of the day, found themselves in greater numbers than the ministerial side of the house, when they had recourse to a party manœuvre, which might have been regarded as a masterly display of skill in the revelries of a tavern meeting, but which when performed by the representatives of a great nation, attached disgrace to their proceedings. To Mr. Grey the honour of this splendid triumph belonged. Aware of his temporary advantage he suddenly pressed the question for the second reading of the amendments, and carried a majority of six against it. The evil which such a stratagem was calculated to promote was, however, rendered harmless by a subsequent discussion on the same day, when Mr. Grey's motion for postponing the second reading of the amendments for three months was rejected, and Mr. Ryder's amendment for substituting "Monday next" for three months was carried by 214 against 185. During the debate Mr. Spencer Stanhope, feeling that indignation which no one, who was desirous of supporting the dignity of the British senate, could fail to experience, truly represented, that the proceeding of Mr. Grey *would be considered by the country as disgraceful and contemptible.* The speaker, however, decided that by the application of such epithets to any proceedings of that house, he had been highly disorderly. Yet three days after Mr. Sheridan termed the majority of the house, on a recent division,

a *small, miserable,* and pitiful majority, such as no minister could think an honour to him; and represented the conduct of a portion of that house as "mean, shabby, and unbecoming;" the speaker did not feel himself called upon to pronounce such language to be disorderly or improper.

In the opposition to this measure, were evidently united all the persons who wished to dispossess Mr. Pitt of his place, or at least to produce a radical change in the ministry; and this wish had a greater influence on the votes of many, than perhaps they were disposed to acknowledge, even to themselves. Mr. Sheridan, having praised the conduct of Mr. Addington, in resigning when he had only a small majority in his favour, inferred the necessity of Mr. Pitt's resignation, because he had carried this measure by a majority nearly as small; as if the merits of an administration were to be appreciated by a single measure, respecting which, there were probably as many different opinions as there were leading members in the house. This politician wilfully overlooked the ruling cause of Mr. Addington's resignation;—namely, the evident weakness of his general system of government, and the want of confidence which it necessarily engendered.

Mr. Pitt, in answer to this singular remark of Mr. Sheridan's, pertinently observed, that, broad as the hint might be, it was not broad enough for him to take it. He was yet sanguine enough to believe the bill would pass; if it should not, all he had to lament was, that the country would be deprived of the increased means of security, which he flattered himself he had provided for it. Should he be disappointed in that respect, it must not be supposed that he should consider his disappointment as a defeat. He should merely treat it as the decision of the house on the dry merits of the bill. If this scheme should be rejected, another project, which he trusted would be less objectionable, should be submitted, and the *hint* should not be taken, until he found his attempts to promote the public security utterly nugatory and ineffectual; then he should retire, not with mortification, but with triumph,—confident of having exerted his best endeavours to serve his country. Mr. Pitt said he would not discuss how far a wider basis, for the formation of his majesty's government, would have evinced the wisdom of the sovereign; but he should not think the prerogative entire, if they were permitted thus to deliberate on its exercise, so far as to examine the propriety or impolicy of inviting a principal person on the opposite bench to participate in the public councils of the state. Thus, to interfere would be to alter the constitution of the land, which, although free, was yet monarchical; and, for the preservation of its liberties and immunities, all its parts should be protected from violation.

The interest excited in the proceedings of the two houses of parliament was, for some time, absorbed in the sympathy excited by the trial and execution of colonel Marcus Despard and his companions, for high treason. They were arraigned on a special commission, and the trial of the colonel was held at the new sessions-house of Southwark, on the 7th of February. After a long trial, they were condemned to be executed. The colonel bore his fate with exemplary firmness, but protested his innocence to the last moment of his life.

CHAPTER LV.

GEORGE III

[1803 to 1805.]

History of the War with Holkar—Policy of Lord Mornington—Intrigues of Holkar—Exploits of Sir Arthur Wellesley—Splendid Achievements of General Lake—Triumph of the British Arms—Restoration of Peace to India—Union of the Parties of Pitt and Addington—Charges adduced against Lord Melville—Resignation of Lord Sidmouth—Alarm excited in England by Menaces of French Invasion—State of Continental Affairs—Formation of another Coalition—Campaign of 1805 in Germany—Surrender of Mack—Capture of Vienna—Battle of Austerlitz—Humiliation of Austria—BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR—Death of Lord Nelson—Death of Mr. Pitt—His Political and Domestic Character.

AMIDST the barrenness of foreign events, the details of the Mahratta war excited unusual interest in the minds of the British people, who are seldom anxious on subjects connected with the affairs of India. On this occasion we were indebted, for the splendor of our political and military success, to the united talents of two illustrious brothers, whose names will shine with peculiar lustre in the annals of their country. The marquis of Wellesley, then lord Mornington, upon the true policy of thinking nothing done while aught remained to be performed, had planned an expedition against Batavia, in which his brother was to have acted under general Baird. His object was to expel the French from the Indian seas; and for this purpose he meditated also the conquest of the isles of France and Bourbon,—a conquest, the delay of which had occasioned so heavy a loss to the East India company. These plans were frustrated partly, it is said, because admiral Rainier made some demur as to the extent of the governor-general's power,—as if such questions should have arisen when great objects of national policy were to be undertaken! General Baird was called off with his disposable force to Egypt; and colonel Wellesley, who had so narrowly escaped exposure to the fatal climate of the west, was thus saved from the dangers of a region, even more destructive, in the east. It had been intended that he should accompany the troops to Egypt; but lord Mornington perceived that a new scene of danger was opening in India, and therefore remanded him to his command at Seringapatam.

NOTWITHSTANDING the alliance between the Mahrattas and the British government, the former had carried on a secret correspondence with Tippoo, endeavoured to excite his family to oppose the settlement of Mysore after his death, and given unequivocal proof of their hostile purposes, by refusing that portion of his territories which was offered them. The peishwah possessed, at this time, merely a nominal authority; his councils were entirely controuled by Dowlut Rao Scindiah, who, with inferior talents and less discretion, had succeeded to the power of his uncle, Madhagee Scindiah. This chieftain not only over-ruled his own sovereign, but was master also of the mogul's person, holding thus, in actual subjection, the descendants and representatives of Seevagee and of Aurengzebe. Even oriental history presents few tragedies so frightful as that of Shah Aalum, the last of the moguls! He had first protected and then promoted Gulam Kaudir Khan, whom his own father had

banished for his vices; the favoured servant of a weak prince easily becomes his master, and Shah Aalum soon found himself under a yoke that he could not shake off. Scindiah was marching against Delhi, and Gulam Kaudir offered to answer with his head for the result if the mogul would march out with his troops and give them a supply of money. Shah Aalum objected that he had no money; the Khan offered to advance a sufficient sum, saying, all he had to do was to head the army, the presence of a monarch being above half the battle. The mogul agreed; but the next day a letter from him, desiring Scindiah to make all possible haste and destroy Gulam Kaudir, was intercepted by Gulam himself. However insufferable his conduct might have been he was now fairly justified in measures of self defence, and had he contented himself with simply putting the mogul to death he would have been little liable to censure for such an action. But this man had all the cruelty of the oriental character. He stormed Delhi, and entering the mogul's chamber knocked him down, knelt on his breast, and with his own hand pulled out one of his eyes. One of the mogul's servants was made to pull out the other; the palace was then given up to pillage, and this ruffian going into the Zenana tore the jewels from the noses and ears of the mogul's women, and cut off their arms and legs. The most beautiful of the mogul's daughters is said to have stabbed herself to escape the violence which he offered. There is some satisfaction in recording the merited punishment of a wretch like this; being unable to resist Scindiah he stuffed his saddle with precious stones and fled towards Persia; on the second night he fell from his horse and was taken by his pursuers. Scindiah put him in irons and exposed him in a cage, then ordered his ears, nose, hands, and feet to be cut off, and left him in that condition to expire.

Shah Aalum was thus revenged, but his condition was in no respect meliorated. The Mahrattas held him in the lowest subjection; and when Scindiah left Delhi and its surrounding territory in the possession of M. Perron, a French adventurer, who under his protection was forming an independent state, the French, while they still used the name of the aged and blind monarch, treated his person with the most barbarous indignity. Upon this Frenchman Scindiah placed great reliance, expecting by his means to oppose the British forces with equal arms. A. M. de Boigne was the first person that formed a body of regular troops in Scindiah's service, and he admitted British as well as French officers indiscriminately; but M. Perron, when he succeeded to the command, carefully excluded the former that he might establish a military power exclusively commanded by his own countrymen. His force at this time amounted to about 16,000 or 17,000 regular and disciplined infantry, a well appointed and numerous train of artillery, a body of irregular troops, and from 15,000 to 20,000 horse; besides which he looked for reinforcements of cavalry from the petty chiefs who were his tributaries or allies. His revenues were about £1,700,000. A Frenchman never loses sight of the interests of France—it is the best part of their national character; as it is the worst part of ours, that the honour and welfare of our country are habitually sacrificed to the most despicable passions, and the vilest purposes of faction. The French had been told that England must receive her mortal wound in India, and M. Perron was just in such a situation as Buonaparte would have selected for striking the blow. His head-quarters were established near Coel, in a commanding position on the frontier of the British possessions, and on the most vulnerable part of our extensive empire. Consistently with the safety of that empire his power could not be suffered to exist; but before that question could be brought into discussion Scindiah provoked a war. A rival chief, by name Jeswunt Rao Holkar, disputed his right over the Peiswah. The founder of Holkar's family was a man of low birth; and the orientalists who embellish or disfigure every thing with fable, say, that in his boyhood when he was keeping sheep and had fallen asleep in the sun, the deadliest of the Indian serpents crept from its hole and extended its hood over his head to shield him from the heat. The fable is worth repeating because a more appropriate tutelary genius for an eastern conqueror could not be imagined.

Holkar began his career with considerable success; the combined armies of the peishwah and Scindiah marched against him; but the peishwah now conceived a hope of emancipating himself from the subjection in which he was held; and when the approach of Holkar diminished his fear of Scindiah,

he seized the opportunity of proposing an alliance to the British government. It was immediately ratified by the governor-general, and an agent was sent to Scindiah, for the purpose of inviting him to the alliance, for it was thought that all parties would now find it advantageous to come to an agreement under the mediation of the British. The peishwah, in whom the proposat originated, would regain his authority by this means; Scindiah would be secured against a rival, whom he was little able to withstand; and Holkar, who was at present a mere adventurer, depending upon rapine, might acquire a permanent establishment. But while the agent was on his way, the armies engaged in battle, Holkar was victorious, and the peishwah, escaping to the Cokan, signified to the government at Bombay that it was his intention to take refuge in that presidency. Holkar, meanwhile, took possession of his capital, and placing another puppet on the throne, reigned there in his name. In this state of things, both the governors of Madras and Bombay thought it necessary, without waiting for instructions from Bengal, to prepare their disposable force for immediate service. On the one hand, Holkar earnestly applied to the resident of Poonah to effect an accommodation with the peishwah; Scindiah, on the other, requested a continuance of British friendship towards him and his dependent sovereign; and the peishwah, being now at liberty to act for himself without controul from either, signed a treaty at Bassein, in consequence of which the British forces prepared to restore him to his capital. The nearest troops were those of the Madras presidency, assembled at Hurryhur, on the north-west frontier of Mysore, under lieutenant-general Stuart; a detachment from this force was ordered to advance into the Mahratta territory; the command of this detachment required political judgment, not less than military skill; lord Clive, therefore, thought it could not be confided, with so much likelihood of advantage, to any person as to major general Wellesley, because of his local knowledge, and his personal influence among the Mahrattas,—an influence acquired during his command at Mysore, and his military operations against Dhoondiah and other refractory chiefs. The detachment consisted of 9700 men, including one regiment of European horse, and two of foot; and to these were added 2500 Mysore cavalry, the resources of Mysore being now brought in aid of the British government, which, before marquis Wellesley's administration, had been so often endangered by the restless hostility of that formidable power.

General Wellesley performed a long march through the Mahratta territory, at a most unfavourable season, without loss or distress; so well had he concerted the supply and movement of his troops! Here also he manifested that talent, which was afterwards so signally displayed in France; in the midst of an enemy's country he maintained such perfect discipline, and succeeded so entirely in preventing all plunder and excess, that the inhabitants, wherever he came, regarded him as their protector and preserver. At Aklooss, he formed a junction with the nizam's subsidiary force, under colonel Stevenson; but learning that Holkar had left Poonah, where Amrut Rao (father of the puppet whom the usurper had placed upon the throne) remained with about 1500 men, he thought it unnecessary to advance with the whole of his force through an exhausted country, especially as it was now, more than ever, needful that he should accelerate his march; for he was repeatedly apprised that Amrut Rao had resolved to plunder and set fire to the city, on the approach of the British troops; and the peishwah, who had still part of his family there, sent an urgent request that he would detach some of his Mahratta troops to provide for their safety. Leaving, therefore, colonel Stevenson's force so distributed that the whole might easily procure subsistence, and speedily form a junction whenever it was advisable, as soon as his own detachment was within sixty miles of Poonah, he made a forced march with the British and Mahratta cavalry, and performed the whole distance in thirty-two hours, the last forty miles by night, over a most rugged country, and through the difficult pass of the little Bhoorghaut. He reached the city so unexpectedly, that Amrut Rao had only time for flight. Well has it been said, in those official notes wherein these transactions are so perspicuously related, and their policy so triumphantly justified, that the first effects of the British influence in the Mahratta domi

nions were thus displayed in rescuing the capital of the empire from impending ruin, and its inhabitants from violence and rapine; a circumstance equally honourable to the British character, and propitious to the British interests in that part of India. The inhabitants, who had remained in the city, welcomed the British troops as their deliverers; and they who had fled to the adjoining hills, during Holkar's usurpation, immediately returned to their houses, and resumed their occupations. The peishwah returned to his palace, where, for the first time, he felt himself a sovereign in reality, as well as in name.

Scindiah, meantime, had collected a large force, avowedly for the purpose of opposing Holkar. But no sooner had the interference of the British power delivered him from all danger in that quarter, than he began to negotiate with his old rival, and with the rajah of Berar, for the purpose of subverting the treaty of Bassein. After a long series of professions, prevarications, and falsehoods, in the true style of Asiatic policy, he at length declared, that when he and the rajah of Berar had met, the British resident should be informed whether it would be peace or war. There remained only this alternative; to submit to the insults of a rapacious and faithless adventurer, suffer the Mahrattas to dictate to the British government, and thus sacrifice its dignity, its honour, and its interests; or, by an effort equal to the occasion, crush the audacious enemy, and cut up danger by the roots; for it was well known that Scindiah relied upon the skill and discipline of M. Perron's army, and that his triumph would be the triumph of French policy, and would, more than any other event, prepare the way for French ascendancy in the East. Happily for the British empire, there was a strong hand at the helm. A campaign was planned, upon a wider scale than any European had ever before ventured to contemplate in India. It comprehended almost the whole of Hindostan, from Calcutta and Madras on the eastern, to Bombay on the western side; and from Delhi in the farthest north, to Poonah, Hyderabad, Guzerat, and Orissa. The latter country was to be attacked from Gangam and from Calcutta, thereby striking an effectual blow against the rajah of Berar; the government of Bombay would seize the sea-ports and territory belonging to Scindiah in Guzerat; on the Oude frontier, general Lake had to destroy the influence of the French, and rescue the blind mogul from the barbarous indignity with which he was treated by those adventurers, thus at once extending the power, and exalting the character of the British; in the Dekan, general Wellesley had to oppose the confederated force under Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, to protect the nizam, the peishwah, and deliver the company's possessions from danger. His position was so important, so great his influence among the Mahratta chiefs, and so great the confidence reposed in him, that he was invested with a distinct local authority, subject only to the governor-general in council, but possessing full power to conclude upon the spot whatever arrangements might become necessary, either for the final settlement of peace, or for the active prosecution of war.

The history of this memorable campaign, which, in all its parts, was as ably executed as it was wisely planned, belongs to the life of marquis Wellesley rather than to his brother; but the duke of Wellington may look back with pride upon the part which he performed in it. The great danger in Indian warfare is that of not being able to bring the enemy to action. Hyder Ali well knew the advantage of this Parthian mode. An English commander, weary of pursuing him, once wrote a letter to that able general, saying how disgraceful it was for a prince like him, at the head of a large army, to fly before so small a force. Hyder replied, "Give me the same sort of troops that you command, and your wish for battle shall be gratified. You will understand my mode of war in time. Shall I risk my cavalry, which cost 1000 rupees each horse, against your cannon-balls that cost two pice? No; I will march your troops till their legs become the size of their bodies. You shall not have a blade of grass, nor a drop of water. I shall hear of you every time your drum beats, but you shall not know where I am once a month. I will give your army battle, but it must be when I please and not when you desire it." Hyder kept his word. Scindiah's army seemed disposed to act on this policy, when general Wellesley and colonel Stevenson marched against him; the former had about 9000 men in his division, the latter about

8000. The combined force of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar consisted of 10,500 regular infantry, commanded by French officers, (besides irregular foot,) a well equipped train of artillery exceeding 100 guns, and between 30,000 and 40,000 horse. It was of the utmost importance to bring their main force to action. When, therefore, the two British corps met on the 21st of September, at Badnapoor, general Wellesley determined that they should move separately towards the enemy, and attack them on the morning of the 24th. He took the eastern rout beginning his march on the 22nd. On the 23rd, when he reached Naulnair, he found that the enemy were about six miles off, upon the very ground on which he himself had intended to encamp. He determined to attack them without waiting for colonel Stevenson; it was better he thought to bring them to action with half the army than let them avoid an attack, which they would probably do if he delayed. Moreover he could not wait for the junction without being himself exposed to that mode of harassing war which barbarous troops are best employed in waging, and which European soldiers can least endure; a warfare which, affording to the defensive party little other stimulus than that of perpetual alarm, wears down the spirits as well as the body. In these circumstances the boldest counsel was the best; and Charles XII. did not act more boldly at Narva, nor with more signal success.

The troops had already marched fourteen miles; a sufficient body was left for the protection of the baggage and stores, the rest hastened on, and came in sight of the enemy at one in the afternoon. The confederate army was encamped between the Kaitna and the Juah, two rivers which run nearly parallel toward the point of their junction. Their line extended east and west along the north bank of the Kaitna; the banks of which being high and rocky are not passable for guns except at places close to the villages. Their right consisted entirely of cavalry, and extended to the infantry which were encamped near Assye, a fortified village that has given name to the battle. General Wellesley determined to attack the left, where the guns and infantry were posted, though he had arrived in front of their right; an attack upon the vital part of their force he rightly thought would be decisive. He passed the Kaitna at a ford beyond their left flank, and formed his infantry in two lines, leaving the cavalry as a reserve in a third, and keeping in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry by the peishwah's and Mysore horse. The enemy perceiving his intention, changed the position of their infantry and guns, and brought them to bear upon the assailants with consummate skill and terrible effect. Officers who had made several campaigns on the continent declared that they had never seen cannon better served than at Assye that day. The British artillery had opened at a distance of 400 yards; general Wellesley saw that it could produce little effect against the formidable line opposed to it, and that it could not advance because so many men and bullocks were disabled. Never was promptitude more required, and never was it more strikingly displayed than throughout the whole of this day's work. He gave orders to leave the guns, and for the whole line to move; lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, with the British horse, being instructed to protect the right; the 74th regiment in this wing had suffered so much from the enemy's cannon that a body of Mahratta cavalry ventured to charge it; colonel Maxwell charged them in return and drove them with great slaughter into the Juah. The enemy now dismayed at the steady advance of the British troops gave way on all sides; they were driven from their guns; and the British army, pressing on in pursuit, left the artillery which they had thus bravely taken, behind them. They were not enough in number to secure advantages as they won them; and perhaps in the heat and exultation of victory, they did not recollect that it is a common practice among Indian troops to feign death in the hope of escaping it; with this hope many of the Mahrattas threw themselves down among the guns, the conquerors passed them by, and they seeing that another hope flashed upon them rose and turned the guns upon the victorious army. The fugitives perceiving how marvellous a change was thus effected in their favour, rallied, and the battle was to be fought again. Colonel Maxwell charged their infantry, broke them again, but fell. General Wellesley, with the 78th, and a regiment of native cavalry, once more attacked the formidable artillery, which had already made such havoc among his men; his horse was shot under him, but the second attack proved

as irresistible as the first, and the field with all the spoil was again his own—no more to be contested.

The loss of the conquerors was severe beyond all former example in India, a full third of the victorious army being killed or wounded. Never was any victory gained against so many disadvantages. Superior arms and discipline have often prevailed against as great a numerical difference; but it would be describing the least part of this day's glory to say that the number of the enemy was as ten to one; they had disciplined troops in the field under European officers, who more than doubled the British force; they had 100 pieces of cannon which were served with perfect skill, and which the British, without the aid of artillery, twice won with the bayonet. Never was victory more bravely achieved, or more complete; stores, ammunition, camp equipage, bullocks and camels, standards, and cannon were left upon the field; 1200 dead were counted there, and the country round was strewed with the wounded. It produced proposals from the enemy, one of Scindiah's ministers wrote to request that general Wellesley would send a British officer to his master's camp for the purpose of negotiating terms of peace. England has never in her Indian wars been fooled by treaties out of what she has gained by the sword. The general having none to controul him was left to pursue the straight forward policy of an active spirit and commanding mind. He refused to treat upon these propositions, because, as the request was not made directly on the authority of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, they might afterwards disavow the act of their minister; and because it would appear if a British officer were sent to the enemy's camp, that the British were soliciting peace instead of granting it to a beaten enemy. He declared himself, however, ready to receive, with all respect in the British camp, any person duly authorized to propose terms. It soon became obvious that the Marhattas were temporizing, and he lost no time in prosecuting his success. After totally destroying Scindiah's Persian cavalry, and defeating the greater part of the Berar infantry on the plains of Argaum, he stormed the hill fort of Gawalgur and compelled the rajah to purchase a separate peace by ceding the provinces of Anttack and Balesore; and a fortnight afterwards Scindiah, in like manner, submitted to such terms as the British general thought proper to dictate; the other parts of this marvellous campaign belong not to our subject. Suffice it to say that M. Perron retired before general Lake without venturing to give him battle; and his reputation received a shock from which he was unable to recover; the fort of Ally Ghur, which was his usual residence and grand depôt, and which to any native power was impregnable, was taken by storm. The victorious English entered the city of Shah Jehan, and of Aurengzebe, to deliver their blind and oppressed descendants from degradation and bondage. The capture of Agra put them in possession of the city of the great Akbar, and the fort which has emphatically been called the key of Hindostan; and the battle of Leswaree completed the defeat of the enemy, and the destruction of the French force, M. Perron and his officers soliciting the British protection, because when their power was overthrown, "they found themselves just objects of indignation in the country which they had governed." General Wellesley, for his part in this memorable campaign, received the first fruits of those honours of which he was one day to reap so abundant a harvest. A monument in memory of the battle of Assye was erected at Calcutta; the inhabitants of that city presented him with a sword, his own officers with a golden vase; in England the thanks of parliament were voted him, and he was made a knight companion of the Bath. The people of Seringapatam presented to him an address on his return, which, to one who felt himself deserving of the sentiments which it expressed, must be as gratifying as the proudest distinctions. They had repose for five years, they said, under the shadow of his protection; they had felt during his absence in the midst of battles and victory, that his care for their welfare had been extended to them as amply as if no other object had occupied his mind; they were preparing in their several casts the duties of thanksgiving and of sacrifices to the preserving God who had brought him back in safety, and they implored the God of all casts and of all nations to hear their constant prayer, whenever greater affairs should call him from them, for his health, his glory, and his happiness.

On the 12th of January, 1805, Mr. Ad-

dington was raised to the peerage, by the title of viscount Sidmouth; and, two days afterwards, succeeded the duke of Portland as lord president of the council. The latter nobleman had long been considered as a minister only in name; his great age and infirmities having rendered him totally incapable of official functions. To the earl of Buckinghamshire, one of lord Sidmouth's assured friends, were given the seals of the duchy of Lancaster, and his nearest connections were admitted to the privy-council. The return of the Addingtons to a share in the administration, did not cause much surprise either to the friends or the enemies of that party; but that the minister should again ally himself to the man, whose conduct in office he had arraigned in terms of the bitterest sarcasm and the most severe invective, and whom he had repeatedly held up to view, as ignorant and inefficient. Fortunately, an event occurred, which threatened, and actually produced, a dissolution of this strange and ill-assorted connection. Every effort of the opposition, to displace existing ministers, having proved abortive, recourse was had to a measure, which, it was hoped, would weaken the administration, by depriving it of the powerful assistance which it derived from the knowledge and experience of lord Melville. On the 8th of April, Mr. Whitbread moved a string of resolutions, one of which, the eleventh, was couched in the following words: "That the right honourable viscount Melville had been privy to, and connived at, withdrawing from the bank of England, for the purpose of private interest and emolument, sums issued to him as treasurer of the navy, and placed to his account in the bank, and has been guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty." After a long and animated discussion, the house divided on the resolutions, and the numbers on both sides being equal, the speaker, Mr. Abbot, gave his casting vote against the noble delinquent. Preparations were immediately made for his trial before the peers; Westminster-hall was fitted up for the purpose; and the house of commons appointed managers to conduct the proceedings. As Mr. Whitbread had taken an active and leading part in bringing the charges before parliament, he was also unremitting in the prosecution of the trial.

During the whole of these proceedings, the new president of the council, and his adherents, separated from the minister, and took an eager and an active part in bringing lord Melville to the bar of public justice;—conduct which must have been considered as a defection from the government, of which they formed a part, and must have been deeply resented by the minister. It was also rumoured, that other causes of distaste and disagreement existed between Mr. Pitt and lord Sidmouth at this period; that the former was jealous of the influence which the latter maintained in a *certain quarter*, which had lately been manifested in the disposal of high ecclesiastical dignities; and that, instead of gaining a useful ally, Mr. Pitt had only exposed himself to the machinations of a dangerous rival. Whether these reports were founded in truth, it is not my province to decide; but certain it is, that, on the 12th day of July, viscount Sidmouth and the earl of Buckinghamshire resigned their respective offices, and were succeeded by earl Camden and lord Harrowby. Some other changes, too insignificant to be noticed, took place in administration, but none conducive to its strength; and thus did the minister find himself, at a most arduous moment, deprived in the cabinet of the assistance of lord Melville, and in parliament of the aid of the members attached to the interests of lord Sidmouth, on both of which he had so much necessity to depend. His 1805. embarrassments were augmented by the aspect of affairs on the continent, and the formation of another and unfortunate coalition.

Since the commencement of the present war, a co-operation of the great powers of the continent against France was ardently desired and sought by the British ministry. England had now sustained the contest, single-handed, for more than two years, without any decisive result being produced. During this period, it is true, the war had compelled France to cede to the Americans, for a pecuniary equivalent, the rich and extensive province of Louisiana; and the blacks of St. Domingo were enabled by it once more to expel the French, and recover their independence; but, notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances abroad, the suspension of her commerce on the ocean,

and the blockade of her ports, France continued all-formidable on the continent.

The late war, which had so totally destroyed the former political condition of the continent, added immensely to the strength of the enemy, and gave her councils, for a time, a decided superiority. Her boundaries, on the north, were extended to the Rhine, the islands of which river she also occupied. And Holland, which she had induced to make common cause with her in the war against England, was held in possession by her troops, under pretence of guarding her against invasion, but really to overawe her councils, and watch her movements. Hanover, which had been invaded by France in the beginning of the contest, was still occupied by a French army; and some of the Hanseatic towns purchased their security by furnishing France with the loans she demanded.

In the south, her limits and influence were also greatly extended. Besides places of less consequence, Savoy, Nice, Geneva, the whole of Piedmont, the isle of Elba, and, lastly, Genoa, were successively added to France; and the Italian republic, by accepting Buonaparte for its chief, identified its power and resources with those of the French nation. Switzerland, an important acquisition, from the natural strength and situation of the country, and the virtue and valour of its inhabitants, had lately been re-organised, on the plan of Buonaparte, and was now united to France in close ties of friendship. The pope owned absolute submission; and the territories of the king of Naples, whose views were apprehended to be hostile, were overrun by French troops. The king of Spain, who had endeavoured to avoid taking part in the war, was at length forced into its vortex; the resources of that antient monarchy were also added to those of France, already gigantic; and, finally, Portugal, the only-remaining and trusty ally of England, was compelled to purchase a precarious neutrality, by giving considerable sums to the French government.

Under these propitious circumstances, Buonaparte exerted himself to preserve the peace of the continent, that he might be at liberty to bring the whole of his colossal force to bear against England; and for a time he succeeded. The very greatness of the power of France; the remoteness of Russia, and the indifference she evinced for the affairs of the south-west of Europe; the weakness of Austria, still unrecovered from the severe losses she had sustained in the late terrible war; and the close alliance and friendship of Prussia, and some of the German states, with France; and which, no doubt, was dictated to those powers by their jealousy of Austria and Russia; enabled the French government to oppose successfully all the designs and efforts of the British minister for producing a co-operation in his favour on the continent.

The effects of this success, on the part of France, soon began to appear in the concentration and evolution of her great power against England. Buonaparte, who, early in the contest, threatened to invade, and make the heart of the British empire the seat of war, now actively engaged in preparing to carry his threat into execution; forests were cut down and conveyed to the coast, for the purpose of constructing vessels fit for the enterprise; shipwrights, carpenters, and other artisans, were every where put into requisition; and the ports and harbours of France, and her dependencies, exhibited an activity and bustle before unknown. Soldiers, at the same time, were marched down in great numbers to the sea-side, and practised in naval tactics; and the harbour of Boulogne, contiguous to, and directly opposite the eastern shore of England, being appointed the rendezvous for the different vessels to be engaged in the invasion, was strongly fortified and secured against attack.

Thither, in a comparatively short space of time, swarmed numerous divisions of the enemy's flotilla; so that the immense number of their masts made it resemble a forest. The construction of these vessels was peculiarly well adapted to the purposes for which they were intended; drawing little water, they were enabled to creep along shore from the contiguous rivers and harbours in which they were built; and, being protected by their batteries on land, to enter Boulogne in spite of the efforts of our cruisers to intercept them. The ease, also, with with which they were built and managed, rendered them, in a little time, familiar to the soldiers, and admitted, without great loss of time or expence, their accumulation to almost any number; and

their shape and dimensions were well calculated for conveying troops a short distance, and speedily gaining the shore.

Buonaparte, who made frequent visits to Boulogne, occupied himself in giving system and activity to the immense mass of materials for invasion which he had now collected. The flotilla still prodigiously increasing by the arrival of fresh divisions of vessels from the neighbouring harbours, was regularly exercised in manœuvring before the port; and the soldiers encamped on the heights above Boulogne were frequently marched to the shore, and practised in embarking, landing, rowing, and all the other movements necessary to render them expert and efficient in the projected expedition. The joint manœuvring of the vessels and troops soon gave their operations a plan and daring well calculated to make them formidable. Divisions of the flotilla containing troops at length ventured outside their harbour, and, notwithstanding the interruption of a heavy fire from our ships, continued to manœuvre and fight with great intrepidity; and latterly their confidence had so much increased that they generally sent out a force for covering the arrival of any fresh division from the attack of our ships. On these occasions smart actions ensued, and even the coasting division frequently displayed great firmness, but having the advantage of a heavy fire from the batteries on shore, after some close fighting, in which several lives were lost, and great bravery shewn on both sides, the enemy's vessels for the most part succeeded in escaping into Boulogne.

But Boulogne, though the great centre of operations against England, was not the only point whence attack was threatened; nor the flotilla which it harboured the only means of carrying that attack into execution. Buonaparte, when he projected the invasion of England and devised the Boulogne flotilla for conveying his army across the channel, also perceived the necessity of having a powerful fleet without which his flotilla could be of no use. He diligently applied himself to increase his navy, and in no great space of time, from the extraordinary exertions made, the marine of France was elevated to a respectable footing. The same creative energy was also communicated to Holland, where several ships of war were speedily equipped; and Spain, lately precipitated into hostilities by a policy, the soundness of which is more than doubted, lost no time in joining her marine to that of France.

Thus, in little more than two years from the commencement of the war, the enemy found himself at the head of a formidable navy, which enabled him to commence offensive operations by sea, and to give an imposing aspect to his formidable preparations for invading England. His first efforts on the ocean were to injure and intercept our commerce, and alarm us for the safety of our foreign possessions. This policy, besides diminishing the elements of our resources, would force us, he hoped, to detach a considerable portion of our military strength from home, and would also divide and distract our fleets. An uncommon activity was seen to prevail in all the enemy's ports from the Texel to Toulon; and notwithstanding the principal harbours in this immense line of coast were blockaded and narrowly watched by our fleets, yet some strong squadrons of his ships contrived to slip out of port and form alarming junctions.

Of this description were the combined French and Spanish fleet which sailed from Cadiz in April, and which, for the three following months, kept the British empire in anxious apprehension for their objects and destination. In July this formidable fleet returned to Europe from the West Indies, fortunately without obtaining any object but that of alarming us. Steering, however, for the coast of Spain, they were fallen in with on the 22nd of that month, by a division of our ships under sir R. Calder; and as the British admiral was between the enemy and the land, an action became unavoidable on the part of the combined fleet. Sir Robert commenced it by attempting to break the enemy's line so as to cut off his rear; but this manœuvre, so successful in the British fleet on a former occasion, was defeated by a counter manœuvre of the French admiral, who, perceiving the intention of sir Robert, locked his fleet so as to render that intention nugatory. A smart action then took place between the two fleets, in which the British tars displayed their usual bravery, and the French and Spaniards shewed great courage. A fog and night coming on put an end to the engagement; and notwithstanding two line of battle ships were captured during the action by our fleet, yet the enemy claimed the victory. For the two following

days the two hostile fleets remained in sight of each other, but without renewing the engagement; on the 26th the combined fleets were out of sight, and in a few days after entered the port, first of Vigo, and then of Ferrol.

The result of this engagement, though honourable to the British navy, was certainly far short of the expectations of the British nation, and of the brilliant victories which it was lately in the habit of seeing achieved by its fleets. The circumstances of the country too were calculated to give it peculiar interest at the moment; nor could the public well conceive how a British fleet, even though inferior in numbers to a combined French and Spanish fleet, had not succeeded in gaining a more complete victory. This maritime enterprize of the enemy greatly increased his confidence; detached squadrons put to sea with the view of annoying our commerce; his large fleets seemed prepared to execute important movements; and a general and simultaneous effort of invading us from all his ports began, not without the appearance of reason, to be seriously apprehended.

To meet the gathering storm the British minister had, from the moment in which invasion was threatened, employed himself in taking measures of defence. The army was increased to the utmost, which the means resorted to were capable of producing; the navy was carried to a magnitude before unknown; and the people, feeling the imminency of the danger, volunteered to arm in defence. In a few months more than 300,000 volunteers appeared in arms, equipped and ready to take the field; and, although not bred up in camps, most certainly fully determined to defend to the last their country and their homes. Troops were marched down in great numbers to guard the coast opposite France; the necessary orders were issued how to act in case of actual invasion; signal posts were erected along the coast and for some distance in the country, so as to give an early and extensive notice of the enemy's landing, that troops might be speedily collected from all quarters; a strong fleet was stationed in the Downs to watch the movements of the enemy's flotilla in Boulogne, and to attack it in case it ventured out; and arrangements were also made for calling out, if necessary, the levy *en-masse*.

Thus it was resolved, should the enemy's armaments put to sea, and either by eluding our fleets, or by an unlucky combination of other circumstances, succeed in gaining our shores, to abide the event of the contest on British ground. But just as this severe trial in all probability approached, when Britain was about to be plunged in all the horrors of an exasperated war, carried on in her very bosom and for her existence, events occurred on the continent producing that co-operation for which the British ministry had so long and ardently sought, and which, by diverting the forces of France to new objects of hostility, suddenly relieved England from the menaced invasion.

Since the arrival of Buonaparte to the supreme power of France in 1799, and more particularly after the treaty of Amiens, he seems to have steadily pursued two objects, viz. his own aggrandisement and the consolidation and extension of the empire he governed. True to the first of these pursuits the chief consul gradually advanced his aims, till at length he aspired to the imperial diadem and obtained it. This singular and rapid elevation rather surprised and disgusted than alarmed the thinking part of Europe; it was at once a brilliant display of transcendant abilities forcing their way from absolute humility to the pinnacle of human power, and a humiliating proof of the ascendancy over the mind of ambition and the passions. It had, no doubt, its effect in disposing the continental cabinets to irritation, and a circumstance which occurred about the same time tended greatly to increase that effect. The duke d'Enghien, one of the house of Bourbon, was arrested in the territory of the margrave of Baden, on a charge of conspiring against France, by a party of French soldiers sent across the Rhine for that purpose, and being conveyed to the French side of that river, he was immediately tried by a military commission, found guilty, and shot. This quick severity excited strong sensations throughout Europe; the margrave of Baden, in whose margravate the seizure was made, complained of a violation of territory; the young king of Sweden, son-in-law to the margrave of Baden, remonstrated with the French government in a spirited manner on its violation of the independence of the German empire. Notes to the same purpose were

transmitted from the Russian and other courts concerned in maintaining the integrity of the Germanic body; all which complaints and remonstrances, however, the French ruler found means to appease and set at rest for the time.

But the ambition displayed by Buonaparte, in annexing to his dominions territory after territory, created feelings of a more angry nature, which ultimately rekindled the flames of war on the continent. Whether Buonaparte apprehended the lurking hatred of the continental cabinets to the new order of things, added to the power and extent of France, with the view of being better enabled to defeat future hostility; or whether his towering mind aspired to the empire as well as throne of Charlemagne, and he increased his strength for the execution of the mighty enterprise, time will disclose; certain it is, that his measures were calculated for effecting either view, as necessity might press, or circumstances invite; and they were the means of provoking a fresh confederacy against him.

The acquisitions which the late war gave to France, no doubt left a severe rankling in the bosoms of those whose territories had been dissevered; and although Austria, the principal sufferer, had her losses on the Rhine compensated by Venetian Istria, Dalmatia, and other places, still she secretly sighed for an opportunity of recovering her former military fame, together with her wrested provinces. This disposition was favourable to the views of Russia, whose monarch had lately shewn considerable dislike to the proceedings of the French government, and who now appeared disposed to become a party in a coalition which would oppose and attack it.

Accordingly the Russian cabinet engaged with more than ordinary interest in the affairs of the south of Europe. The annexations and assumptions of power by Buonaparte became matters of remonstrance from the northern court, and a coolness between France and Russia immediately ensued. Some time afterwards, the British parliament voted a subsidy of five millions sterling, for engaging the emperor of Russia in the war with France. Sweden, no doubt emboldened by Russia, treated the new French emperor with little less than scorn; while Austria, though professing a desire for the re-establishment of general tranquillity, silently rejoiced at the growing hostility, and prepared for the desired moment, when she might be able to re-conquer her former possessions. Buonaparte, perceiving the approach of a new coalition, exerted himself to destroy it, and avert a continental war, which must force him to abandon his enterprise against England; and, with the assistance of Prussia, he so far succeeded as to procure the nomination of a Russian envoy to be sent to Paris, there to negotiate a settlement of the existing differences. This Russian envoy, baron Novosiltzof, had actually proceeded as far as Berlin, on his way to Paris, when news of the annexation of Genoa to the French empire reached him in the Prussian capital. He instantly determined to proceed no further, and applied to his court for fresh instructions. The Russian cabinet immediately recalled him. Prior to his departure, he communicated a short note to the baron de Hardenberg, and which note the Prussian minister immediately inclosed to the French minister, M. Laforet, then at Berlin, declaratory of the reasons of his return to Petersburgh, without having proceeded further on his mission; and thus the business of negotiation between France and Russia was suddenly broken off.

But, although friendship and the usual intercourse between those two powers ceased to exist, yet no actual hostilities took place, owing to their remoteness from each other, until some time after war had been renewed between France and Austria.

The reason was this: the preparations of Austria for war, about the period when the rupture of the negotiation between Russia and France took place, became too evident to be longer concealed under the pretence of merely exercising the troops. Buonaparte, who saw their true design, took the alarm, and declarations in the form of notes, on the subject, were immediately passed between the French and Austrian ministers.

The first material note is from count de Cobentzel, (the Austrian minister at Paris) to Talleyrand; it was delivered early in August, in consequence of a conference held between the two ministers. In this note, which expresses great moderation, and an ardent desire for the restoration of general tranquillity, the emperor of Austria, after

regretting deeply the failure of the proposed negotiation, offers his mediation, and invites the court of St. Petersburgh and the Thuilleries immediately to renew the negotiation which was on the point of being opened, and to which he promises to lend his most earnest assistance.

To this note Talleyrand, by order of Buonaparte, then at Boulogne, returned, on the 13th of August, a long answer; in which the French emperor, after expressing how sensibly he was affected by the moderation of the aforesaid declaration, and the readiness of the emperor of Austria to interpose his mediation, yet declines the latter emperor's offer; alleging that the present state of things, and the insults offered him by Russia, must render it wholly fruitless, and involve the dignity of the mediator. Buonaparte then goes on to charge Russia with being averse to peace, and does not hesitate to say, that the expectation alone of co-operation from Austria led England to continue the war; that, therefore, the emperor of Austria had it in his power to make a declaration similar to that of Prussia, "not to enter in any case into a hostile project against France;" to restore peace to the world; in which event, he (Buonaparte) would immediately fulfil his promise, of separating the crowns of France and Italy for ever. "But if, on the other hand," continues Buonaparte, "Austria, by indecision, leave a doubtful opinion, and authorise the English ministry to assert that she belongs to a coalition; if she continues to keep 72,000 men in Italy, the emperor will be obliged to believe that she sees, with a secret joy, a war which weakens France; and that she thinks the moment favourable for resuming hostilities, of which the present generation must be tired of being made the victims."

The French note next takes notice of the military movements and preparations in Poland and Italy, and the forming an army and magazines in the Tyrol; and after conjuring Austria to make a declaration of neutrality, and confirm it by reducing her army to the peace establishment, it emphatically says, "for the interest of Austria herself, and for the glory of her sovereign, his majesty wishes that the emperor of Germany may avail himself of the opportunity which is offered to him. The fate of his own states, and that of Europe, is now in his hands. In one hand he holds the disturbances and the revolutions,—in the other the general peace. An important neutrality is sufficient to obtain for him what he desires, and to insure the peace of the world. The most efficacious mediation of peace which Austria can make, consists in preserving the most perfect neutrality, in the cessation of armaments, in not obliging France to make a diversion, and of leaving no hope for England of bringing Austria over to her side."

Fresh intelligence of the movements and preparations for war, on the part of Austria, being received, Talleyrand, in three days after the communication of the above note, presented a second one to the Austrian minister, by order of Buonaparte.

In this note, which is of a very decisive nature, Buonaparte, after stating his disappointment at the movement of troops and other dispositions shewn by Austria, at a time when he was entirely occupied in a war with England, and had relied on the pacific and friendly assurances of the German emperor, declares, that he is compelled to demand a categorical and speedy explanation of the object of these movements, which (he states) already had the effect of forcing him to postpone his projects against England, and thereby make a more powerful diversion in her favour. "Thus," continues the note, "Austria has done as much as if she had commenced hostilities." And after particularising the different warlike steps taken by the emperor of Germany, Buonaparte declares, that protestations can no longer satisfy him; that he cannot admit any intermediate state between that of war or of peace; that if Austria wanted peace, every thing in Austria must be restored to the peace establishment; but that, should Austria desire war, the French emperor will have no other alternative than to throw back upon the aggressor all the evils he would bring, not only upon the present generation, but also upon his own estates and his own family.

The French note then concludes by demanding.

1. That the twenty-one regiments sent to the German and Italian Tyrol shall be withdrawn, and those troops only allowed to remain who were there six months before.

2. That the camp fortifications be discontinued.

3. That the troops in Stiria, Carinthia, Friuli, and the Venetian territory, be reduced to the numbers at which they stood six months before.

And lastly, that Austria declare to England her firm and unshaken determination to preserve an exact and scrupulous neutrality, without taking a part in the present dispute.

To this menacing note, which had for its object the obtaining a categorical answer to the question peace or war; and imputing to the court of Vienna the ungracious part of having provoked the renewal of hostilities on the continent, the Austrian cabinet transmitted to Paris, early in September, a long and important reply.

In this answer, which sets out with declaring that the court of Vienna has no other motive in its preparations than the maintaining peace and friendship with France, and securing the general tranquillity of the continent; the German emperor, however, for the first time speaks out his sentiments; he boldly charges France with having transgressed the treaty of Luneville by forcing governments on the Italian, Helvetic, and Batavian republics, contrary to their free will, and inconsistent with the maintenance of a real political independence, and which was stipulated and guaranteed to these states by one of the articles of the above treaty.

The Austrian note farther enumerates various other grounds of complaint against France, and observes, under such circumstances it becomes necessary for other powers to arm to support each other, and to join in maintaining their own and the general security. "Thus the military preparations of the court of Vienna are provoked by those of France, as well as by her neglect of all means of securing and maintaining a true peace and future tranquillity." The encroachments and innovations in Italy are then charged upon France; and after noticing the failure of the late overtures towards a negotiation, the note says "the emperor arms not with hostile views; he arms not to operate a diversion against a landing in England; the emperor arms for the maintenance of the peace existing between him and France."

This long note next adverts to the wishes of the emperor of Russia, as contained in a declaration delivered at Vienna by the Russian ambassador, count Rasoumowsky, on the 31st of August, and in which the emperor Alexander coincides with the emperor of Germany in the necessity of an immediate armament and also proposes to march two armies of 50,000 men each, through Gallicia to the Danube, in order to combine the support of a powerful army with the negotiations for peace.

The Austrian answer concludes with the following important declaration in the names of the two imperial courts of Austria and Russia:

That they are ready to enter into a negotiation with France, for maintaining the peace of the continent on the most moderate terms which are compatible with the general tranquillity and security.

That whatever shall be the issue of the negotiations, and even should the commencement of hostilities become unavoidable, they, at the same time, pledge themselves to abstain from every proceeding tending to interfere with the internal concerns of France; or to alter the state of possession, and the legally existing relations in the German empire; or in the slightest degree to injure the rights or interests of the Ottoman porte, the integrity of whose dominions they are on the contrary prepared to defend to the utmost their power.

Finally, that the sentiments of Great Britain are conformable with those herein expressed, and that she has displayed the same moderate disposition for the restoration of peace between her and France.

This bold and unexpected reply from Austria disclosed to Buonaparte a formidable confederacy formed against him, and immediately determined him to make preparations to attack and disperse it.

Accordingly the French army in Italy, which continued to be reinforced from the moment the Austrians were perceived to make movements in that quarter, was now rapidly augmented; the principal fortresses also were abundantly stored with provisions and ammunition; and the whole Italian kingdom was soon placed in a warlike attitude. From Italy Buonaparte quickly repaired to Boulogne to direct the operations there in person, and no doubt to concert the plan of the future campaign. The immense flotilla which had been collected at this harbour, with so much industry and effort for the inva-

sion of England, was immediately ordered to be dismantled and laid up, and the formidable army intended for the daring enterprize, received its rout, without loss of time, for the Rhine, and had actually commenced its march for that river early in September. The troops also which had embarked at the Helder and other ports speedily relanded and marched for the same destination, and the French emperor issued his decree, ordering the 60,000 conscripts for the year 14 to join the army without delay.

The British minister being thus freed by the appearance of approaching hostility on the continent, from the menace of invasion by the French, actively prepared to become assailant in his turn. The circumstances of the country for some time past, conspired to afford him a large disposable force; the regular army was well disciplined and appointed; and the militia and volunteers were fully equal to the defence of the empire at home. Accordingly vigorous preparations were made for fitting out a respectable force to act against the enemy on the continent; transports for their conveyance were engaged by government, and besides about 10,000 troops who had sailed from Cork in the latter end of August, on an expedition under general Baird, several regiments consisting of cavalry and infantry both in England and Ireland, together with strong detachments of artillery, received orders to hold themselves in readiness for immediate foreign service.

Russia, who had been for some time busily employed in completing her army to the full war establishment, now resolved to augment it still more considerably, and with this view the emperor Alexander issued a ukase on the 1st of September, ordering that in the whole extent of the Russian empire four recruits be taken from every five hundred souls. A powerful Russian army passed, about the same time, the frontiers, and directed its march towards the Danube to join the Austrians; considerable reinforcements had been sent by way of the Black Sea and the Straits of Constantinople to increase the Russian force in the Seven Islands, and in conjunction with the British troops already in the Mediterranean, to threaten Italy; while numerous transports were collecting in the Baltic for conveying a joint Russian and Swedish army to Swedish Pomerania; and which, with the expedition preparing in England, was intended to recover Hanover and enter Holland; and thus to make a powerful diversion in the north, while the grand united armies of Austria and Russia reconquered Italy, and pressed France on the south and on the east.

Buonaparte viewed this awful coalition against him with a penetrating and determined eye; he saw that if he waited till all its parts were joined and brought to bear against him in a whole, either its immense pressure must sweep him from his throne, or if by dint of great and gigantic exertions in his favour, the French people enabled him to resist the attacks of his numerous adversaries, the struggle would be long and calamitous, and the result it might lead to be equally injurious to the safety of his crown as defeat.

On the other hand, by attacking the coalition while yet in embryo he would escape those formidable evils; and with an army infinitely inferior to the aggregate of his enemies (did he allow them time to meet in the field,) he would be enabled by enterprize and celerity of movement, to attack and overwhelm successively the different divisions of their yet disjointed force.

Perhaps no other conjuncture of circumstances could offer so grand and favourable an opportunity for displaying the genius and activity of the French chief and his followers. While a mighty coalition threatened to wrest from him his conquests, and perhaps his crown, a bold and decisive conduct might not only succeed in averting the storm, but give him the brilliant eclat of having thrown back on his opponents the imminent danger they had prepared for him.

Accordingly Buonaparte redoubled his exertions to seize the favourable moment; besides the powerful army rapidly marching from Boulogne to the Rhine, the principal part of the French troops in Holland and Hanover were ordered to repair to the same point; extraordinary measures were had recourse to for compelling the whole of the conscripts to march to the armies with the utmost despatch; and that the great body of the regular troops might be withdrawn from France in safety, the national guards were called out for the purpose of maintaining internal order, defending the coasts and frontiers, and of securing the retreat of the army, and opposing a strong barrier to the enemy in case of reverse.

During these formidable preparations for war, Buonaparte ordered his *charge d'affaires* at Ratisbon to induce the German diet to represent to the view of the emperor of Austria the dangerous step he was about to take, and to endeavour to dissuade him from replunging Europe into the horrors of a new war. Bacher, at the same time, presented a note to the diet, which may be considered in the light of a manifesto against Austria. In this note, Buonaparte makes a solemn declaration of the sentiments by which he is actuated; and after again charging Austria with being the aggressor, and insinuating that her hostile intentions may, in the end, be directed against Bavaria and the German empire, he declares that he will consider as a formal declaration of war directed against himself, all aggressions which may be attempted against the German body, and especially against Bavaria.

This note, which had for its object to detach the German princes from the cause of the emperor of Austria, and draw closer the ties of friendship between them and France, was presented to the diet, in consequence of demonstrations made by the Austrians for crossing the Inn, and invading Bavaria.

In a few days afterwards, Austria caused a counter-declaration to be presented to the German diet.

In this note the emperor of Austria retorts upon France the charge of disinclination to restore peace, and repeats his desire to promote that desirable end. He again asserts, that the object of his arming, in conjunction with Russia, is not otherwise interested, than to put a stop to the further encroachments of France, and to secure his own safety. The Austrian monarch next assures his co-estates, that, in case war should prove unavoidable, the legal state of the constitution and possessions of the German empire shall be maintained inviolable; and, finally, in the event of war taking place, he calls upon the unanimity, fidelity, and courage of the majority of the states of the empire, to enable him to ward off from Germany the scene of hostilities, and to carry into effect the salutary views of Austria and Russia.

Whilst France and Austria were thus making mutual recriminations, and threatening each other, both powers were actively employed in collecting and maturing the means for hostile operations. The public prints were filled with accounts of the great preparations making by the emperor of Germany; they were reported to be of a grand and imposing nature, and, for a time, it was supposed that Buonaparte was actually taken by surprise.

Napoleon, on the contrary, with more silence, and, as it afterwards appeared, with more effect, prepared to strike a decisive blow. The circumstances of France enabled him to collect a large army in a period comparatively short; and although, for some time, he appeared inactive, as if disconcerted by the sudden and unexpected movements of Austria, he found himself, in a few days, sufficiently strong to commence operations against his enemies, the rashness and inability of whose councils enabled him to execute his designs with prompt and destructive rapidity.

In the month of September, the French troops were stationed on the heights of Boulogne, in Holland, and in Hanover. At the call of their chief, they fled from the coasts of the English channel, the North sea, and the northern extremity of Germany; and proceeding by forced marches, in a fortnight crossed the Rhine. In a week more, they passed, with the same rapidity, the mountains of Wittemberg, the Iller, and the Danube. Instead of wasting their resources before the defiles of the Black Forest, they left them on their right, and boldly and rapidly advanced by the plains of Bavaria. The deceived general Mack, apprehensive for his retreat, retired from his positions near the Black Forest, and fell back upon the Iller, there to wait the junction of the first Russian army, then rapidly advancing to reinforce him. By a series of skilful and brilliant manœuvres, Buonaparte counteracted this design, completely surrounded the city of Ulm, and cut off the divisions of the Austrian army under prince Ferdinand, from the main army, commanded by Mack. The latter of these generals, influenced by cowardice or treachery, agreed, on the 16th of October, to evacuate the city of Ulm, surrendering the garrison of 30,000 men prisoners to the enemy. In consequence of this disaster, Vienna was immediately abandoned by the Austrian court, and Buonaparte made pre-

parations for the possession of that important capital. On the 10th of November, the advanced guard of the French arrived before the city, and, on the 14th, entered the town. The French found in Vienna an immense quantity of military stores, which the Austrians had not been able to remove; ammunition sufficient for three campaigns, and many pieces of artillery.

The Russian army, under Korsakow, had, in the mean time, been compelled to repass the Danube. He was now pursued by Buonaparte into Moravia, and, on the 15th of November, was attacked by the corps of Lasnes and Murat in the vicinity of Holbrun. He endeavoured to avert the impending blow by having recourse to a similar stratagem with that adopted by the French at the bridge of Vienna; and, in the hopes of gaining time to retreat, sent a flag of truce, proposing an armistice. The overture was rejected, and an obstinate battle ensued, in which the Russians were defeated, with the loss of 2000 killed and wounded, and 2500 prisoners. On the 17th, Buonaparte moved his head-quarters to Zuaim, and on the 20th to Brunn. His operations were materially assisted by the successes of the French armies in Italy and the Tyrol, which secured the strong positions in his rear, and liberated several corps of the French army, who now arrived to share in the glory and the dangers of the German war.

The Austro-Russian army was now posted near Olmutz, confident in its numbers, and deceived by a stratagem of Buonaparte into a belief that the enemy was unprepared for battle, feeble, and dispirited. Napoleon proposed an interview with the emperor of Russia, and contrived that, on the arrival of the latter in his camp, it should bear the appearance of fear, sickness, and confusion. The Russians, elated by the report of their sovereign, calculated on the immediate destruction of the French, and exulted in the prospect of surrounding them. In the midst of their exultation and self-security, they were suddenly attacked by Soult in their left wing, which was completely turned; the centre of the French, under Bernadotte, advanced, and the left, under Lasnes, marched forward to assault the enemy's right. A terrible cannonade now resounded along the whole line. Two hundred pieces of artillery, and one hundred and fifty thousand men, were engaged in the tremendous conflict; and both armies fought with the most desperate fury. In a few hours, after cutting off the whole of the Russian left wing, they forced back their right on Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the emperors of Russia and Austria. Orders were immediately given for the Russian imperial guard to advance, and re-establish, if possible, the junction of the left wing with the centre of the Russian army. The Russian guards immediately marched forwards, led on by the grand duke Constantine, and attacked the French right wing, some battalions of which they speedily routed. Buonaparte, perceiving this movement, ordered the French imperial guard to march and oppose that of the Russians. A determined and furious conflict ensued. Notwithstanding the desperate valour of the Russian guards, their courage was unavailing. The French succeeded in repulsing them, and captured their standards, their artillery, and several officers, among whom was prince Repnin, who commanded the cavalry of the Russian imperial guard. At this moment, the centre of the French army, commanded by marshal Bernadotte, and the left wing, under Lasnes, were decisively successful. A corps of Russians, which had been surrounded and driven from all the heights, now occupied a position on the level edge of a lake. Buonaparte, from an eminence, whence he could see all the great operations of the battle, hastened to the place with twenty pieces of cannon. The corps was immediately attacked and driven from position to position, until the greater part were forced into the lake, and perished in the water. About the same time, two Russian columns, of 4000 men each, laid down their arms; and the principal part of the Russian artillery, amounting to more than 150 pieces of cannon, was taken by the French.

The Austro-Russian army lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, one third of their whole army; forty standards, all their artillery, a great part of their baggage, and several generals. The French also sustained a considerable loss in killed and wounded; and so numerous were the latter belonging to both armies, that two days were employed in performing towards them the offices of humanity.

BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ.

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The first result of this decisive and extraordinary conflict was an interview at Suruchetz between the emperors of France and Austria, and the intelligence at this moment received of the events in Sicily and Hanover tended to accelerate the conclusion of an armistice. A joint English and Russian force amounting to 14,000 men landed at Naples early in November, and were cordially receeived by his Sicilian majesty. Incensed at this breach of neutrality Napoleon directed Massena and St. Cyr to attempt the conquest of Naples. The auxiliary English and Russians had withdrawn. Resistance was impossible, and the prince royal retired upon the approach of the French into Calabria, from whence he conveyed his forces to Sicily, whither the royal family and court had already retired.

1805. Early in September preparations had been made for assembling a powerful army of English, Russians, and Swedes in the north of Germany, with a view to re-occupy Hanover, attack Holland, and ultimately invade the Netherlands. The united troops obtained possession, about the middle of November, of all Hanover which had been evacuated by the French, except the fortress of Hamelu, which they still retained. The battle of Austerlitz, however, baffled the intentions of the confederates, and enabled Napoleon to despatch his forces to the relief of Hanover. In this dilemma they were suddenly relieved by the interference of the king of Prussia, who succeeded in forming an arrangement with Buonaparte, by which it was agreed that the French armies, now on the point of attacking the allied forces in Hanover, should suspend their march on condition that the combined English, Russians, and Swedes would evacuate the electorate, which was to be occupied by the troops of Prussia.

Immediately after the conclusion of the armistice between France and Austria the Russian army commenced its retreat from the states of the empire. The negotiators, prince John of Lichtenstein on the part of the emperor of Austria, and Talleyrand for the French emperor, repaired to Nicolburg to conclude a definitive peace. Buonaparte returned to the palace of Schoenbrun near Vienna, and the French army prepared to enjoy in cantonments that repose which their fatigues and exertions had rendered so necessary.

By the terms of peace dictated by the conqueror in the capital of his fallen foe, the crown of Austria was compelled to resign its Venetian possessions in Italy, Venetian Dalmatia, the whole of the Tyrol, and its possessions in Suabia. Venice was to be added to the kingdom of Italy; Dalmatia to France; and the Tyrol to the dominions of the elector of Bavaria. The Bavarian elector and the duke of Wirtemburg were caused to erect their states into monarchies, and received a considerable portion of the spoils of Austria to enable them to support their new dignities with appropriate splendor. Having thus succeeded in the humiliation of his enemies, with a rapidity almost unexampled; and accomplished every object of his most sanguine ambition, Napoleon returned by the way of Munich to Paris where he was received by the acclamations of the people, and by triumphal honours. The consternation excited in England by the deplorable result of the battle of Austerlitz was in some measure relieved by the unexpected intelligence of the glorious battle of Trafalgar, though exultation at the triumph of our arms was clouded by sincere and general grief for the loss of our brave and unequalled admiral. From the period of his departure from Portsmouth on the 29th of September the gallant Nelson had sought the fleet of the enemy in all directions; but it was the determination of Villeneuve, the French commander, not to leave Cadiz until he had reason to believe that his force was one third stronger than the British. Many circumstances concurred to deceive him into such an opinion, and an American contributed unintentionally to mislead him by declaring that Nelson could not possibly be with the fleet, for he himself had seen him only a few days before in London. Relying upon this intelligence and upon their superiority, which was in truth sufficiently great, in an unhappy hour they sailed from Cadiz. On the 19th of October the signal was made that they were at sea. In the afternoon of the next day it was signified that the enemy were determined to go to the westward, a "resolution," said the English admiral, "which they shall not execute if it be in the power of Nelson and Bronte to prevent them."

He had previously arranged his plan of attack. His object was a close and decisive action. The order of sailing was to be the order of battle, the fleet being arranged in two lines of sixteen ships, with an advanced squadron of eight fast-sailing two-deckers. The second in command having the entire direction of his line was to break through the enemy. When he approached the twelfth ship from the rear he would lead through the centre, and the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four of the headmost ships in the centre. The only difference from this plan on the day of action was, that the fleet bore up by signal in two columns. The British force consisted of 27 sail of the line; the enemy's of 33, and their superiority was greater in size and weight of metal than in numbers. Four thousand troops were on board, and a number of select riflemen were dispersed through the fleet.

On Monday at day-break, the 21st of October, 1805, a day which will be for ever memorable in the British annals, the combined fleet was descried about six or seven miles to the eastward, cape Trafalgar bearing E. by S. about seven leagues, there being very little wind and that westerly. The commander-in-chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they formed in the order of sailing, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner, a mode of attack his lordship previously communicated to his officers, as that alone calculated, "to make the business decisive," in the last order he ever gave. They were dated on the 10th of October, in contemplation of the event which I am about to detail, and which exhibit in the strongest manner, the comprehensive mind of this great man, and his profound knowledge of his profession. Lord Nelson, in the Victory, led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, admiral Collingwood, the lee.

It had originally been the intention of admiral Villeneuve, in the belief that the English fleet consisted only of 21 sail of the line, to have attacked them in the usual line of battle, with an equal number of vessels, whilst twelve of his select ships, forming a body of reserve to windward, were to bear down and double on the British line after the action had commenced, and thus place a great portion of it between two fires; every other precaution had been taken by him to ensure success: nearly 5000 land troops were distributed throughout his fleet, and his ships were furnished with every species of combustibles and fire balls, in order to set the adversary on fire, or facilitate their boarding when opportunity should offer. On perceiving, however, the real strength of the English, the French admiral abandoned his first plan, and formed his ships into one line, with great closeness and correctness: but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of his line was new, forming a crescent convexing to leeward. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure, of 80 guns, in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias, of 112 guns, bore the flag of the Spanish admiral Gravina, in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were intermingled without any regard to order of national squadron. The combined fleet thus situated, waited the attack with equal firmness and intrepidity.

About noon, the dreadful contest began by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line, which was first effected by admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, in so gallant a manner, as to excite the admiration of both fleets. He broke through about the twelfth ship from the rear of the enemy, leaving his van unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. At twenty minutes past twelve the action became general. It had been the intention of lord Nelson to have penetrated the enemy's line, between the tenth and eleventh of his ships in the van; but, finding it so close that there was no room to pass, he ordered the Victory, which bore his flag, to be run on board the ship opposed to him, and the Temeraire, his second, also ran on board of the next ship in the enemy's line, so that these four ships formed one mass, and were so close that every gun fired from the Victory set the Redoubtable, to which she was opposed, on fire; whilst the British sailors were employed, at intervals, in the midst of the hottest action, in pouring buckets of water on the flames in the enemy's vessels, least their spreading should involve both ships in destruction: an instance of cool and deliberate bravery not

DEATH OF LORD NELSON.

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to be paralleled in antient or modern history. The action was equally severe around the Royal Sovereign, and in several other quarters. The enemy's ships were fought with the greatest gallantry; but the attack upon them was irresistible. About three in the afternoon, admiral Gravina, with ten sail of the line, joining the admiral's frigates to leeward, bore away to Cadiz; five more of their headmost ships in the van, under admiral Dumanoir, about ten minutes after, tacked and stood to the southward and to windward of the British line. They were engaged, and the sternmost taken. The remaining four escaped, leaving a noble prey to the British fleet of *nineteen* ships of the line, with the three flag officers, Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, and the Spanish admirals, d'Aliva and Cisneros. At forty minutes after four, all firing ceased, and a complete victory was reported to lord Nelson, who, having been wounded early in the action, survived just long enough to hear the joyful tidings, and died as he had lived, with the most heroic resolution.

The heroic commander-in-chief had been engaged in the *Victory* with the Redoubtable of 74 guns, and subsequently with his old antagonist, the Santissima Trinidada, of 140, for more than an hour, having, at the same time, the Bucentaure of 80 guns, carrying the French admiral Villeneuve on his quarter. At about fifteen minutes after one, standing on the quarter-deck, moving, as was his custom when much pleased, the shoulder and sleeve of his amputated arm up and down, with great rapidity, he received a wound from a musket-ball, discharged by a marksman on the poop of the Bucentaure, which entered his left breast, and which he immediately declared to be mortal. To the last moment of his life, which now ebbed fast, his solicitude for the event of the action never ceased; every consideration was dormant, save an anxious wish for the glory of his country. He repeatedly, while below, demanded the news of the battle, and expressed the most lively satisfaction on being assured of immediate victory. About four, his anxiety became extreme, and he repeatedly sent for captain Hardy, who fought his ship. That officer could not, consistently with prudence, quit the deck; at length, however, seeing the enemy striking the colours on every side, or flying the scene of action in confusion, captain Hardy carried the glad tidings to the dying hero, who, after thanking God most fervently for the event, that he had survived to have it made known to him, and that he had been enabled once more to do his duty to his country, expired without a groan.

By a reference to the narrative of the French campaign on the continent, it will appear that the city of Ulm was entered in triumph on the 20th of October, the day preceding the battle of Trafalgar. In the dismay and consternation produced by the misfortunes of Austria, in the mind of the British public, intelligence of the battle of Trafalgar opportunely arrived, to cheer the spirits, and alleviate the despondency of the people. The misfortunes of our ally were forgotten in the enthusiasm of general exultation; and one consolation at least re-animated the hopes and the confidence of the nation, that England had secured the dominion of the seas, and that the example of lord Nelson would stimulate his successors to a glorious perseverance in the career of victory.

Where all were equally brave, it would be difficult to point out individual merit in this well-fought day. Captain Harvey, who nobly seconded lord Nelson, having been boarded by a French line of battle-ship on one side, and a Spanish on the other, compelled both, after a vigorous contest, to strike their colours. A similar exploit was effected by captain Freemantle, of the Neptune. When five of the captured ships were engaged so closely that the muzzles of the lower deck guns of the antagonists touched each other, the French immediately lowered their ports, and deserted their guns upon the deck, while, on the contrary, the English sailors were deliberately loading and firing their guns, with two, and often with three round shot, which soon reduced the enemy's ships to a perfect wreck.

Such a victory could not be gained without serious loss. Captains Cook, of the Bellerophon, and Duff, of the Mars, were deeply lamented. But every other feeling, even the unmingled joy which would have resulted from this glorious victory, were lost in the irreparable loss his country and the British navy sustained in the death of lord Nelson.

The total of killed and wounded was thus estimated in the official returns.

	killed.	*wounded.*
Royal Sovereign - -	47	64
Dreadnought - -	7	26
Mars - - - -	29	69
Bellerophon - -	27	123
Minotaur - - -	3	22
Revenge - - -	28	51
Leviathan - - -	4	22
Ajax - - - -	2	9
Defence - - -	7	29
Defiance - - -	17	53
Total	173	468

This estimate is exclusive of the loss on board the Victory, which was not reported.

The action had scarcely terminated before a tremendous gale of wind arose, which not only placed the captured ships, but the captors, in a most dangerous situation. Both had suffered severely, and the wind increased to such a degree, that the whole fleet were most perilously circumstanced. Many were dismasted, all were shattered, and the whole fleet was in thirteen fathoms water, off the shoals of cape Trafalgar. In this dangerous state, the skill and experience of admiral Collingwood, the second in command, and whose conduct, during the action, was eminently conspicuous, were put to the utmost test, nor was he found unequal to the emergency.

On the death of lord Nelson, the command of his conquering fleet, and the completion of the victory, devolved on Collingwood, who, as he had often done in the early part of his life, now succeeded to the rank and appointment of his friend.

His exertions, immediately subsequent to the battle of Trafalgar, though little calculated to display the prowess and intrepidity of the accomplished seaman, were highly creditable to his talents, his prudence, and his tactical experience. On the 22nd, the weather was still unfavourable; but, on the following day, the gale increased, and the sea ran so high that many of the captured ships drifted on shore. Towards the afternoon, ten sail of the combined fleet, which had not been much engaged, pushed out from Cadiz, in hopes of attacking, with advantage, the damaged and scattered English ships. In this attempt, however, they were completely frustrated by the determined countenance of admiral Collingwood, who, collecting the least injured of his fleet, not only protected his own disabled vessels, but took possession of one (the El Rayo) belonging to the enemy. Admiral Gravina's own ship, the Prince of Asturias, being dismasted by the violence of the gale, he returned with his squadron to Cadiz. On the 24th and 25th the storm so much increased, that orders were issued for the captured French and Spanish ships to be destroyed. Five of these vessels were sunk or burnt by the victors, among which was the Santissima Trinidada of 140 guns; nine were entirely wrecked, on different parts of the coast, by the violence of the storm,—many with their whole crews on board. L'Achille, a French 74, blew up during the action; and four, by the almost incredible efforts of the British officers and seamen, were carried into Gibraltar. The Santa Anne, and nine more of the enemy's vessels, escaped into Cadiz in a battered condition; and out of that number five had struck, but were abandoned by the English in consequence of the violence of the gale.

In return for his important services on the 9th of November, 1805, admiral Collingwood was created a peer of the realm, by the title of baron Collingwood of Caldburne and Hethpoole, in the county of Northumberland; and the two houses of parliament, in addition to their vote of thanks, concurred in the grant of £2000 a year for his own life, £1000 of which descended to his lady, and £500 per annum to each of his two daughters. The corporation of London, the patriotic fund, and other public bodies, voted him honorary rewards.

At the close of the battle of Trafalgar, the French admiral, Dumanoir, with four sail of the line, escaped to the southward. Their respite, however, from sharing the fate of their companions was of short duration. On the night of the 2nd of November, cruising off Ferrol, with four ships of the line and three frigates, rear-admiral sir Richard Strachan fell in with the fugitives and pursued them all night, and during the whole of the next day. Early in the morning of the 4th, the Santa Margarita and Phœnix frigates, which had outsailed the ships of the line,

gallantly commenced the action by firing upon the enemy's rear, and considerably retarded their flight. The action soon after became close and general, and continued nearly three hours and a half, the enemy fighting with the greatest resolution and obstinacy, when their four ships struck, after being rendered quite unmanageable. They proved to be the Formidable of 80 guns, captain Dumanoir, and the Duguai Truin, Mont Blanc, and Scipion, of 74 guns each. The loss of the French was severe; their admiral was wounded, and one of their captains killed; the loss on board the English ships was comparatively trifling. By this exploit of sir Richard Strachan, the last remnants of the French and Spanish combined fleets, amounted to 35 vessels of the line, were brought into an English port; and of the whole of that formidable armament only three disabled ships remained to the enemy. A result so glorious to the skill, the courage, and the perseverance of our officers and seamen, contributed in a material degree to sooth the mortification and alleviate the depression excited by the contemplation of foreign affairs, and tended to counterbalance the effects of the mighty victories and splendid successes of the French on the continent of Europe. It was even hoped that the conduct of Prussia might co-operate with the glorious intelligence of the battle of Trafalgar, to reanimate the exertions of the minor powers, and give stability and effect to the measures adopted by the emperor of Russia.

The ministers of Austria, Russia, and England, at the court of Berlin, were not slow in representing the danger to what remained independent in Europe from the restless spirit of encroachment, by which the ruler of the French nation was constantly actuated, or to amplify the probabilities there existed of entire success should Prussia join her arms to the new confederacy. In vain, however, was every art of persuasion to move the cold and selfish councils of the court of Berlin, to take any part but that of putting the troops upon a war establishment, filling the magazines, and providing the different corps with camp-equipage; thus maintaining a neutrality indeed, but an armed and a suspicious one, ready to act on either side, as interest and opportunity should suggest. When hostilities were inevitable, and the Austrian and Russian forces had begun to move, the emperor Alexander made an effort, in person, to prevail upon the king to adopt a more generous and noble, and, perhaps, a wiser part; but although the former was received at Berlin with every demonstration of personal respect and esteem, and with a splendor and consideration worthy of his exalted rank and character, the imperial guest was equally unsuccessful with the ministers of the allied powers, and he was obliged rapidly to return, baffled and disappointed, to place himself at the head of his armies, then advancing in aid of Austria.

But in the course of the campaign, an event occurred, which, had it produced those consequences which Europe had a right to expect, would have materially altered the face of affairs, and most probably have determined the war to a far different issue. I have already alluded to the direct violation of the Prussian neutrality, by a French corps, which marched through the Prussian territory of Anspach, from Wurtzburgh to the Danube. This step was totally unexpected by the Austrian commander-in-chief, who, conceiving that the force in question was destined for Bohemia, took his measures accordingly. Nor indeed was it to be supposed that at such a juncture, Buonaparte would run the risk of provoking the king of Prussia to hostilities, by an insult so pointed and glaring, as the infraction of one of the first laws of neutrality. This portion of country, however, which had devolved to the Prussian crown, by the act of the last margrave, was interposed between Wurtzburgh and the Danube, to which river it was of the utmost consequence to the success of his plans, that the corps assembled at the former place, should proceed the shortest way, and in the least possible time. Buonaparte, with that decision which marks his character, without the smallest hesitation, ordered the march of his army, which, after some slight show of opposition from the Prussian major Howen, at the head of 500 men, passed through the territory of Anspach without further molestation.

The surprise and indignation of all ranks of people throughout the Prussian dominions, at this bold and unprecedented step, was extreme, and vengeance for the insult was demanded from every quarter. The hopes of the allies were revived, and fresh solicitations were poured in upon the king, to declare himself a party in the war and thus

avenge himself for so gross an injury. The British government lost no time in despatching lord Harrowby to the court of Berlin, on a special mission, to negotiate a treaty, and offer subsidies in case of co-operation. And even the government of Prussia itself seemed roused by this flagrant breach of public law, to some sense of its dignity and its wrongs. Immediate preparations were made for hostilities, the garrisons of Berlin and Potzdam were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to take the field, and the regular troops were ordered to the frontiers. Scarcely, however, had these demonstrations of energy been made, before the capture of Ulm, and the discomfiture of Mack, disposed the Prussian monarch to pass over the affront received; count Haugwitz, the strenuous advocate of France, was despatched to treat with Buonaparte at his head-quarters; and an accommodation was immediately effected.

The intervention of the Russian emperor in the cause of the degraded and insulted states of Europe, originated in the purest and most disinterested motives, and his subsequent conduct was distinguished by every quality of the head and heart. Having superintended the arrangements and preparations necessary for sending three great armies into the field, he proceeded, on the 26th of October, to Berlin, where he gained all hearts by his affable and engaging manners. On the fatal day of the battle of the three emperors, on the plains of Moravia, he evinced the greatest personal courage and magnanimity. When the fortune of the day became decidedly adverse to the allies, he charged the enemy three times successively at the head of his guards, and, by his gallantry, not only secured the retreat of the remainder of the army, which would otherwise have been cut to pieces, but rescued and carried off the whole of the Russian artillery, previously captured by the French.

The victory of Trafalgar excited the enthusiasm of the people, but it could not soothe the disappointment or dissipate the sorrows of the minister. He had undertaken alone to move the vast machinery of the British empire; at once to provide her resources at home, protect her interests abroad, conduct a war the most dangerous in which Britain was ever engaged, and lastly, (and not the least arduous part of his task, in a government like ours,) defend his measures in parliament, against a formidable phalanx of patriotism and ability. One great source of his mortification was the disgrace and public trial of his colleague, lord Melville,—a circumstance which, united with the discharge of his vast and complicated duties, bowed down his mighty mind, and preyed upon a frame already enfeebled with care and disease. But the severest blow which this great man and genuine patriot received, was from the successes of the French upon the continent. Immediately after the tidings of the surrender of general Mack at Ulm, Mr. Pitt was observed to droop. His health, already much impaired, became daily worse, and he was compelled, however reluctantly, to quit all public business and repair to Bath, in the hope, rather than the expectation, that the use of the waters might produce a favourable change in his disorder. He returned to Putney Heath on the 10th of January, 1806, and on his arrival was advised to seclude himself entirely from business. The experiment was unsuccessful; he was seized with symptoms of the typhus fever, his pulse rose to 130, he became incapable of rational and coherent conversation, and, early on the 23rd of January, he expired.

On the 27th of January, Mr. Lascelles moved in the house of commons, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that "he will be graciously pleased to give directions that the remains of the right honourable William Pitt be interred at the public expence; and that a monument be erected, in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription, expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss." The motion having passed by a great majority, Mr. Cartwright moved that a sum not exceeding £40,000 should be voted for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts,—a motion which passed without opposition. At a meeting of the common council of London, it was moved, that a monument be erected in Guildhall, to the memory of Mr. Pitt; and, after some debate, the question was carried by a majority of only 77 to 71.

Such were the trivial and parsimonious honours paid to the memory of a statesman,

who, with all his faults, was entitled to the gratitude and admiration of his country, and whose hereditary claims to respect and confidence were not enfeebled by his personal conduct and career. His oratory, however, was the grand pillar of his reputation. His deep toned voice, his warm and forcible utterance, his slow, distinct, measured enunciation, his elevated and ornamented style, his long, involved, and apparently premeditated sentences, all impressed his hearers with an opinion of his profoundness and dignity. Every period was delivered with pomp, every sentiment breathed an air of importance. His declamation was always suited to the feelings of his audience, and was always received with bursts of applause. Their attention was still more forcibly attracted by the pointed sarcasm in which he delighted. His irony was keen, direct, and cruelly persevering. He never left his victim, however contemptible, till he had broken every limb on the wheel. The impression produced by the striking qualities of his oratory made its defects pass unperceived. The tritest idea acquired importance from the pomp with which it was announced, and amidst the miserable and abortive attempts at haranguing which usually disgrace the house of commons, the oratory of Pitt shone like a meteor amidst the twinkling stars.

His figure was tall, his bones large, his habit spare. His features were prominent and coarse, and his mouth, which was always open as he walked, expressed to those who met him, without knowing him, a conviction of his ideotcy or imbecillity. His gestures were ungraceful. Even when he harangued he chiefly moved his head and his right arm, which he brandished with great violence but in the same uniform direction. His private life was distinguished by few peculiarities, yet had considerable effect on his political reputation. Of a cool temperament he felt little inclination towards the female sex, and was considered wholly free from the vice of incontinence; a circumstance which procured him a high character for unspotted morality, and rendered him the idol of grave and religious persons throughout the nation. In his latter years this impression was somewhat diminished by the discovery that he was much addicted to the pleasures of the bottle, a dereliction which was attributed to the example of his friend Mr. Dundas. He entrusted the whole management of his private fortune to his servants, and their careless profusion involved him in embarrassment. After his resignation he expressed to some of his confidential friends his resolution of returning to his original profession the bar, for the purpose of retrieving his ruined fortune; a design at once honourable to his courage, and to the disinterested honesty by which he had filled his office. To sum up his character in a few words, his chief virtue was devotion to his country, his greatest vice inordinate ambition.

CHAPTER LVI.

GEORGE III

[1806 to 1808.]

Accession of the Fox and Grenville Administration—Their Indiscretion—Charges against the Marquis of Wellesley—Proposal to assassinate Buonaparte—Negotiations with France—Expedition to the Cape, and to Buenos Ayres—Affairs of Sicily—BATTLE OF MAIDA—Naval Operations—Capture of Linois—Vacillating Conduct of the King of Prussia—Battle of Jena or Averstadt—Buonaparte enters Berlin—Disturbances in India—Massacre at Vellore—Death of Mr. Fox—Change in Ministerial Arrangements—Delinquency of Vallancy and Davison—Abolition of the Slave Trade—Downfall of All the Talents—Mr. Perceval is appointed Prime Minister—Conduct of the Emperor of Russia—Battles of Eylau and Friedland—Triumph of Napoleon—Treaty of Tilsit—Expedition to Copenhagen—Surrender of the Danish Fleet—Emigration of the Prince Regent of Portugal to the Brazils—Disgraceful Expedition to the Dardanelles—Capture of Alexandria—Attack under General Whitelocke on Buenos Ayres—The Melancholy and Humiliating Result—Disputes with America—Orders in Council—Parliamentary Proceedings.

THE political arrangements occasioned by the death of Mr. Pitt were not easily concluded. Every attempt to form an administration composed of his surviving friends was found to be abortive; it was necessary to have recourse to the intervention of lord Grenville, and after many obstacles the new administration was finally arranged. The cabinet was composed of the following members, lord Erskine, lord chancellor; earl Fitzwilliam, lord president of the council; lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; viscount Sidmouth, lord privy seal; lord Howick, first lord of the admiralty; earl Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wyndham, secretaries of state for home, foreign, and war departments; lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer; and lord Ellenborough, lord chief justice. The office of lord of the treasury, held by lord Grenville, was incompatible with that of the auditor of the exchequer, which he held for life, and a bill was therefore passed to enable, by an ex post facto law, the possessor of the latter place to hold the former, provided he should name a trustee responsible to himself for the salary of auditor, and to the public for the execution of his office. The discontent excited by this arrangement among the great body of the people was augmented by the appointment of lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet. The duties of a king and of a judge are obviously incompatible with each other, and, in cases of treason or libel, the accused might reasonably object to the superintendence of a judge whose access to the royal presence in the capacity of a privy counsellor must inevitably bias his opinions. Nor was it discovered, without the warmest expressions of astonishment and indignation, that after all the declamation and professions of so many years the opposition leaders adopted exclusively the principles of Mr. Pitt. The very individuals who had most vehemently deprecated the imposition of the tax on property, raised that very tax from six and one-half to ten per cent.; extended the limits of income to £100 per annum, and subjected the houses of the people to the scrutiny of an excise on beer brewed in private families.

These errors, on the part of the new ministers, were in some degree redeemed by their prompt and decisive exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade; by the army bill of Mr. Wyndham, which admitted of limited service; and by their attachment to toleration.

In the house of commons, an unsuccessful attack on the conduct of lord St. Vincent was succeeded by a series of charges against the marquis of Wellesley. Mr. Paul, a gentleman lately returned from India, prosecuted an examination into that nobleman's delinquency with unabated perseverance. But his firmness and intrepidity were counteracted by the meanness of his talents, the uncouthness of his manner, and his destitution of political influence. His charges, after much discussion, terminated in a postponement of their consideration to a future session.

The trial of lord Melville began on the 6th of May, and after the court had been opened in the usual form, the charges against his lordship were read by a master in chancery. They consisted of ten articles. He was charged with receiving, previously to the 10th of January, 1786, the sum of £10,000 of the public money, for which he positively refused to account; with permitting Mr. Alexander Trotter to draw money from the bank, for other purposes than those of the navy, and to place it with his private banker, in his own name, and under his own controul. The next article charged him with having acted directly contrary to the law which had been passed, to regulate the office of treasurer of the navy, (a law of which lord Melville himself was the proposer) by paying into the bank of England, and placing to his own account, large sums of the public money, permitting Mr. Trotter, at the same time, to apply it to his emolument. This charge also maintained, that Mr. Trotter, with lord Melville's consent and privity, mixed the public money, so placed in the hands of his private bankers, with his own money, in such a manner that it was exposed to great risk, and completely put beyond the controul of the treasurer of the navy. It was also charged, that lord Melville was guilty of connivance in the conduct of Mr. Trotter, who placed the public money in the hands, and under the controul, of Mark Sprott, who employed it for his private benefit and emolument. The next article charged lord Melville with participation in the illegal profit which Mr. Trotter derived from the use of the public money; and, in order to conceal the pecuniary advances which Trotter made to his lordship, the parties agreed, in 1803, to destroy all vouchers and memorandums which had passed between them. The last article of importance charged lord Melville "that while Mr. Trotter transacted his business as his agent, he was, from time to time, in advance to him in that respect, from £10,000 to £20,000, which sums were taken from the money placed in the hands of the private banker; that his lordship thus derived benefit from the illegal acts of Mr. Trotter, and that Mr. Trotter acted gratuitously for his lordship, in consideration of his lordship's connivance at the application of the public money to Mr. Trotter's emolument, without which connivance Mr. Trotter would not have been able to make these advances.

The principal witnesses in support of the charges were Mr. Trotter, and Mr. Mark Sprott, and though they failed in substantiating the guilt of his lordship to the extent imputed by Mr. Whitbread, yet they amply, though reluctantly, proved that he had been very remiss in the discharge of his duty, as treasurer of the navy. Ten days were employed by the managers in bringing forward and examining the evidence, and in the speeches of Mr. Whitbread, and of the solicitor-general.

Three days were afterwards employed by the council for the defendant, in reply; two by Mr. Plumer, and the third by Mr. Adams. The fourteenth and fifteenth days of the trial were occupied by the managers in their reply on the part of the commons, the legal argument being conducted by the attorney-general, and the observations on the evidence being assigned to Mr. Whitbread. On the 12th of June, the house of peers having adjourned to Westminster-hall, the sentence was pronounced. The lord-chancellor, after the usual formalities, put the question, beginning with the junior baron, "Is Henry viscount Melville guilty, or not guilty?" After numbering the votes, his lordship declared to him, that "the lords had fully considered of his case, and had found him *not guilty* of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged

upon him by the impeachment of the house of commons."

About ten days after Mr. Fox succeeded to office, he received a letter from a person calling himself Guillet de Grevilliere, stating that he was arrived at Gravesend without a passport, and requesting Mr. Fox to send him one, as he had very lately left Paris, and had something important to communicate. Mr. Fox complied with his request, and, on the next morning, he was admitted to the closet of Mr. Fox, at his house in Arlington Street. He proceeded to detail the object of his journey, and to inform Mr. Fox, that a plan had been arranged for the assassination of Buonaparte, and a house hired at Passy, from which it would be carried into effect with certainty, and without risk. Surprised and confounded at the audacity of the villain, Mr. Fox, without enquiring further, dismissed him from his presence, and desired that he might be sent out of the kingdom as soon as possible. On reflection, however, he ordered him to be detained, till such information could be given to the French government as might prevent the perpetration of the crime. With that view, he transmitted to M. Talleyrand a short and simple statement of the occurrence, and received an answer, containing a natural and well-turned compliment to the honour and generosity of Mr. Fox's character, and inclosing an extract from the emperor's speech to the legislative body, purporting that he was willing to make peace on the basis of the treaty of Amiens. Mr. Fox considered this communication as a distinct overture, and proceeded to answer it with his accustomed promptitude and frankness. A correspondence ensued, of considerable length; and, in consequence of its conciliatory tone, Mr. Fox solicited, as a personal favour, the release of several of his private friends, detained as prisoners at Verdun. Among the persons named by him was lord Yarmouth, who, together with his wife and family, had resided in France since the commencement of the war. On his lordship's
1806. arrival in London, early in June, he communicated the substance of his conversation with M. Talleyrand, in which that minister stated, as the basis of a treaty, the restoration of Hanover, and the possession of Italy, conformably to the *uti possidetis*. The English ministry, on the assurances of lord Yarmouth, renewed their expressions of anxiety to negotiate; but, in the mean time, the relative circumstances of the two nations were materially changed by the victories of Buonaparte, and Talleyrand openly asserted the right to take advantage of the late revolution in affairs. In the first interview with lord Yarmouth, on that nobleman's return to Paris, he departed entirely from his explicit offer of Sicily, and suggested the necessity of negotiating with a formal plenipotentiary. The instructions to lord Yarmouth, on this occasion, were distinct and peremptory. He was directed to insist generally on the former overtures, and to make the re-admission of Sicily the *sine qua non* of the production of his full powers, which were transmitted without delay. In the mean time, the conduct and language of M. D'Oubril, the Russian ambassador, fully justified the expectations of Talleyrand. In defiance of his instructions, he signed, without communicating his design to the English ambassador, an absurd and humiliating treaty. The circumstance, on being communicated, so far intimidated lord Yarmouth, that he produced his full powers, before the stipulated basis had been recognised. The necessity of employing some other negotiator was immediately felt, and the important charge was entrusted to lord Lauderdale, who, convinced, even at the commencement of his diplomacy, that the French were insincere, was detained, under various pretences, till it became the policy of Britain, not less than of France, to await the decision of the court of St. Petersburgh, respecting the treaty with D'Oubril. On the 3rd of September, a courier brought the intelligence to Paris, that the emperor had refused to ratify the act of his own ambassador; and that event having been foreseen, lord Lauderdale was instructed to consider the two courts as having reverted to their former situation, and to propose a joint negotiation with our Russian ally. After much evasion, Napoleon left Paris for the army, and was accompanied by Talleyrand. Champagny, who remained to conduct the negotiation, was neither authorised to relinquish the claims of Joseph on Sicily, nor to acquiesce in such arrangements as would satisfy the court of Russia. All discussion was therefore at an end, and lord Lauderdale peremptorily demanded his passports.

In the autumn of 1805, an expedition had been undertaken against the cape of Good Hope. Five thousand land forces were confided to the direction of sir David Baird, and sir Home Popham assumed the command of the naval force. They reached this southern promontory of Africa on the 4th of January, 1806, and on the 8th of the same month, sir David Baird began his march towards Cape Town. The army having attained the summit of the Blue Mountains, the enemy were drawn up in the plain above, to the number of 5000. The attack was commenced by the highland brigade, under general Ferguson, by whose gallantry they were routed, after a short resistance; and the commander-in-chief, general Jansens, who retired to an interior pass, with a remaining body, soon after accepted of honourable terms, by which he was permitted, with his troops, to return to Holland.

Sir Home Popham had frequently consulted with Mr. Pitt and lord Melville, respecting the practicability of invading Spanish South America; but he was afterwards given to understand, that a deference of Russia made such a measure highly improper and inexpedient. Elated, however, by the conquest of the Cape, and stimulated by the hope of pecuniary gain, he adopted the bold resolution of attempting, in defiance of authority, some exploit in the Rio de Plata, and persuaded sir David Baird to acquiesce and co-operate in his plans, by lending him a portion of his troops. He entered the Rio Plata in the month of June, with about 1600 men, commanded by general Beresford. Having disembarked on the 24th, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres, the ships of the line made demonstrations between Monte Video and Maldonado, to alarm the inhabitants. The British troops took possession of the place, after a trivial resistance, and the enemy fled before them wherever they made their appearance. The whole of the regular troops, usually stationed at these two places, were absent, and the city was defended by a raw militia, under the command of a timid and unskilful viceroy. A conquest of some little importance was thus achieved, and a booty acquired, to the amount of several millions of dollars. The Spaniards, however, beheld with shame the trifling number of their conquerors, and a plan was secretly matured for rising on the British troops. A colonel in the service of France, formerly a pastry-cook, of the name of Liniers, landed 1000 men above Buenos Ayres, while armed levies from the country made an attack upon the town, and persevered in returning the charge, although they were repulsed. The British were at length overpowered, and condemned to the necessity of surrendering prisoners of war. Sir Home Popham, having obtained reinforcements from the Cape, attempted to recover Monte Video, but was obliged to desist. A body of troops, under colonel Vassal, were more fortunate in securing the post of Maldonado, at which place they continued to receive fresh succours, and to place themselves in readiness for a second, and, as it ultimately proved, a still more disastrous campaign.

The recent flight of the Sicilian court did not discourage the British ministry from assisting them in their efforts for the recovery of their dominions, sir John Stuart, who had succeeded to sir James Craig, arrived, on the 1st of July, in a bay in the gulf of St. Eufemia, in the northern frontier of Lower Calabria. He found that general Regnier was encamped at *Maida*, about ten miles distant, with an army nearly equal to his own. Aware, at the same time, that the French general would be immediately joined by numerous reinforcements, he determined to advance and attack him before they should arrive. The two armies were separated by a plain, from four to six miles in breadth, extending from sea to sea, and bounded on the north and south by chains of mountains. The French occupied a strong position on the sloping side of a woody hill, below the village of Maida, having the river Lamato in their front, and their flanks strengthened by a thick impervious underwood. In numbers they were greatly superior to the English, having received the expected reinforcements before the battle. Their force is supposed to have been about 7000 men, while that of the English did not amount to more than 4800. Had Regnier remained on the heights, the English must have attacked him under circumstances of great disadvantage; but fortunately, blinded by an excessive confidence, and an unbounded contempt of the enemy, he quitted his strong position, and drew up his army on the plain. The Eng-

lish, surprised at the number of his troops but undismayed by their appearance, resolutely advanced to the attack. After some firing both parties charged with the bayonet, and advanced with apparently equal resolution, but the French astonished at the firmness and intrepidity of the English, and struck with a sudden panic, gave way after the bayonets of the two armies had begun to cross, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight. They were overtaken with immense slaughter, and the left wing of their army was totally routed and dispersed. An effort was then made with the right to retrieve the honour of the day, but they were resisted with great coolness by the English left, and their cavalry was thrown into disorder on attempting to turn the English flank. An unexpected fire from the 20th regiment, which landed during the action and came up at this critical juncture, induced them to abandon the field of battle with precipitation, and to leave an undisputed victory to their opponents. About 700 French were buried on the ground, and 1000 prisoners taken, among whom were general Compere, and several other officers of rank. Their total loss was estimated at 4000 men, while that of the English was imputed, with little probability, at no more than 45 men killed, and 282 wounded. The victory of Maida was the signal of general insurrection in both the Calabrias, but sir John Stuart reflecting on the smallness of his forces, and disgusted by the imprudence of the court who cherished the insurrection by the influence of galley slaves, assassins, renegado priests, and the lovers of murder and rapine, returned to Messina where he was succeeded in the chief command by general Fox. That officer was himself succeeded by sir John Moore, who soon discovered that the great object for which a British armament was stationed in the Mediterranean could not be sacrificed to the caprices of the queen, and to the uncertain prospect of recovering Naples. Kingdom after kingdom had been subdued, throne after throne had been subverted, without teaching the Neapolitan court that there is no solid security to any government but the affection of the people. While the queen and the duke of Calabria projected the recovery of Naples by force of arms, the Sicilians, their only hopes, were neglected and despised; their grievances remained unredressed, and to the disgrace of England, her power, instead of being extended to their relief, served only to support the arrogance and maintain the authority of their tyrants and oppressors.

The accustomed superiority of the British navy was maintained during the year 1806. Sir Thomas Duckworth captured three French ships of the line in the West Indies, driving on shore and burning two other of the ships which had escaped from Brest. Linois, the French admiral by whom our commerce in the east had been long endangered, was, on his return home, intercepted by sir John Borlase Warren, and brought to Britain, with a ship of 80 and a frigate of 40 guns.

The mediation of Prussia, so officiously proposed at the close of the preceding year, was far from satisfactory to the emperor of France, and his Prussian majesty, in pursuance of his timid and humiliating policy, concluded a new treaty, by which he agreed to annex Hanover to his dominions, and exclude the British flag from the ports of the electorate. Measures of retaliation were immediately adopted by the British government; and the ports of Prussia and her allies were blockaded. His Prussian majesty, finding that his concessions did not secure him against the further encroachments of Buonaparte, and willing to evade the vigorous hostility of the British government, humbly and earnestly requested that an English minister might be sent to the head-quarters of the Prussian army at Weimar. Lord Morpeth immediately proceeded to the place appointed, but his celerity did not accord with the views of the Prussian minister. He had determined to regulate his answer to the English envoy by the result of the campaign, which had been commenced and arraigned against Napoleon with equal presumption and precipitance. He still indulged the expectation of retaining Hanover should Napoleon be defeated. His treachery was severely punished. After a series of maœuvres in which the self-confidence and imbecillity of the Prussian generals were equally conspicuous, their main force was found unprepared and inactive in positions between Averstadt, Weimar, and Jena. The two armies were defended by the heights of the Saale, which seemed to present an impregnable station to the Prussians, and to oppose an insuperable barrier to the French. But

the inadvertence and treachery of the Prussian generals overlooked these advantages, and when day broke they were attacked in their apparently impregnable position. The light troops of the centre of the French began the action by opening a brisk fire on the Prussians which enabled the French line to extend itself on the plain, and draw up in order of battle. A thick fog obscured the early part of the day, and when it drew up the two armies beheld each other at less than the distance of cannon-shot. Two hundred and fifty thousand men, supported by 700 pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction. The evolutions of the French astonished and bewildered the slow and systematic Prussians, whose ranks were broken, and whose artillery, cavalry, and baggage were pursued in triumph to Weimar.

While the Prussian centre and right were thus completely defeated, their left, repulsed by Davoust in the repeated attempts to drive him from the defiles of Kœsen, was forced after a combat of several hours to fall back upon Weimar, at the moment when the broken corps which had already reached that city were attempting to retreat in the direction of Naumburg. The confusion arising from these opposing currents may easily be imagined, and the innumerable baggage waggons which blocked up all the roads to Erfurt, impeded the retreat of the troops, and compelled them to consult their safety by a precipitate and desultory flight. The king himself quitted the high road and escaped from the scene of disorder across the fields. According to the French accounts more than 20,000 Prussians were killed and wounded in this disastrous action, and 13,000 were taken prisoners, while the loss on their own side amounted only to 1100, and 1000 wounded; an incredible and absurd computation which has since been refuted by respectable authorities who estimate the loss of the two armies to have been nearly equal. The duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded, and no commander-in-chief remained to issue general orders to the army, a circumstance which contributed to augment the disasters of retreat.

After the fatal and dreadful battle of Averstadt (or Jena,) Buonaparte continued his progress to Berlin, meeting with no opposition except from the single band of the gallant Blucher, who finally surrendered at Lubeck after the city had been taken by storm. The strongest fortresses of Prussia were surrendered to the enemy without resistance. The treachery of the officers, combined with the panic of the troops, and the battle of Jena, seemed to have deprived the generals of their honesty and understanding. The king of Prussia, in this moment of alarm and distress, applied to Napoleon for an armistice, but the stipulations it contained were so dangerous and disgraceful that he refused his ratification, and determined to persevere in his resistance, supported and reanimated by the co-operation of his Russian ally.

The momentous scenes which occurred in rapid succession on the continent of Europe, diverted the public attention from all collateral and more distant objects. Yet the empire of India, which forms so important a constituent of the British power, was at this time endangered by the imprudence and imbecility of sir George Barlow, the successor of lord Cornwallis as governor-general of India. An attempt was made by his orders to change the shape of the Sepoy turban into something resembling the helmet of European light infantry, and to prevent the native troops from wearing on their foreheads the indications of their respective casts. These innovations would in themselves have excited the indignation and alarm of the Sepoys, but their resentment knew no bounds when a report was industriously circulated that the British government had determined by forcible means to convert them to Christianity. The European barracks at Vellore, containing four companies of the 69th regiment, were surrounded by two batallions of sepoys in the company's service, who poured in a heavy fire of musketry at every door and window upon the soldiers. At the same time the European centries, the soldiers at the main guard, and the sick in the hospitals were put to death. The houses of the officers were plundered, and their unfortunate occupants murdered. Upon the arrival of the 19th dragoons, under colonel Gillespie, the sepoys were immediately attacked; 600 were cut down upon the spot, and 200 taken from their hiding places and shot. Of the four European companies 164 perished, and many British officers of the native troops were massacred by the insurgents. Subsequent to this explosion a mutiny

occurred at Nundy-droog, and in one day 450 Mahometan sepoys were disarmed and expelled the fort. A spirit of general and determined disaffection was visible at Bangalore, and prevailed throughout the adjacent country, to a degree which threatened the tranquillity and existence of our Indian empire.

The critical situation of our Indian dominions, and every other subject of foreign and domestic policy, were now absorbed in the general sensation excited by the death of Mr. Fox. On Monday, the 7th of September, he sunk into an alarming state of insensibility and depression, and died on Saturday the 13th, of a schirrus in the liver, the object of sincere and general lamentation. The remembrance of his personal failings was forgotten in the recollection of his public merits, and his exertions in the cause of national freedom.

Mr. Fox derived from nature a vigorous capacity, which was early improved by a liberal education. His conceptions were rapid, his fancy brilliant, his expression, except at the opening of his speech, fluent and unconstrained, his address open, fearless, and impressive. Yet he was condemned to struggle with the disadvantages of appearance. His figure was unpromising, his motions ungraceful, his voice shrill, and his delivery, at the commencement of his speech, indistinct and hesitating. As he grew warm, his words began to flow, his enunciation became clear and forcible, his countenance glowed; in whatever he said there was an air of candour and earnestness, which irresistibly impressed his audience with a conviction of his sincerity. His abhorrence of *war* was the noblest trait in his public character; and his most determined enemies lamented that the *minister of peace* should have been called by Providence from the service of his country, at so critical an emergency.

The death of Mr. Fox was not succeeded by any immediate change in the *party* to which the offices of government were entrusted. Lord Howick succeeded Mr. Fox, as secretary for foreign affairs; Mr. Grenville became first lord of the admiralty, in place of lord Howick; Mr. Tierney was president of the board of controul, previously occupied by Mr. Grenville; lord Sidmouth, on the resignation of earl Fitzwilliam, succeeded to the presidency of the council; and was himself succeeded by lord Holland, as lord privy seal. The confidence of the administration, in the stability of these new arrangements, was confirmed by the dissolution of parliament, and the return of a large majority of ministerial members.

The new parliament assembled, according to appointment, on the 15th of December, 1806. The first business of the session related to the report of the commission of military enquiry, which, after detecting the minor inadvertencies of lord Melville, discovered abuses of the most enormous and extensive kind in the barrack department. It appeared, that general Delancy, barrack-master general, had been in the habit of drawing, through the medium of Mr. Greenwood, the army agent, immense sums of the public money, long before they were wanted, and that, in part only of his accounts, there were overcharges and mistatements to the amount of no less a sum than £90,000. The third report of the commissioners related to Mr. Alexander Davison, a banker, who had been lately tried for bribery at elections, and imprisoned for that offence. Soon after his liberation from prison, he had been made treasurer of the ordnance,—an office in which between three and four millions passed through his hands, of the public money. It would be impossible to enumerate, within the limits of an historical volume, the variety of frauds by which he contrived to convert his situation, and his connection with government, to the purposes of peculation. By false certificates, by charging a per centage for agency, when he himself was the purchaser and vendor of the articles sold, and unfair speculations, he was enabled to amass a splendid fortune, a part only of which he was compelled to restore by civil process; part he voluntarily refunded,—an act of discretion, which induced the judge, before whom he was tried, to subject him to the mitigated punishment of eighteen months imprisonment. The wealth accumulated by this person, from the plunder of the public, must have been immense; nor was he at any pains to conceal his guilt, but seemed desirous to display it by the utmost splendour and magnificence. He was a purchaser of the most valuable pictures and estates, and was in the habit of giving splendid and expensive entertainments

to the prince of Wales, the junior branches of the royal family, and the nobility.

The day appointed for the second reading of the bill for abolishing the slave trade was Wednesday the 5th of February, 1807; and notwithstanding the sophistries and misrepresentations of the enemies of the bill, it was carried by a majority of 100 voices to 36, a glorious and decisive victory to the persevering and indefatigable advocates of philanthrophy.

The confidence of the new administration in its strength, and its actual existence, were of short duration. Lord Howick, on the 6th of March, in pursuance of previous notice, had moved for leave to bring in a bill for securing to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament, and for leaving them, as far as convenience would admit, the free exercise of their respective religions. This motion had been made in consequence of an assurance of his majesty to the catholics of Ireland, through the medium of the lord lieutenant, that the army and navy should be opened to them. Doubts, however, as to the extent of this measure had been entertained by some members of the cabinet, who expressed their dissatisfaction in the strongest terms; and his majesty, apprised that the measure was of far greater extent and productive of more important consequences than he had imagined, retracted his promise. The ministers then endeavoured to modify the bill so as to reconcile it to the wishes of his majesty. Failing in that object they abandoned it altogether, but determined at the same time, in vindication of their own character, to insert in the proceedings of the cabinet a minute, reserving to lord Grenville and lord Howick 1. The liberty of delivering their opinions respecting the catholic question, 2. The privilege of submitting this question or any subject connected with it from time to time, according to circumstances, to his majesty's decision. But the ministers were called upon, not only to withdraw the latter reservation, but to substitute in its place a written obligation, pledging themselves never again to bring forward the measure they had abandoned, nor ever to propose any thing connected with the catholic question. From this proposal they withheld their assent, and their refusal excited the displeasure of their sovereign. The downfall of the ministry was first disclosed in a debate on the reversion bill, when many severe remarks were made on the cupidity of Mr. Perceval, who had been offered the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster for life, on condition of his accepting a place in the new government. That gentleman, in reply, and to the astonishment of the public, informed the house that he had been offered not only the sinecure just mentioned, but the post of chancellor of the exchequer, an appointment which implied a total revolution in the ministry. After a short adjournment parliament reassembled on the 8th of April, and in the mean time a new administration was formed, in which the duke of Portland was erected first lord of the treasury; Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer; lord Eldon, lord chancellor; lord Liverpool, secretary for the home department; lord Castlereagh, secretary for the war department; Mr. Canning, minister for foreign affairs; and lord Mulgrave, first lord of the admiralty. The changes thus announced in the councils of his majesty were received by the people with the loudest acclamations. The impolicy with which the ejected ministry retained in the subordinate offices of state the friends of their predecessors, to the neglect of their own faithful partizans; the augmentation of the tax on income; the attempted establishment of a tax on private breweries, and the uniform cupidity displayed in securing to themselves the most valuable pensions and sinecures, were not compensated, in the opinion of the nation, by the abolition of the slave trade, the enactment of a bill for limited military service, and their attachment to catholic emancipation. Their foreign policy was remarkable for enterprise without plan, and culpable inaction. Our sources which, collected in combined and important operation, might have affected the deliverance of Europe, were wasted in detached and unprofitable expeditions, in which the force was inadequate to the object proposed, and the commanders were selected without any regard to distinguished merit or former services. No wonder therefore that an administration which had boasted so much, and done so little, and even that little badly, should have become the object of public resentment or derision, and been pointed out to the finger of scorn

1807.

by the ironical appellation of "ALL THE TALENTS!"

THE continent of Europe continued to present a scene of obstinate and sanguinary warfare. In retreat, as in active conflict, Alexander distinguished himself by his courage and magnanimity. In the battle of Austerlitz he secured by his gallantry the remainder of the allied army, which but for him would have been cut to pieces, and rescued and carried off a great part of the artillery after it had been taken possession of by the French. Nor did his nobleness of mind, or magnanimity of conduct, desert him when the fatal issue of that day decided the result of the war. He made no proposals of peace or proffers of submission to the conqueror, but retreated, with his armies still unbroken, towards Russia, preserving too formidable a front for pursuit or molestation.

DESERTED by her ally, and having no interest in a war with France that could justify a personal perseverance in hostilities on her own part, every exertion was made, during the year 1806, to obtain an equitable and durable peace. For this purpose M. D'Oubril was sent to Paris, and, as we have seen, on the 20th of August, a treaty of peace was signed by him on the one part, and by general Clarke on the other. The Russian plenipotentiary, however, having acted contrary to his instructions, Alexander refused to ratify the treaty, and transmitted to the foreign ministers, through the medium of general baron Budberg, a note, in which, while he communicated his refusal, he declared the sincerity of his wishes for the restoration of peace. But the aggressions of France had by this time provoked the resentment of Prussia: the mighty preparations of Napoleon evinced his determination to support his injustice by an appeal to the sword; and, equally impelled by policy and feeling, Alexander became the auxiliary and refuge of a new ally.

IT would be foreign from the purpose of an History of England to record the disasters of the Russian army, except as connected with the affairs of Europe. The grand Russian army towards the end of January was supported on one side by a corps of Russians, under generals Lestocq, Pahlen, and Gallitzin, flanked on their right by the Frisch-haff and the Pregel, and covered on its left flank by a corps under Von Essen. The command of the army, after the battle of Pultusk, was given to general Benningsen.

THE plan of the Russian general was to turn the left flank of the French army, to extend his force along the river to Grandenz and Thorn, to reduce the enemy to the necessity of evacuating Poland, to straiten his quarters, and drive him into positions of difficulty and disadvantage.

BERNADOTTE having been defeated near Mohringen, as he was advancing to surprise Koningsberg, Buonaparte resumed his offensive attitude, and endeavoured to penetrate between the centre and the left of the Russians, and to take such positions between them and the Pregel as should enable him to cut off their retreat.

IN pursuance of the plan already adopted, the Russian general retreated before the French army, not without sustaining considerable loss near Deppen, and at Gulstadt, the centre of his magazines. From the moment that general Benningsen had been aware of the numerical force to which he was opposed, he had adopted the plan of retreating on the Pregel, which he did, fighting all the way, with great loss, but invincible valour and resolution.

ON the morning of the 7th of February, before break of day, the whole Russian army filed off to occupy a new and advantageous position at the town of Eylau. Between this town and a wood near Hoff, the rear-guard of the Russians was attacked by the French, and a part of it made prisoners. The van guard of the enemy, pursuing their advantage, discovered that the Russians had posted themselves behind the town. Both sides prepared for battle. At the distance of a quarter of a league from Eylau is a flattish hill, which commanded the entrances into the plain or valley, in which it is situated, and was defended by three Russian regiments. These three regiments were attacked by an equal number of French. A column of Russian cavalry took the assailants in flank, and threw one of their battalions into great confusion; and although some squadrons of dragoons, commanded by general Klein, came up in time for the relief of the disordered column, the Russians retained their ground on the eminence.

IN Eylau, where the Russians wished to

maintain themselves, and which the French were eager to possess before the general battle, the contest was sanguinary. The Russians had placed some regiments in a church and the yard around it. Here they made a most obstinate resistance, and the post was not taken till after a dreadful carnage on both sides, at ten o'clock at night. The night was spent by the two armies under the canopy of heaven, facing each other. One division of the French army, under Le Grand, was posted in front of the village; and one, under St. Hilaire, on its right. The corps of Augereau was placed on its left. That of Davoust had been detached in the evening to stretch beyond Eylau, and to come round and fall on the left flank of the Russians, if they should not have changed their position. Ney was also in motion, to outflank and fall on them on the right.

On the following morning, (February 8th) the Russians commenced the attack by cannonading the village of Eylau, and by the division under St. Hilaire. The emperor, with his guards, took post in the church and burying-ground, which the Russians had so obstinately defended the day before.

The hill commanding the entrance into the plain, which the French had failed to carry the day before, still presented itself to Buonaparte as the most important object of attack. Till this should be carried, the centre of his army could not act offensively against the enemy, as, in order to do this, it was necessary that it should stretch into the plain. Marshal Augereau was therefore ordered to advance with his corps, and open a cannonade against this commanding spot, with 40 pieces of artillery belonging to the imperial guard. A dreadful cannonade ensued on both sides; the armies being within half a gun-shot of each other, every shot took effect, and the slaughter on both sides was immense. At one time it appeared from the movements of the Russians, that, impatient of suffering, without any decisive result, they had resolved to outflank the French on their left wing. But in the same instant, Davoust with his sharp-shooters appeared, and fell on their rear. On this Augereau's corps filed off in columns, to attack and occupy the centre of the Russian army, which might otherwise have overwhelmed Davoust with superior numbers. The division of St. Hilaire filed off, at the same time, to support Davoust, and ultimately to facilitate a junction between Davoust and Augereau, should his assistance become necessary. No sooner had these movements commenced, than so thick a fall of snow covered the two armies, that they could not see beyond the distance of two feet. The point of direction was lost, and the French columns, wheeling too much to the left, wandered in uncertainty. The darkness lasted half an hour. When the weather cleared up, 10,000 Russian infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery, by beginning to turn, threatened the division of St. Hilaire with destruction. At this moment, when ruin and defeat hovered over the French army, the greater part of which was straggling in columns, incapable of supporting one another, the cavalry under Murat, supported by the imperial guard under *Bessieres*, winding round the division of St. Hilaire, extricated the French from their critical situation, by making a desperate and successful charge on the formidable mass of the Russian infantry. The cavalry, who attempted to oppose this manœuvre, were routed with great slaughter. Two lines of infantry were broken, and the third, falling back, supported themselves on a wood. The issue of the battle, which had long been doubtful, was decided from the moment that Davoust, whose progress had been impeded by the weather, was at last enabled to fall on the rear of the enemy, and drive them from the hilly platform I have already mentioned. The Russians, after repeated attempts to repulse that general, retreated, leaving their wounded and 16 pieces of cannon on the field of battle. The slaughter on both sides was dreadful. According to the French accounts, their own loss consisted of 1000 killed, and 5700 wounded; that of the Russians, of 7000 men left dead on the field of battle. According to the account of the Russian general, his own loss amounted to 6000 men,—that of the French to 12,000 men. The French acknowledge the loss of an eagle, and the Russians claim the capture of a dozen standards. The latter fought with undaunted valour and enthusiastic intrepidity; and, considering the disproportion in the numerical strength of the two armies, Buonaparte having 120,000 men engaged in combat, and the Russians about 80,000, the battle of Eylau must be regarded

as one of the severest checks that he had hitherto received in his military career.

I SHALL hasten over the unimportant incidents of the campaign that occurred between the battles of Eylau and Friedland, to the occurrence of the latter, which decided for a while the fate of Europe. On the 13th of June, while the grand duke of Berg, and Soult, and Davoust, had orders to manœuvre before Koningsberg, Buonaparte advanced on Friedland. On that day the 9th regiment of hussars entered that town, but was driven out of it again by 3000 Russian cavalry. On the next day, the Russians advanced on the bridge of Friedland, with the intent of pursuing their march to Koningsberg, and at three in the morning a cannonade was heard. "It is a fortunate day!" exclaimed Buonaparte, "it is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo." Various actions and movements now took place, and both parties prepared for a general battle. The several corps of French arrived at their appointed stations by five in the evening. Ney was on the right wing, Lasnes on the centre, Mortier on the left; Victor and the guards formed the reserve. The cavalry under Grouchy supported the left wing; the division of dragoons of Latour Maubourg was stationed as a reserve behind the right; and La Horsaye's division of dragoons, with the Saxon cuirassiers, formed a reserve for the centre. The left of the Russian army extended to the town of Friedland, and its right wing a league and a half in the contrary direction. The position occupied by general Benningsen on the left bank of the Alla, was apparently one continued plain, but intersected by a deep ravine full of water, and almost impassable, which ran in a line between Domnow and Friedland, where it formed a lake to the left of that place, and separated the right wing of the Russians from their centre. A thick wood, at the distance of a mile and a half from Friedland, on more elevated ground, fringed the plain of the Alla, nearly in the form of a semicircle, except at its extremity at the left, where there was an open space between the wood and the river. In the front of the wood, about a mile and a half from Friedland, and nearly opposite to the centre of the army, was the small village of Henrisecksdorf. The field of battle was between the left of this village and the Alla, to the south of Friedland. Buonaparte, having reconnoitred the position of the enemy, determined to take the town of Friedland, and changing his front, and advancing on his right, began the onset with the first part of that wing. The firing of twenty cannon from a battery was the signal of battle. At the same moment, the division under general Marchand, supported on the left by another division, advanced sword in hand on the enemy, his line of direction being pointed towards the steeple of the town. As soon as the Russians perceived that Ney had left the wood in which his left wing had been posted, they endeavoured to surround him with some regiments of cavalry, and a multitude of cossacks, but Latour Maubourg's divisions of dragoons rode up at full gallop in the right wing, and repelled the attempt. In the mean time, Victor, who commanded a corps of the grand army, erected a battery of thirty cannon in the front of his centre; and his works, pushed forward four hundred paces, greatly annoyed the Russians, whose manœuvres for producing a diversion were fruitless. Ney was at the head of his troops, directing the most minute movements with his accustomed coolness; and several Russian columns, that had attacked his right wing, were received on the point of the bayonet, and driven into the Alla. Many thousands were lost in that river, and some accomplished their escape by swimming. In the mean time, Ney's left wing reached the raveline which surrounded the town of Friedland. The imperial guard of Russia, both horse and foot, which had been placed there in ambush, rushed suddenly on marshal Ney's wing, which for a moment wavered. But Dupont's division, which formed the right wing of the reserve, fell on the Russian imperial guards, and defeated them with great slaughter. Several other bodies were sent from the Russian centre for the defence of Friedland, but their efforts were in vain. Marshal Mortier now advanced, and was supported by the fusileers of the guard, under the command of Savary. The French columns pressed closely on the Russians, chiefly along the sides of the ravine, which was thus rendered as disadvantageous to the Russians as advantageous to the French, in whose favour the victory was now decided. The field of battle presented one of the most horrible spectacles of wounded and dying, that had

occurred since the commencement of the campaign. The ground between the wood and the Russian batteries, about a quarter of a mile, was, on the next day, a sheet of naked human bodies, which friends and foes had, during the night, mutually stripped, presenting a spectacle which the eye loathed with disgust, but from which it could not remove.

The decision of the battle of Friedland was the crisis at which both the contending parties perceived the necessity of abandoning hostilities. The losses of Russia had been great, the conscriptions of Buonaparte were exhausted, and a few more such conflicts as that of Eylau might threaten the destruction of the Russian empire, while it might cause Napoleon to totter on his throne. It was the object of Alexander to protect his dominions from invasion, and of Buonaparte to remit the pressure upon his people, and return a pacificator and a conqueror. On the 10th of June, Buonaparte with his guards entered Tilsit, and on the 19th an armistice was proposed to the *chief of the French army*, by the emperor of Russia. In consequence of this overture, an armistice was agreed on at Tilsit on the 22nd of June, by which it was arranged, that hostilities on either side should not be resumed without a month's previous notice; and that a similar armistice should be concluded between the French and the Prussian armies in the course of five days. The boundary between the French and Russian armies was the Thalwag, or middle of the stream, from the Kurischof, where it falls into the sea at Grodno, and a line from thence to the confines of Russia, between the Narew and the Bug. Such was the formidable position of the French, while nothing remained to the king of Prussia but the small town and territory of Memel. The emperors of France and Austria paid to each other complimentary visits on the rafts constructed on the Niemen, and concluded a treaty of peace, dated the 7th day of July, 1807, which reduced the kingdom of Prussia from the rank of a primary power to the state in which it existed on the 1st of January, 1772, before the partition of Poland. The greater portion of those provinces, which on that day formed a part of the kingdom of Poland, were annexed to the dominions of his majesty the king of Saxony. For a communication between the kingdom of Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw, the sovereign of the former was to have the free use of a military road, through the states of his majesty the king of Prussia. The free navigation of the Vistula, the restoration of Dantzic to its former independence, the exclusion of English vessels from the ports of Prussia, and the acknowledgement, on the part of Russia and Prussia, of all the dignities, states, and confederations which Napoleon had conferred and formed, were among the important articles of the treaty, which was well calculated to rivet the chains of dependent nations, and secure the dominion of Napoleon on the continent. The fine duchy of Silesia was restored to Prussia, only that it might serve as a constant source of hostility between the courts of Berlin and Vienna. The military high road across Silesia was, in like manner, calculated to foment jealousy and discord between the courts of Berlin and Dresden, while it was to be, at the same time, wholly under the mediation, or in other words, the controul of France.

1807. In the present critical situation of the continent, Denmark affected a neutrality, which she was incapable of maintaining; and, alarmed by the menaces, or purchased by the bribes of Napoleon, she had requested of the English government to be excused from receiving our packet-boats at the ports of Holstein and Sleswick. We rejected the proposal with disdain, and our determination was confirmed by private information, that, in the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, provisions had been made for a northern confederacy, in which Denmark should become an active ally. The British government at length prepared to send into the Baltic a formidable naval and military force, consisting of 27 sail of the line, and a considerable number of soldiers. Lord Cathcart was entrusted with the direction of the army, and admiral Gambier with the command of the fleet. Mr. Jackson was selected to conduct the negotiation, and was instructed to visit the residence of the prince royal, to call upon his royal highness for an unequivocal explanation of the designs of Denmark, and, if these designs were not inimical, for a pledge of his sincerity, in the surrender of the Danish fleet till the termination of the war. Should this proposal be refused, Mr. Jackson was directed to assure the court of Denmark, that the British arma-

ment already arrived in the Sound would liberally and honourably guarantee the protection, the security, and the enlargement of the Danish territories.

These proposals were rejected with disdain; and Mr. Jackson, discovering all prospect of negotiation to be hopeless, took his leave. The most vigorous preparations, on the part of the British, were immediately adopted, and the army landed at the hamlet of Vedbeck on the 16th of August. After defeating several ineffectual attempts of the enemy to annoy its left wing, it closely invested Copenhagen on the land side. The fleet, removing to an advanced anchorage, formed an impenetrable blockade by sea. On the 2nd of September, the land batteries and the bomb-vessels opened a tremendous fire upon the town, with so much effect, that the city, in a short time, presented to the eye one vast body of flame and smoke. The ramparts returned a feeble fire, and that of the English was for a while remitted, in the expectation of some proposals from the Danish government. But the assault was at length renewed with such terrible vigour and effect, that a trumpeter appeared at the British outposts, proposing a cessation of arms for 24 hours, as preliminary to a capitulation, which was not concluded till three days afterwards, when the citadel, dock-yards, and batteries were delivered up to the British army. The admiral immediately issued orders to rig and fit out the ships which filled the capacious basons, and had been laid up in ordinary. At the expiration of the time specified in the capitulation, they were conveyed to England, with the stores, timber, and every other article of equipment found in the arsenals, and arrived in safety, with the exception of one ship stranded on the isle of Huen.

There have been few public measures, upon which persons, accustomed to think alike, differed so widely as upon the expedition to Copenhagen. This could not have been the case, if its necessity had been so urgent as was supposed by one side, or the injustice so monstrous as asserted by the other. In my own opinion, formed from a careful examination of the documents, the measure was just, but inexpedient. The opposition claimed a triumph, because ministers produced no evidence of the designs of France on the northern fleets, and because they had recourse to repeated evasions, when strictly questioned respecting the vouchers for the secret information which they had received. Yet the facts which have transpired since the assassination of the count and countess d'Aintraignes, at once support the assertion of the ministry, and justify their refusal to disclose the names of their informants. By those who have examined the secret treaty of Tilsit, communicated by the unfortunate count, who received, in return for that important service, £3000 per annum, it cannot be doubted that France would have soon demanded and obtained the Danish navy. Had it been ceded to our expedition without resistance, little would have been said in England of the injustice of the measure. It was the dreadful circumstance of bombarding a capital, surprised in time of peace, which awakened feelings of honour and indignation in a very considerable portion of the English people. Believing that evidence of the enemy's designs could not prudently be produced, and that those designs actually existed, and would have been successful, I nevertheless regard the expedition as disgraceful and detrimental to Great Britain, and impolitic in every point of view. We ought not to have hazarded the discontent of the people, the possibility of foreign misrepresentation, and the influence of that misrepresentation on the feelings and opinions of the continent, in such a cause. If the fleets of the north had been brought out against us, they were not more formidable than those which we had so often defeated. There did not exist an English seaman, whose heart would not have leaped for joy, if he had beheld our northern enemy on the seas. Less cost of treasure and of life would have been required to destroy the combination than had been expended in preventing it; no blood would have been shed but in fair and open battle; no stain would have been cast on the humanity of England; conquest would have been glorious, and we should have rejoiced in a just and manly triumph.

Scarcely had the treaty of Tilsit confirmed the humiliation of the north, before the views of Buonaparte were directed to the subjugation of the west of Europe. The court of Lisbon was ordered to shut the Portuguese harbours against Great Britain, to detain all

the British resident in the country, and to confiscate all British property. Without awaiting the return of an answer, he directed that all Portuguese merchantmen then in the ports of France should be detained. As the prince regent of Portugal was anxious to gain time, he agreed to shut up his ports, but refused to comply with the other two demands as incompatible with the law of nations and with existing treaties. Yet after much vacillation he signed an order on the 3rd of November for detaining the very few British ships, and the trifling portion of British property, which yet remained in Lisbon. When this order was published lord Strangford removed the British arms from the gate of his residence, made a formal demand of his passports, presented a strong remonstrance against the recent conduct of the court of Lisbon, and repaired on board a British squadron under the command of sir Sidney Smith, who instantly blockaded the mouth of the Tagus. In a few days the intercourse between the court of Lisbon and the British ambassador was again renewed. Lord Strangford, under full assurance of being protected and secured from danger, went to Lisbon on the 27th, where he found the prince regent in a state of the utmost alarm in consequence of a French army under Junot, which had entered Portugal and threatened Lisbon. It was promised to his royal highness, by lord Strangford, on the faith and veracity of his sovereign, that the British squadron then before the Tagus should be employed for the purpose of protecting his retreat from Lisbon, and his voyage to the Brazils.

On the morning of the 29th of November the Portuguese fleet sailed from the Tagus with the prince of Brazil and the whole royal family of Braganza, attended by their friends and counsellors. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, with frigates, brigs, and Brazil ships. On passing through the British squadron they were saluted with a discharge of 21 guns, and these were returned by an equal number. Four ships of the English line were detached to escort the royal family, in conjunction with the Portuguese squadron, to the Brazils.

At an early period of the year a British fleet was sent out under the command of sir John Duckworth, consisting of seven sail of the line, besides frigates and gun-boats. The expedition was designed to influence the negotiations between Russia and the Porte, and thus effect a favourable diversion in favour of the continental struggle. The British fleet cast anchor at the Isle of Tenedos about the middle of February, after being joined by a British frigate from the harbour of Constantinople, in which our ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot had effected his escape, under the apprehension of personal violence. Our fleet passed the Dardanelles, and made no return to the fire of the Turks, as a token of forbearance. But, while passing the narrow strait between Sestos and Abydos, they were under the necessity of answering a very heavy cannonade which was opened upon them from the inner castles. Sir Sidney Smith destroyed a small Turkish squadron, and the marines spiked the cannon of a formidable battery. A fruitless negotiation now commenced, during which the Turks constructed other batteries along the shore. From the highest to the lowest orders of the people of Constantinople were employed in this work, which they carried on with unbounded enthusiasm, and which mounted 600 pieces of artillery on batteries and breast-works. These were directed by French engineers, whom the sultan had procured from Dalmatia. The British ambassador offered, in the mean time, to withdraw beyond the Dardanelles, would the porte deliver up the Turkish fleet and naval stores, though the amity of Britain and Russia should be declined. Should this be refused they threatened to bombard the metropolis, a threat as futile as impolitic, for such was the violence of the weather, that during the negotiation they could not approach the walls. Had the Turks been allowed another week to complete their batteries, it is even doubtful whether the British squadron could have escaped destruction. The admiral weighed anchor to repass the Dardanelles on the 1st of March, an act of prudence which was not accomplished without loss and danger. Prodigious blocks of marble were thrown to a distance by machines; one of which, weighing seven hundred weight, cut the main mast of the Windsor Castle man-of-war in two, and the ship herself was saved with difficulty. The British admiral sustained a loss of 250 men killed in this ill-concerted and ill-fated enterprise.

General Fox despatched a force of 5000

men from Messina, under general Mackenzie, to take possession of Alexandria. This object was accomplished with little difficulty or bloodshed on the part of the British; but in an attack upon Rosetta a large portion of the British were surrounded and cut off with the loss of 1000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. In consequence of the change of administration at home, no reinforcements arrived from Great Britain, and the English general agreed to the evacuation of Egypt on condition that the Turks would restore the prisoners who had been taken at Rosetta. On the fulfilment of these terms the British troops returned to Sicily.

When the late ministers received information of the recaptnre of Buenos Ayres by the Spaniards they ordered general Crawford, who had been sent on an expedition to Chili, to relinquish that enterprise, and to repair to the Rio de la Plata. General Whitelocke, a favourite of Mr. Wyndham, assumed the chief command; and the whole British force amounted to 9600 men. On the 21st of June general Whitelocke, with the main army, advanced through a marshy country and reached Point Reduction. Major-general Gower with the right column crossed the river at a ford called Passo Chico, and falling in with a corps of the enemy attacked and defeated it. Next day general Whitelocke, having joined general Gower, formed his line by placing sir Samuel Auchmuty's brigade on the left, extending it towards the convent of the Recolletta. The place was thus nearly invested. The town and the suburbs were divided into squares of 140 yards on each side, and each division was ordered to proceed along the street, directly in front, till it arrived at the last square of houses near the river Plata, of which square it was to take possession, forming on the flat roofs, and waiting for further orders. The muskets were unloaded, and no firing was to be permitted until the columns had reached their final points, and formed. The issue of the conflict which ensued was such as might be expected from a plan so ludicrous. Our troops moving forward in their appointed order, with unloaded muskets, and iron crows with which they had been furnished as implements for forcing the doors, were assailed with a heavy and continued fire of musketry hand grenades, bricks, stones. The streets were intersected by deep ditches, and cannon planted behind them poured volleys of grape-shot on our advancing columns. Every householder, with his negroes, defended his own dwelling, which was in itself a fortress. Notwithstanding the gallantry and temporary success of sir Samuel Auchmuty, general Crawford and colonel Duff were compelled to surrender, while general Whitelocke himself occupied an advanced post on his centre. Alarmed at the loss of 2500 men, who fell a victim to his treachery or folly, he negotiated with the enemy for the restoration of the prisoners, and having agreed to withdraw his army from the river Plata, returned "with all his blushing honours thick upon him" to his injured country. He was tried by a court martial and found guilty, but the secret influence of his friends prevailed, and he was simply cashiered.

On the 22nd of June a new parliament was convoked, and after the opening of the second session, the orders in council became the subject for long and tedious discussion. About the close of the year 1806 Buonaparte issued his famous decree at Berlin, declaring the British isles in a *state of blockade*, at the very time that his own ports and dependencies were actually blockaded by the British navy. He afterwards shut the ports of all countries under his influence against every vessel which had cleared from Great Britain, subjecting to confiscation every cargo which was either the produce or manufacture of this country. To support this regulation he afterwards enacted that all neutral vessels, coming into any port of his dominions, should bring with them *a certificate of origin*, or an assurance under the hands of the French consul, at the port of shipment, that the cargo was neither the produce nor the manufacture of Britain. Every ship at sea destitute of such certificate was proclaimed a lawful prize. The Grenville ministry regarded this edict as nothing more than an impotent bravado, and retaliated by a mild decree interdicting the coasting trade of the enemy.

In the month of November the Portland administration issued their orders in council containing two fundamental propositions; the first, that France and all its tributary states should be held to be in a state of blockade, and that all vessels should be seized which attempted to trade from any neutral port to those countries, or from them to any neutral

port. The second was that all vessels should be liable to seizure which should have on board any such certificate of origin as was required by the Berlin decree. Neutral vessels intended for a French or neutral port, were directed at all events to touch first at Great Britain, from which, after paying certain duties, they might, in some cases, be allowed to proceed; and in all cases they were permitted, and indeed enjoined, to come to Great Britain when clearing out with a cargo from any port of the enemy.

America, from her exclusive enjoyment of independence, found herself deeply interested in the operation of these jarring decrees, which might be said to place her between two fires. But in fact, the interests of Britain were as much involved in such a measure as those of America; and of course, her trade to that quarter of the globe began already to feel severely. The orders were remonstrated against by the American merchants, who presented petitions to parliament to have them rescinded. Mr. Brougham, a very able lawyer, pleaded their cause at the bar of the house; and it is only truth to assert, that he did ample justice to that cause. The obvious tendency of the orders in council was declared by the petitioners to be well calculated to annihilate our neutral commerce, and that it had in fact reduced our American trade to a third of its former extent. The measure was justified by the exordium to the orders in council, by maintaining that the French decrees had exhibited an unprecedented system of warfare. The same preamble had stated, that neutrals had agreed to these decrees of France, and submitted to them as constituting a part of the new system of war. It was, however, proved, that the decrees of France were by no means unprecedented, for in 1739, and 1756, under the old government of France, as well as at three subsequent periods since the French revolution, decrees were issued by the enemy, for capturing all vessels laden even in part with the produce of Britain, and yet they had not been followed by any such measure of retaliation on the part of Great Britain. As to the Berlin decree, it was not true that France had either enforced it, or America acquiesced in it. The ambassador of the United States, general Armstrong, was so far from agreeing with the Berlin decree, that he had made application to know whether it was to be extended to American vessels; to which the French government made answer, that the blockading decree was not meant to be put in force against the United States. It was proved from satisfactory evidence laid before the house of commons, that neutral ships had been regularly chartered on voyages from this country to the European continent after the Berlin decree, precisely in the same manner as before; that the prices of articles of colonial produce and home manufactures, continued the same in the markets on the continent after the Berlin decree, down to the orders in council; that the most extensive and opulent merchants in the neutral trade had never heard of the condemnation of a neutral vessel in the hostile ports; and that the rate of insurance of such vessels had not been augmented by the Berlin decree, but entirely by the orders in council. In vindication of the policy of these orders, it was contended, that it was incumbent on us to reduce the enemy by distress to relinquish his system of blockade, and allow the free ingress of our colonial produce and manufactures. It was maintained, that the continent would not long or calmly submit to the want of tea, sugar, tobacco, cotton, and foreign medicines. The murmurs of 50,000,000 of people languishing for those luxuries to which they had been long accustomed, would compel Buonaparte to relinquish the excluding system. When ministers were employed in pleading for this probability, they were encouraging the smuggling trade between Great Britain and France; a trade which, according to its success, supplied the enemy with the very luxuries for the loss of which we hoped that the continent would mutiny against its tyrant.

The speech, at the next meeting of parliament, which took place on the 31st of January this year, was unusually long, and embraced a variety of topics; the known or supposed articles of the treaty of Tilsit were first adverted to, as from their alleged character, the justification of the attack upon Zealand, and the seizure of the Danish fleet were to be justified. The speech contended, that, in compliance with the articles of this treaty, a powerful and general continental alliance was to be formed both against the commerce and the naval rights and existence of Great Britain; that the knowledge of this intended alliance had induced his majesty to 1808.

take the step which he had done, against Denmark. Regret was then expressed, that this court should have been so irritated by the seizure of its fleet, as to commence immediate and violent hostilities. During the course of 1807, the designs of Buonaparte had begun to manifest themselves; and as he had always been inimical to the Portuguese government, on account of its well-known and long-tried attachment to this country, there was good reason to apprehend that the French army in Spain would proceed against Lisbon, and seize the Portuguese fleet; indeed Buonaparte made no secret of his designs; he demanded the delivery of the Portuguese fleet; this demand the Portuguese government immediately communicated to the British ministry, and his majesty expressed his satisfaction that, by this timely communication, not only had the fleet of his ally been placed beyond the reach of the common enemy, but the prince regent of Portugal also, along with his fleet, had gone to the Brazils, rather than submit to the demands of France.

The disposition of Russia, Austria, and the Ottoman porte, towards Great Britain, was then adverted to; and his majesty regretted, that over all these powers the influence of France was so great and complete, that they were in a state of hostility with Great Britain. Russia, indeed, after she had, in fact, yielded herself up to France, offered her mediation to bring about a peace; this mediation, though preferred by a power by no means likely to be impartial, because she was no longer independent, his majesty did not reject; but, as might have been foreseen, it was completely fruitless. The only power on the continent who had resisted the offers of Buonaparte, and who remained unintimidated by his menaces, was the king of Sweden; him, his majesty had still the satisfaction to possess as his ally.

The disputes between Great Britain and America, were next adverted to; commissioners had been mutually appointed to discuss these, and bring about an amicable termination of them; but though these commissioners had agreed on a treaty of commerce and amity, the president of the United States refused to ratify it. While things were in this unsettled state, the affair of the Chesapeak took place, which his majesty most sincerely lamented, characterised as an unauthorised act of force, for which his majesty did not hesitate to offer immediate and spontaneous reparation; notwithstanding this pacific and conciliatory disposition on the part of his majesty, the United States still cherished a hostile feeling, which his majesty hoped would give way to sentiments of moderation and friendship.

The measures which had been taken to distress France were the next topics of the speech; that power having passed a decree, by which the whole of his majesty's dominions were declared to be in a state of blockade, his majesty had retaliated in such a manner as, he trusted, would not only render the French decrees of no avail, but turn upon the enemy those distresses and evils, which he intended and hoped to have inflicted upon us. The speech thus concluded: "The eyes of Europe and of the world are fixed upon the British parliament; if, as his majesty confidently trusts, you display, in this crisis of the fate of the county, the characteristic spirit of the British nation, and face, unappalled, the unnatural combination which is gathered around us, his majesty bids us to assure you of his firm persuasion, that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the struggle will prove successful and glorious to Great Britain. We are, lastly, commanded to assure you, that in this awful and momentous contest, you may rely on the firmness of his majesty, who has no cause but that of his people; and that his majesty reciprocally relies on the wisdom, the constancy, and the affectionate support of his parliament."

I have dwelt thus long upon this speech, because it will lay before the reader a sketch of the relative situation of Great Britain and Europe, at once luminous and complete.

The earl of Galloway moved the address in the house of lords in a long speech, in which he went over all the parts of the speech; the motion was seconded by lord Kenyon, who confined himself principally to that part which related to the preservation of the fleet of Portugal, and the emigration of the prince regent to the Brazils. The duke of Norfolk next rose, and in very strong language reprobated the attack upon Zealand, and the seizure of the Danish fleet; he concluded by moving, as an amendment, that the clause respecting the expedition to the Bal-

tic, in the address, should be omitted. Lord Sidmouth, who still adhered in several points to the opposition, seconded the amendment of the duke of Norfolk. The expedition was strenuously defended by the earl of Aberdeen, and attacked by lord Grenville; the latter peer, in his speech, adverted also, at great length, to the mediation of Russia, and concluded by moving another amendment, "That it would neither be respectful to his majesty, nor becoming the dignity of the house, to give an opinion as to the propriety of rejecting the Russian mediation, till the papers relative to that question were before the house:" both this amendment and that of the duke of Norfolk were negatived without a division. A protest, against the decision of the house respecting the seizure of the Danish fleet, was entered and signed by the duke of Clarence, lord Rawdon, (the earl of Moira) the earl of Lauderdale, earl Grey, lord Holland the duke of Norfolk, lord Sidmouth, and lord Erskine.

In the house of commons, the address was moved by lord Hamilton, and seconded by Mr. Ellis; but though the expedition to the Baltic was reprobated by the opposition in very strong terms, and though they also objected to the other parts of the address, no regular amendment was moved, and the question was carried without a division.

The British orders in council gave rise to frequent and violent debates in both houses of parliament; they were discussed in several points of view; in the first place, as affecting neutrals; in the second place, with regard to the injury which they would actually inflict on France; and in the third place, with respect to the consequences which they would produce on our own commerce and manufactures. In the house of commons, the most strenuous and able advocates for the orders in council were the chancellor of exchequer, Mr. Stephens, and sir William Grant, the master of the rolls; while they were opposed by lord Henry Petty, Dr. Lawrence, and in some respects by Mr. Windham.

In the house of lords, the orders in council were opposed principally by lord Auckland, lord Erskine, lord King, lord Grenville, and lord Lauderdale; lord Erskine opposed them principally on the ground that they were decidedly against the law of nations; lords King, Auckland, and Lauderdale considered them chiefly in their commercial character; while lord Grenville took a comprehensive view of them in every point of light. They were ably defended by earl Bathurst and lord Hawkesbury. In this debate, lord Sidmouth and his party steered a middle course; he did not entirely condemn, nor did he completely approve of the orders in council; but he wished they might be referred to a committee, that he might have an opportunity of fully investigating this important subject.

America had complained most bitterly of the orders in council; and her complaints were not removed by the introduction of the license system: by this system she was still, as far as lay within our power, deprived of all intercourse with the continent; while we ourselves, the nation actually at war with France, carried on a commercial intercourse with the enemy, which we totally denied to a neutral nation. This conduct, connected with the frequent causes of irritation which existed and operated between the United States and Great Britain, rendered the differences between them still wider, more numerous, and more difficult to be adjusted; and we shall find, in the history of the following years, the consequences of these differences on our commerce, and consequently on our maritime power and prosperity.

CHAPTER LVII.

GEORGE III.

[1808, 1809.]

Capture of the Island of Madeira, and of Marie Galante—Glorious Exploits of Captain Hardinge—State of Europe—Extent of Napoleon's Power—His designs on Spain—Success of his Intrigues—He inveigles the Royal Family to Bayonne—Massacre at Madrid—General rising of the Spanish People—Arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley in Portugal—Battle of Vimiera—Convention of Cintra—Military Affairs in Spain—Conduct of the Junta—Sieges of Saragossa and Gerona—Arrival of Sir John Moore in Spain—Conferences at Erfurth—Extensive Diffusion of the Spirit of Independence in Spain—Advance of Sir John Moore towards Madrid—He suddenly determines to retire—His Retreat from Astorga to Corunna—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—Conclusion of our first Campaign in Spain.

OUR military transactions, in the beginning of the year, were confined to the capture of a few islands. In January, advices were received that Madeira had surrendered to a British force, under general Beresford and sir Samuel Hood, on condition that it should be evacuated and delivered up to the court of Portugal, whenever that sovereignty should be emancipated from the influence of France. The Danish islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix were captured, about the same time, by general Bowyer and sir Alexander Cochrane, without resistance. The small islands of Marie Galante and Deseada were taken in March, by a squadron under captain Selby. On the 23rd of August, an attempt was made by the enemy to recover possession of the former island, but their boats were intercepted by the Circe; and the party which had landed, cut off from the possibility of escape, retired into the interior of the island. The news reached Barbadoes on the 27th, and general Beckwith immediately despatched lieutenant-colonel Blackwell, with three companies, against the enemy. The French, who were strongly posted within three miles of Grand Bourg, retreated before the British troops, who pursued them for five days and nights, and compelled them at last to surrender prisoners of war. Their commander, however, was not to be found, and was either concealed in the island or had effected his escape.

THE destruction of the Dutch naval force in the East Indies was completed by sir Edward Pellew. Previous to the commencement of actual hostilities, sir Edward endeavoured to obtain, from the commander of the Dutch naval force at Grisee, on the eastern extremity of Java, the peaceable surrender of his squadron. The Dutch commandant at Grisee, M. Cowell, contrary to the law of nations, arrested the commissioners, and bade defiance to the English admiral. Sir Edward, on receiving this intelligence, ordered the line of battle-ships to be lightened and proceeded to Grisee with his whole squadron. M. Cowell, as soon as he saw the English approaching, scuttled the Dutch ships, and sent his prisoners to Saurabaya, a town about 15 miles higher up the straits. These acts of violence and impolicy were formally disavowed by the government of Sourabaya; and the security of the Dutch settlement was guaranteed, on condition that certain forts should be destroyed, and the British forces be supplied with every necessary, at the usual prices.

The last intelligence of the year from India, related to an action between the St. Fiorenzo and La Piedmontaise, one of the most glorious in the annals of the British navy. The St. Fiorenzo, commanded by captain George Nicholas Hardinge, carried 38 guns, and her crew consisted of 186 men, chiefly invalids. She was in bad condition, and was reported to be "rather safe than sound." The Piedmontaise carried 50 long 18 pounders, and was manned with 566 men. On the 4th of March the St. Fiorenzo sailed from Pont de Galle in Ceylon, and on the morning of the 6th came in sight of three Indiamen, just as the Piedmontaise was about to bear down upon them. It was nearly midnight before the English frigate could approach near enough the enemy to engage; she then ranged along side him within a cable's length; but after a few minutes the Piedmontaise escaped beyond the range of her shot. The St. Fiorenzo pursued all night; shortly after daylight the two ships recommenced firing at the distance of half a mile, gradually closing to a quarter. This was continued for about two hours, when the Frenchman again set sail, having again materially crippled his enemy's rigging. The English repaired their damage, kept sight of the Piedmontaise during the night, bore down for action in the morning, and about three o'clock came up with her within a quarter of a cable's length. The victory, glorious as it proved, was dearly purchased by the death of captain Hardinge, who fell in the last action by a grape-shot. The loss of the English was 13 killed, 24 wounded; that of the French 50 killed, 122 wounded.

In the month of February a convention was concluded between his majesty and the king of Sweden, in which Great Britain agreed to pay to the latter country £1,200,000 in twelve monthly payments, Gustavus engaging in return to keep in readiness, for the use and advantage of Great Britain, certain proportions of his army, his ships, and his flotillas. The Swedish admiral, Nauckhof, in pursuance of this treaty, joined sir Samuel Hood, and sailed in search of the Russian fleet. The Sewowold, a vessel which had fallen to leeward, struck her colours to the allies, but, owing to the shallowness of the water, and her closeness to the shore, could not be towed off. She was therefore burnt, and the combined fleets retired to their former station.

By the treaty of Tilsit Buonaparte was left master of the continent of Europe, the greatest part being actually in his possession, and the rest under his controul. He possessed a more real and absolute authority over Germany than the most powerful of her emperors had ever been able to obtain. Switzerland, which in former times had so gloriously asserted her independence, submitted to call him her protector, received with obedience his oppressive and barbarizing edicts, and supplied men to fill up the enormous consumption of his wars. Holding France, Flanders, and Italy himself, he had established one brother on the throne of Naples, made a second king of Holland, and erected a kingdom in Germany for a third, with territories taken indiscriminately from his foes and his friends. His sister's husband, Murat, possessed a principality, with the title of the grand duke of Berg; Eugene Beauharnois, his wife's son, was married into the house of Bavaria, and ruled Italy as his viceroy; his uncle, cardinal Fesch, would, upon the next vacancy, be placed at the head of the Roman catholic church. Never had any adventurer, in an enlightened age, and civilized world, created such a fortune for himself, his family, and his followers. His reputation, political as well as military, was at the highest pitch; he had achieved more than Lewis XIV. had attempted, and exerted a wider authority than Charlemagne had claimed, while the world, dazzled by the splendour of his successes, was but too ready to forget and forgive his crimes. If ever man might have been satisfied with dominion and renown it was Napoleon Buonaparte; but it is with ambition of this kind as it is with avarice, "increase of appetite grew by what it fed on."

Spain had long been the submissive ally of France, and the first of the Spanish Bourbons had never been so entirely directed by Louis the Great, as Charles IV. was by Buonaparte. The Spanish government was thoroughly corrupt in all its parts; head, body, and members were alike diseased. The profligacy of the court exceeded all former example, it spread like a contagion, and affected all the branches of administration. But the great mass of the people retained the old

national character, and the old national spirit with little change and no deterioration. Their apathy was mistaken by Napoleon for imbecility, and their reserved and temperate virtue for indifference to their political rights and their national independence. Anticipating, therefore, no resistance from the Spanish people if he could once accomplish the coercion of the sovereign, he proceeded with confidence to the execution of a plot unparalleled in the history of human villainy.

The first indication of his purpose was the enrollment of a considerable number of the Spanish troops, who might have opposed his intentions, in the armies of Germany, and it became his second object to foment the seeds of courtly discord by secret interference in the intrigues and enmities of the palace. The French ambassador, Beauharnois, was instructed to suggest that the nuptial union of Ferdinand prince of Asturias to a relative of Napoleon, would be highly acceptable to the emperor. The anxiety of Ferdinand to avoid an union with a lady which had been suggested by his greatest enemy, led him to accede to Beauharnois' proposition, on condition of its meeting with the approbation of his royal parents, and he wrote a letter to the emperor of France expressive of his wishes. An accusation was prepared against him in the course of a few days, and he was arrested and confined in the monastery of St. Laurence. All the members of the different councils of state being assembled on the 31st of October, a declaration was read to them by the king, stating a discovery that Ferdinand had formed a conspiracy for dethroning his father. It was given out, that he had been surprised in his own apartments with the cyphers of his correspondence, which were given to be inspected by the council of Castile. It was immediately suspected by the whole Spanish nation, that this pretended conspiracy was nothing more than a groundless calumny, which Godoy, the prince of peace, and Buonaparte had fabricated betwixt them, for the purpose of removing the only obstacle by which their designs were opposed. The incarceration of the prince of Asturias, and the decree issued against his person, produced an effect the very reverse of what the infamous Godoy had expected. He therefore receded through fear, and pretended to bring about a reconciliation between the royal parents and their son. He wrote penitential letters from Ferdinand to the king and queen, which he compelled the prince to sign while a prisoner. These confessions, indeed, contain nothing which can be deemed very heinous, and every one of them may be supposed to allude to the step taken by Ferdinand in writing to Buonaparte on the subject of his marriage. But a decree addressed to the clergy, for a solemn thanksgiving to God on account of the king's deliverance, was certainly meant to convey the idea, that the prince had harboured designs against the government, if not even the existence of his royal father. A royal edict was, on the 5th of November, addressed to the governor of the council of Castile, declaring that the voice of nature had disarmed the hand of vengeance; pity, and the intercession of the queen, had induced the king to pardon the guilt of his penitent son, who had given ample information against the authors of the horrible design.

In this situation of affairs, a courier reached the palace of St. Laurence, with a treaty concluded and signed at Fountainbleau, on the 27th of October, by Isquierido, his catholic majesty's plenipotentiary, and marshal Duroc, in the name of Buonaparte. It was by this treaty agreed, that the province of Entree Minho y Duero should be made over to the king of Etruria, with the appellation of king of Northern Lusitania; the prince of peace was to have the province of Alentejo and the kingdom of the Algarves, to be enjoyed by him under the title of prince of the Algarves. By a secret convention it was agreed, that French troops were to be admitted into Spain, where they were to form a junction with Spanish troops, and march into Portugal. Forty thousand French troops were to be assembled at Bayonne before the latter end of November, to be ready to enter Spain if Great Britain should presume to send reinforcements to Portugal.

The French troops, which were assembled on the frontiers of Spain, continued inactive but a very short time. About the beginning of 1808, a corps entered Catalonia, gaining possession, on the 16th of February, of the town and citadel of Barcelona, and the strong possession of Montjeux. To give some colour of justice to these movements, it

was said that the French were marching to repel the insults of the British army on the coast of Spain; and it was whispered that there was reason to apprehend an invasion of Algiers and Morocco. Some faint resistance was made by the national troops at Montjeux and Pampluna; but there appeared to be no organ of the general will, and though the Spanish troops advanced with rapidity from Portugal to Madrid, yet the feeble court by whom they were directed, were employed in issuing orders that contradicted each other. The people at last began to bethink themselves. It was reported that the king was making preparations to leave Aranjuez to go to Seville, in order to emigrate to his dominions in America. The well known character of the prince of peace rendered it extremely probable that he would give such advice, as his wealth was prodigious, and he saw the impending storm, from which he was anxious to withdraw; but it was believed that Ferdinand was so much attached so his country as to oppose the execution of any such design. The palace of the prince of peace was attacked; and though he found means to effect his escape, their majesties were obliged to appease the indignation of the multitude, by declaring that Godoy was discharged from his high offices and commands, being permitted to retire wherever he might think proper. Having fled from Aranjuez to Madrid, the people of that metropolis were determined that he should not escape with impunity, they discovered him in a garret, and committed him to a common prison. On the 19th of March, while these commotions continued, Charles IV. published a formal abdication of the Spanish throne at Aranjuez; which was either the result of personal fear, or he was driven to the measure by Buonaparte, who, for the purpose of deluding Ferdinand, the favourite of the people, into his power, soon invited him to a fatal interview.

The new king first published a demonstration of his own innocence, confiscating the effects of the prince of peace, and appointed the duke of Infantado, a popular nobleman, to be president of the grand council of Castile. He was known to be attached to the interests of Great Britain. He made his public entry into Madrid on the 23rd of March, and the French troops, under the grand duke of Berg, had entered the city two days before him. The governor and garrison of Madrid submitted to the degrading act of being forced to welcome an enemy's army, but the people were in a state of complete fermentation, and some mortal encounters happened between the people of the two countries. The French were hitherto allowed to occupy the country, rather from the stupefaction of the Spaniards than from cowardice; but when they perceived general Dulesme throwing provisions and ammunition into Barcelona, they remonstrated strongly against such movements. "Your troops," said Espetella in a letter to the French general, "that occupied the citadel and fortress of Montjeux, might have considered all the houses of Barcelona as so many magazines, and the provisions they contain as their own. Your excellency occupied the fortresses in the name of the emperor and king as our ally; and it was only on the faith of this that the Spanish government consented to its occupancy. The city gave you an honourable reception, and shared with you the provisions destined for its own use." But a fresh insult was offered to the Spaniards, when the prince of peace was liberated by order of Buonaparte, although his imprisonment had diffused the greatest happiness throughout the kingdom. It was intended to bring him to trial, but the old queen having interceded with Buonaparte, obtained his release, and he set off immediately for Bayonne. The grand duke of Berg held Madrid with a numerous army, yet it was impossible for the French to execute their plans while Ferdinand, the idol of the people, continued in the capital. It was, therefore, an important object with the ambassador and creatures of Buonaparte to prevail with the new king to leave that place, where they durst not arrest him. When general Savary arrived as a new envoy from Paris, he made known the design of the French emperor to pay a visit to Madrid, and hoped that Ferdinand would pay him the compliment of meeting him on his own frontiers. Into this snare the unsuspicious prince of Asturias unhappily fell. He was requested to go to Burgos, in order to procure the favour of Buonaparte; from that place to Vittoria, and then to Bayonne, where in a short time he found himself in the hands of the French emperor. Charles IV. and his queen likewise reached Bayonne together

with the liberated prince of peace. Buonaparte found it no difficult matter to persuade the old king and queen to leave their dominions, having found it impracticable to escape to America; nor was it matter of regret to the Spaniards that they had lost so weak a sovereign, and a queen whose attachment to the worthless, the unprincipled Godoy, had made her still more unpopular.

Buonaparte, having secured so many members of the royal family, acted no longer under a veil; but ordered Ferdinand and all his family to give up their right to the crown of Spain and the Indies. The tyrant found it an easy matter to deal with Charles, the queen, and Godoy; and the king, declaring that his formal resignation was the result of a popular tumult, reclaimed his right to the sceptre, for the purpose of delivering it into the hands of Buonaparte. This was not the timid, passive conduct of his son Ferdinand, who would not consent to renounce his right to the throne, but on the express condition that it should not be alienated to any foreign power. He proposed that Charles should return to Madrid, to which city he would attend him, as a dutiful son; that the great council should be assembled; that Charles should dismiss the detestable prince of peace from his presence for ever; and should the aged king resign the burden of government, it should be transferred to none but himself. The negotiations continued for some days, during which the prince remained obstinate; but, on the 5th of May, a memorable conference took place, at which were present the emperor of the French, the old king and queen of Spain, the infant Don Carlos, Godoy, prince of peace, some Spanish grandees, and the minister, Don Pedro Cevallos. After some time, prince Ferdinand was called into it by his father, when the queen, in a transport of rage, addressed him as a traitor, who had long meditated the death of the king; and very emphatically proclaimed her own *rigid virtue*, by saying, "I tell you to your face, that you are my son, but not the son of the king." When proceeding in her reproaches, she was interrupted by Buonaparte, who said, "I give to Ferdinand the crown of Naples, to Don Carlos that of Etruria, with one of my nieces in marriage to each of them; let them declare if they be willing to accept this offer." After a short pause, Don Carlos replied, "Emperor, I am not born to be a king, but an infant of Spain." Ferdinand said nothing, but Napoleon resumed his discourse, and said, "Prince, you must choose between cession and death." He was allowed six hours to come to a final determination. The threats of Napoleon were seconded by Charles, and Ferdinand made the resignation which was commanded. His coach of state and sword of honour were immediately taken from him: he was watched by a party of militia, and the commandant of the guard became his only attendant.

Thus did the Spanish Bourbons pay the price of their alliance with a faithless nation, and a perfidious tyrant. The resources of Spain had long been so entirely at Buonaparte's disposal, that, if the country had acquiesced in this usurpation, it would have produced only a nominal difference, as far as other powers were concerned. In this light England might have regarded it; it mattered not to her whether Charles or Joseph acted as Buonaparte's deputy in Madrid; but upon the Spanish colonies the effect might be most important; and as Great Britain had obtained, (at a dear price) some knowledge of the state and disposition of these colonies, an expedition was prepared against part of Spanish America, and sir Arthur Wellesley appointed to the command. The troops were collected at Cork; but before they could set sail, the events of the 2nd of May, 1808, altered their destination, and changed the fate of Europe. On that day the people of Madrid, exasperated alike at the treachery by which their prince had been kidnapped, and the insolence with which a foreign tyrant pretended to set a foreigner and an upstart over them, rose against Murat's army. The immediate result was what drivellers and cowards would have predicted,—the defeat and massacre of the insurgents; but the effects were fully answerable to the hopes of the most heroic spirits that were stirring in that day's work. Never had the blood of martyrdom been more profusely shed, never did that holy seed produce a more abundant harvest. The people were mown down by grape-shot in the streets, they were bayonetted in their houses; and, when the slaughter of the contest and of the pursuit had ceased, a military tribunal was erected, to continue the butchery with the

forms of insulted justice. During many succeeding days, groups of thirty and forty at a time were led to the Prado, the Puerta del Sol, the Puerta de St. Vicente, the church of N. Senora de la Soledad,—all the most public places of Madrid,—and there shot in the presence of their townsmen, their friends, their wives, their parents, and their children! It is worthy of notice at this time, that the ruffian who presided at this military tribunal, and directed these wholesale murders, was general Grouchy, Buonaparte's newly-created marshal, his fit instrument and faithful servant.

The impulse of this movement at Madrid was felt, like an electric shock, throughout the whole peninsula. The Spaniards and Portuguese rose simultaneously against their oppressors. Without a government, without a leader, without armies, without concert, they rose against the most formidable military power which had ever yet existed,—a power perfectly organised, with all its means in readiness, which held the government and the capital of both kingdoms in its hand, occupied their fortresses, and was in actual possession of both countries. There existed but one nation, to which they could look for help. Portugal was bound to England by ties of intimate and most friendly intercourse, almost coeval with her existence as a kingdom. The Spaniards were at war with us; but they also knew the English character, and called upon England as the natural and sure ally of men engaged in so just and sacred a cause. The feelings of the British people were forcibly appealed to, and they were universally excited. The war, which had hitherto been carried on firmly indeed, but almost without object, or prospect, however distant, of its termination, assumed at once a new character. We no longer looked merely to self-defence, thinking only how we might ward the blow, when it should please the enemy to strike; we no longer reasoned upon the practicability of his invading Ireland or England, and threw up works and erected fortifications on our own shores;—this sudden and cheerless state was exchanged for action and enterprise, for ardour and enthusiasm, for hope and for joy, heroic hope and joy, strengthened by every good principle and ennobled by every generous feeling.

The expedition at Cork being ready, sir Arthur Wellesley was ordered to sail for Corunna, to communicate there with the junta of Galicia, and act as circumstances might direct him. General Spencer, from Gibraltar, would be instructed to join him, and further reinforcements sent after him, as fast as they could be fitted out. Accordingly sir Arthur set sail, and on the 20th of July arrived at Corunna, where he found tidings of the recent defeat which Cuesta and Blake had sustained at Medina del Rio Seco. It was such a reverse as was to be expected in the outset of such a war. The men, without orders, had marched against the enemy, as soon as they heard of their approach, the officers followed the impulse of the men, and the general endeavoured to direct the rash impatience, which he did not attempt to restrain, being in reality neither able to controul nor competent to guide it. The Spaniards were necessarily defeated by an enemy, little, if at all, inferior in number, strong in cavalry, and acting in a flat country; but they displayed great courage as well as ardour, and Blake, in covering their retreat, gave a promise of military talent, from which much was expected. The French used their victory cruelly, and committed the most atrocious excesses afterwards. They were commanded by Lasalle, an officer who had been trained to atrocious deeds in the Egyptian school. It was this man, whose division fell in with sixteen stragglers of sir John Hope's army, and deliberately cut them down,—an exploit of which Buonaparte boasted in his bulletins. This disaster had not in the slightest degree dispirited the Galicians: when the English offered their assistance, they assured sir Arthur that they were in no need of men, and that his army could no where be so usefully employed as in acting against Junot, and clearing Portugal of the enemy. They represented the enemy's force as not exceeding 15,000 men; and said, that the Portuguese had already assembled an army of 10,000 at Porto.

To Porto the expedition proceeded; and sir Arthur, after a conference with the bishop, leaving the transports, went on to confer with admiral Cotton off the Tagus. It was impossible to effect a landing there; the bar, the fortresses, and the Russian squadron in the river, would have rendered the attempt

too dangerous, if it had not been to be made in the face of a superior foe. Peniche was occupied by the enemy, and there was no nearer point at which a disembarkation could be effected, than the Mondego; that point, therefore, was chosen, and sir Arthur, having sent instructions to general Spencer to join him, met his transports on the 30th. There he received despatches from home, informing him, that reinforcements of 5000 men, under general Ludlow, were on their way, and that 10,000 more would speedily be sent, under sir John Moore. This general was his superior officer; but the command in chief would be vested in sir Hew Dalrymple, who was to come from Gibraltar, and sir Harry Burrard was to be second in command. There was, however, yet time for him to strike the blow, before they should arrive to supersede him, and nothing could be more prosperous than the news from Spain; the French squadron at Cadiz had been taken possession of by the Spaniards, and Dupont, with his whole army, made prisoners in Andalusia. Buonaparte had never received such a blow; the loss of men indeed was easily reparable, but the reputation of his armies was wounded, the invincibles had been put to shame, the spell which palsied the nations was broken; another such catastrophe might stir up the north of Europe to imitate the glorious example set by the peninsula, and what was to preserve Junot from the fate of Dupont? With this prospect, sir Arthur Wellesley, having been joined by general Spencer, began his march from Coimbra toward Lisbon.

The disposition of the Portuguese was excellent. The events of their insurrection against the French were little known at the time, and have not yet been detailed in any language except their own. It was a general and simultaneous movement of the people, which, under all circumstances, sir Arthur Wellesley thought even more extraordinary than that for which the Spaniards obtained and deserved universal sympathy and admiration; it was made against far greater disadvantages; and, while the British were on the coast, an enemy's detachment was ravaging Alemtejo, under general Loison,—a man who, in an army infamous for its excesses, was distinguished for his love of plunder and of blood. On the 29th of July, he sacked the city of Evora, and in the carnage which ensued, the clergy were marked out as especial objects of vengeance, and hunted like wild beasts. Wherever he went, his soldiers were let loose to burn, to pillage, and to destroy; but these cruelties served to repress the people only while he was present, and left them more eager and more insatiate for vengeance. This spirit was so general, and such precautions were taken by the governors of Coimbra and Pombal, that the French, for a long time, obtained little information concerning the British troops. At the first rumour, however, Loison hastened from Alemtejo; and crossing the river, took a position between Thomar and Santarem: and Laborde, who had the reputation of being the best general in that army, with generals Thomieres and Brennier under him, entered Alcobaça with a strong detachment, and pushed his advanced posts as far as Aljubarrota. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the country; in these points they were always as well informed, as we, till of late, were ignorant. They fell back as the English advanced, and took post on the heights of Rolissa, a village about two leagues south of Obidos, remarkable as the first ground whereon the British and French were opposed to each other in the peninsular war. Laborde had about 5000 men; Loison, with an equal force, was expected to join him on the evening of the 17th. Sir Arthur Wellesley was informed of this, and made his attack in the morning. The enemy had chosen his ground well; it consisted of narrow passes and strong heights. Dispositions were made for turning his left by a column of 1200 Portuguese, and his right by major-general Ferguson, who had also to watch the motions of Loison; but the main attack was made boldly upon the front and strength of the position, where the principal column, under cover of some olive and cork trees, was enabled to approach and *deploy* without much loss. The way was up ravines, made by the rains, in some places overgrown with shrubs, in others impeded with crags, and hitherto only thought practicable for goats. The middle pass appeared the least difficult, and here the assailants suffered the severest loss; for near the top of this pass there was a small opening in the form of a wedge, which, at the point nearest the English, was overgrown with myrtle, arbutus, and those other shrubs,

which render the wilderness of this part of Portugal so beautiful. Here the French posted an ambush of riflemen, and here colonel Lake led his regiment instead of sending forward to explore the ground as the pass opened; the French let half the regiment enter, and then fired upon them when they were in close column. Colonel Lake fell; a severe loss was sustained, but the men pushed forward and won the pass. Here the 29th and 9th regiments found themselves for a considerable time unsupported, and the enemy charged them thrice with great resolution, but were as often repulsed. The skill of the French was indeed as clearly proved that day as their inferiority to the British soldiers, in those moments when every thing depends on native courage. During a contest which began at nine in the morning and was not concluded before five in the afternoon, they retreated in admirable order from one difficult position to another, losing none of the advantages which the ground offered, of which it was not the least that the English were never able to avail themselves of their numerical superiority, the number actually engaged being far less than that of the enemies whom they defeated. They repeatedly attempted to recover what they had lost, and when this hope was abandoned they affected their retreat in good order; for as sir Arthur Wellesley wanted cavalry, and troops and cannon could not be brought up the passes without requisite speed, there was no pursuit. Our loss was less than 500 men killed, wounded, and missing; that of the French was supposed to have trebled it, and of their five pieces of cannon three were taken. The battle, though neither in its scale nor its consequences of much importance, becomes interesting as the first in this long struggle, and because in this trial the British evinced that superiority in what may be termed national courage, which they maintained in every engagement from that day till they closed their triumphant career before the walls of Thoulouse.

On the same day that the battle of Rolissa was fought, the Portuguese, by an enterprise conducted with equal bravery and good fortune, recovered the important city of Abrantes, where Loison had left a garrison of 200 men. That general, as well as Laborde, now fell back to join the main force of the French which Junot was collecting about Torres Vedras. Junot had left between 3000 and 4000 men in Lisbon, under Travot; there were three officers of rank in the French army, who distinguished themselves by *not* insulting, *not* injuring, and *not* robbing the inhabitants, Travot, Charlot, and Brennier. The French now began to feel that character was worth something, and Junot, in the proclamations that he issued upon leaving Lisbon, spoke of the virtues by which general Travot had obtained the friendship of the inhabitants of Cascaes and Oeyras. In other respects this paper was in the true French style, save only that it was something below the ordinary point of arrogance.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, meantime, was informed that generals Akland and Anstruther with their brigades were off the coast, and he moved to Vimiera to protect their landing. The larger reinforcements, under sir Harry Burrard and sir John Moore, having been delayed by contrary winds, were sixteen days before they made Cape Finisterre from Portsmouth; their instructions were not to go to the north of Porto without obtaining information. Sir Harry, therefore, removed to the Brazen sloop with some of his staff, and, leaving the convoy, proceeded first to the Douro, then to the Mondego. Here he found letters from sir Arthur, recommending that the troops should land here, and march upon Santarem, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy in that direction; but the letter added that they must carry their own bread, for the resources of the country were not to be relied on. Upon weighing this difficulty, and the possible danger of not being in sufficient strength to resist the enemy if they should retire with their force upon that point, sir Harry Burrard determined not to follow this advice, and continued his course southward. This was on the 18th; the next day he obtained intelligence of the battle of Rolissa, and then despatched an officer to sir John Moore, directing him to land in the Mondego, and proceed according to circumstances and his own judgment. Moore accordingly reached the Mondego on the 20th, and began to disembark, but presently he received counter-orders to follow sir Harry, who had changed his mind, and was proceeding to the mouth of the Maceira, where he arrived on the evening of 20th. While the English troops were

thus divided, Junot had collected his force; he himself with the advanced-guard took post in front of Torres Vedras, and the main body under Laborde and Loison, were strong posted behind the town. They covered the country with their cavalry, of which they had about 1300, and sir Arthur could only learn that their position was very strong, and their whole strength assembled there. His own plans were speedily formed; sir Charles Stuart (a man whose eminent military talents were never allowed an adequate field wherein to display themselves,) had carefully surveyed this part of the country while he commanded the British troops in Portugal, for it had not escaped him that upon this ground, in case of serious invasion, the kingdom must be either won or lost. His maps and topographical accounts were in sir Arthur Wellesley's possession. The French either did not understand the advantages which the ground offered them, or they believed that a defensive system was not practicable on their part, because of the disposition of the people. Sir Arthur determined to push his advanced-guard to Mafra on the following morning, turning the enemy's position by this movement and he then hoped to enter Lisbon in pursuit of the retreating enemy. Having laid down this plan and issued orders for putting it in execution on the morrow, he heard of sir Harry's arrival and going immediately on board to communicate with him, he explained his intended measures

But the new commander was more impressed with the difficulties to be encountered, than encouraged by the success that had hitherto attended the movements of the army. The strength of the enemy's cavalry, and their own want of that important arm of war, kept the British troops at present close to their encampment; and the farther they might advance from the ships, (upon which they depended for bread,) the more severely would this inferiority be felt. The artillery horses were inefficient, they were cast off cavalry, purchased in Ireland, the old, and the blind, and the lame; some of them had already died of age, and others, though carefully fed, sunk under what would have been easy work for horses in good condition; nearly a sixth part had thus perished upon the way, and of those which were left many were not worth the forage which they consumed. Under these circumstances, the decision which he was now called upon to make, appeared to sir Harry Burrard most serious in its consequences; and should the army be checked in advancing, he thought it impossible to calculate the disasters to which it would be exposed. He was of opinion, therefore, that they ought to wait for sir John Moore's division. Sir Arthur represented that at least ten days must elapse before these troops could land and become serviceable at Vimiera; the two armies were so situated that one of them must attack; if the British advanced they would have the advantage of acting on the offensive; in his opinion they could reach Mafra before they could be brought to a general engagement; reaching that point he should turn the French position, and come more immediately in front of Lisbon, upon ground which he knew so well that he was desirous of making it the scene of action. These representations were unavailing; the adjutant general, B., general Clinton, and colonel Murray, the quarter-master general coincided in opinion with sir Harry Burrard; and the orders, which sir Arthur Wellesley had given for advancing on the morrow, were consequently countermanded. But a part of that general's opinion was soon verified; he had asserted that a battle could not be delayed, and, as he expected, Junot on the following morning brought his whole force to attack the British army, before they should receive further reinforcements.

Thus was the enemy allowed to choose the place, the time, and the manner of attack; and they made full use of the advantage, for they brought the whole of their force to bear upon half the British army. There were in the field about 14,000 French, and 16,000 English; yet they engaged them with a superiority of nearly two to one. To a general of less promptitude, or to troops of less determined courage, this would have been fatal; but on this occasion the skill of the general was admirably seconded by the gallantry of officers and men. The intentions of the enemy were deceived at every movement, troops were moved with the utmost celerity just when and where they were needed, and the heart, and the arm, and the bayonet, did the rest. Wherever the French made the attack they were repulsed; wherever they were attacked they gave way. Yet they were

brave enemies; and had they not been sullied by such crimes, they might deserve for their bravery to be mentioned with admiration. One charge which they made upon major Ferguson's brigade will long be remembered by those who witnessed it; it was made by the flower of the enemy's army with the bayonet; they came resolutely to the point of trial, and in one instant their whole line was cut down, so decisive was the superiority of British courage when brought to this last test. Above 300 of their grenadiers were found dead in the line where they had been drawn up.

Such was the most lame and impotent conclusion of the battle of Vimiera, which, had it been followed up as sir Arthur Wellesley wished to follow it, would have placed the French army at the mercy of the conquerors, have enabled the Portuguese to obtain some justice upon the robbers and ruffians who had so infamously oppressed them, and have given a signal example to Europe. On the morning after the battle sir Hew Dalrymple arrived. The French had perceived that the British did not know how to profit by the advantage which they had gained; they supposed it would be easy to make good terms with men who seemed so little to feel their own strength; and they proposed terms accordingly, which, perhaps, not less to *their* astonishment, than to the wonder and indignation of Great Britain, were accepted. By these terms they were to evacuate Portugal, and be conveyed to France, with all their arms, ammunition, artillery, baggage, and property, then to be at liberty to serve again; and the Russian fleet in the Tagus was to be held in deposit by the British till six months after a peace should be concluded between England and Russia, when the ships were to be restored, the crews being immediately to be conveyed home in British vessels. It was even agreed that the fleet should leave the Tagus unmolested, but the admiral, sir C. Cotton, refused to ratify such an agreement. It is easier to account for the terms of this memorable convention than to justify or excuse them. When the command was in one general in the morning, in a second at night, and in a third on the morrow, there could be no singleness of view, and therefore no steadiness of conduct. Sir Hew landed in utter ignorance of the state of the army, the enemy, and the country. Sir Harry had hardly more knowledge than sir Hew; and sir Arthur Wellesley, who alone was acquainted with all circumstances, had seen his opinion rejected and overruled at the moment when the tide of fortune was at its flood. After seeing so fair an opportunity lost, he may easily be supposed to have felt a degree of indifference as to subsequent measures, over which he had no controul, and for which he was not responsible. There was an unusual delay in sending off intelligence of these proceedings to England,—the first account actually came from the junta of Oviedo. This delay seems to imply a latent apprehension in the commander that what he had to communicate would not be joyfully received; men usually lose no time in despatching the bearer of good tidings. How the tidings of the convention of Cintra were received are still fresh in remembrance. An outcry of indignation was set up from all parts of the kingdom, such as had seldom been known before. It was unconnected with any party-spirit or party-views; it was the impulse of true British feeling; the fair hopes of the country had been withered at once, like April blossoms by a snow blast; our own honour and the interests of our allies had been sacrificed; we had looked for a triumph of moral justice, and of moral feeling, as well as of our armies; we had seen these things forgotten and despised, and had been fooled in negotiation out of what we had won with the sword.

An assembly of 150 notables was held at Bayonne, on the 17th of July, (1808,) on the day set apart for the acceptance of the new constitution. A magnificent throne and highly ornamented altar, the service of which was performed by the archbishop of Burgos, were erected in the chamber where they sat. Joseph Buonaparte, to whom had been transferred the crown of Spain by his brother Napoleon, addressed the junta as their sovereign, to which the president made a suitable reply; after which many members took the oath of allegiance, and the junta attended his levee. The Bayonne junta was said to possess a high and independent spirit, but in transactions such as these we can only discover the reverse.

Joseph Buonaparte entered the Spanish territory on the 9th of July, 1808, making his

public entrance into the capital on the 20th, attended by the members of the junta from Bayonne. His personal or body guard consisted of 10,000 Italian and other troops, exclusive of an army of 18,000 men, under the command of general Bessierres, who were posted at Madrid in order to defend him. It was even more humiliating than the entrance of the usurper into Madrid, to behold the names of some of its noblest grandees among the officers of his household. Don Louis Mariano de Urquijo was chosen secretary of state; Don Pedro Cevallos, minister for foreign relations; the duke of Parque, the duke of St. Germain, the duke del Infantado, the count Santa Collona, and the dukes of Ossuna and Sotomayor, were his captains or chamberlains. None of these men redeemed their honour by turning their backs on the usurper, till the mass of the people had set them an example of patriotism at which they were probably ashamed. Courtiers could suffer the degradation of the Spanish name; some of the nobility from pusillanimous despair, and others, from hopes still more contemptible, submitted to the change of dinasty; but far nobler passions actuated the people. The flower of their regular army was serving abroad; their north eastern frontier was in the possession of French garrisons; their capital, their interior, and the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, occupied by 100,000 veteran French troops, under the command of the best officers in Europe. Though they were without arms, ammunition, or treasury, and abandoned by their government, they could rise to combat with the masters of Europe, and pour a sort of contempt on the tactics of Buonaparte himself. We must acknowledge, that in many instances, the conduct of the Spaniards has not kept pace with this glorious commencement; but, circumstanced as they were, to have risen with unanimity for a single moment, exhibits a picture of heroism and patriotic virtue absolutely without a parallel in the annals of modern history. The insurgents employed as a motto "*The Spanish blood shed at Madrid cries for vengeance.*"

Ever since the horrid and disgraceful massacre at Madrid, the public mind had been very much agitated; but a general insurrection did not take place till the abdication of Ferdinand was announced. The whole sensibility of an ardent, devout, and loyal people, was awakened by the anniversary of the tutelar saint of the prince, St. Ferdinand, being the 27th of May, when the insurrection began in different places. Don Niquel de Saavedra, in the kingdom of Valentia, was put to death for opposing the insurgents, and the same scenes were exhibited at Cuença, Carthagena, Malaga, and Granada, in the Castiles, and Estremadura. When it was known at Cadiz that the patriots had corresponded with the British at Gibraltar, Solana, the lieutenant-general of Andalusia, at the head of the French faction, came with great rapidity to the city, thundering out proclamations against their designs; but the people, being led on by Spanish officers, rose and surrounded his palace, and while proclaiming his attachment to Napoleon they put him to death. The establishment of provincial juntas soon brought into unity these unconnected exertions.

The supreme junta of Seville took the lead in the affairs of the patriots, and with a fortunate audacity exercised for some time all the functions of sovereign authority. Availing themselves of some statutes in their constitution, by which they were authorised to reject the orders of the supreme council of Madrid, when the capital was at any time in the hands of foreign troops, they proclaimed war against France, and Ferdinand VII. to be king of Spain. This pre-eminence in point of authority was justly claimed by them from the circumstances of Andalusia. That province contained the greatest number of veteran native troops, the only foundery of cannon in the whole kingdom, and the most ample store of arms and ammunition. It is likewise the province in which Gibraltar is situated, and which could best receive assistance from Great Britain. It is the province of opulence and resources. Though the patriotic ardour was not strongest among the highest ranks, the general enrolment of the people was joined by many of the dignified clergy and nobility. The bishop of St. Andero appeared among the patriots, and the count de Montego was unwearied in his exertions with respect to enlisting and drilling the volunteers. Recruits were poured forth by the monasteries and the universities; the standards of the former bearing the names of saints, those of the latter the names of Greek or Roman

heroes. By an agreement between the Spanish general Castanos and the patriots of Cadiz, on the one hand, and of the British officers at Gibraltar, and in the Mediterranean, on the other. Lord Collingwood arrived with his ships to take the command of the British fleet off Cadiz, and general Spencer with six or seven regiments from Gibraltar. Lord Collingwood offered to reduce the French fleet in the harbour, but Thomas de Morla, who became governor of the city after the execution of Solana, resolved that this should be exclusively effected by the Spaniards themselves. The canal of the arsenal contained the French ships, so situated as to be beyond the reach of the cannon of the castles, as well as of the Spanish squadron then off Cadiz; but admiral Rosilly, by the exertion of the gun-boats, bomb vessels, and batteries on the isle of Leon, near Fort Louis, was obliged to surrender his fleet on the 14th of June, consisting five ships of 74 guns each, one frigate, and 4000 seamen and marines.

Information having been received, that some French troops had assembled at Tavira, in order to enter Spain on the side of Portugal, by the river Guadiana, general Spencer set sail for that river with his detachment, and disembarked his troops at Ayamonte. General Purvis had already sent three ships to the mouth of the Guadiana, which very much alarmed the French, making them concentrate all the force at Lisbon, with the exception of a few detachments in fortified places. The Portuguese likewise rose on their oppressors, and implored assistance from admiral sir C. Cotton who had the command of the British naval force in that quarter. Friendship and alliance were established between Great Britain and Spain, almost without the ceremony of a proclamation, a change of circumstances having produced so great a change in their relations. Peace, however, was formally proclaimed by the juntas, with Britain, Sweden, and Portugal; and the Portuguese provinces of Algarve and Alentejo placed themselves under the protection of the junta of Seville. Envoys were sent to the transmarine establishments of Spain in the Americas, West Indies, and Asia, inviting them to espouse the cause of the patriots, and of Ferdinand. King Joseph had sent out proclamations to those colonies, but the vessels in which they were conveyed were for the most part captured by the British, and the crews of such as had arrived, were imprisoned by the transatlantic patriots. Peace was proclaimed with Spain in the London Gazette, on the 5th of July. Many thousand Spanish prisoners in Britain were liberated, clothed, and sent home to join their countrymen in arms. Besides the arms and treasures which were readily forwarded by government, the people of Great Britain testified their zeal in the cause of the patriots by very liberal subscriptions throughout the kingdom, while some corps of militia volunteered their services.

The junta of Seville published some excellent precautions, tending to give a proper direction to that desultory mode of warfare which they had resolved to adopt in preference to pitched battles. It would have been a fortunate circumstance if the respective juntas had strictly adhered to truth, in the calculations they made of their fighting men. They were in hopes of terrifying the French by their exaggerations, but they were thus deceiving each other, and their allies, as the gallant sir John Moore felt by woeful experience. Including the army of Junot in Portugal, the French had about 100,000 men in the whole peninsula, the half of which were stationed at Madrid, or its vicinity. Detachments from this vast body were sent to take possession of Cadiz and Valentia, the former under Dupont, and the latter under marshal Moncey. Bessieres was to guard the roads between Madrid and Bayonne, and curb the country as much as possible, by spreading to the right and left. The Spanish general, Cuesta, opposed this northern army with the force of Gallicia, Asturias, Estramadura, and Leon, together with those of some insurgent districts of Biscay. General Castanos had the chief command in the four kingdoms of Andalusia, with the provinces of Grenada and Valentia, which had united with Andalusia. Admiral Cisneros was captain general of Mercia; Don Joseph Palafox, of Arragon; and count Espetalla, of Catalonia.

When the army of Dupont left Madrid it amounted to 20,000 men, with which he crossed the mountains of the Morena, and descending into Andalusia, he captured and pillaged Cordova. The French commander received information at this place, that Castanos was advancing with 45,000 patriots, which induced

him to retire, first to a strong position behind the Guadalquiver, from whence he fell back to Baylen. By the desultory attacks of the insurgents, he had already lost a number of his troops; but his case was only rendered hopeless, when the judicious movements of Castanos separated from him the whole division of his army under general Wedel, together with a reinforcement under general Belliard, on its way from Madrid. He made a bold attack on 25,000 of Castanos' army, as a last resource, but was repulsed with the loss of 3000 men, and forced to surrender at discretion, in which capitulation was comprehended the division of general Wedel. It was agreed that they should be sent home by sea. The battle of Baylen was fought on the 20th of July. Equally unfortunate were the labours of general Moncey in Valentia; for marching upon that city, after defeating the peasants at the passes of the mountains, he began to cannonade its walls, when he was attacked by general Caro, with the covering army, beaten back to his camp, and reduced to the necessity of flying to Madrid. Out of 15,000 men whom he brought from the capital, 1500 were taken prisoners, and 10,000 returned, comprehending a prodigious number of wounded. The defence of Saragossa displayed an heroism that was never surpassed in antient or modern times. On the 14th of June, before it was practicable to organise any force for the protection of this defenceless city, 9000 French took a position on the heights by which Saragossa is commanded. A small party of cavalry penetrated into the town; but they paid dearly for their temerity, and were cut off to a man. The people of Saragossa had planted some cannon, in great haste, before the gates of the city; and, in some favourable situations without the town, when these outposts were attacked on the 15th of June, by a detachment of French troops, their main body endeavouring to storm the city at one of the gates, both which attacks were furiously and successfully resisted by the Saragossians. After single discharges, they closed with and overpowered the French, a party of whom, having entered the town, were cut to pieces, and Le Febvre retired beyond the reach of their cannon, losing 27 baggage-waggons and 400 cavalry during his retreat. The French, having obtained reinforcements of artillery and troops, nearly invested the town a second time before the end of June, and again got possession of the heights in its vicinity. As the enemy advanced, the people of Saragossa made the best possible use of their feeble means of defence, tearing the very curtains from the windows, which they converted into bags, and filled with sand, piling them up before each gate in the form of a battery, and casting a deep trench around each of them. In many places, the gates of Saragossa are connected, within the town, by mud-walls of gardens, in others by buildings, or by the remains of an old Moorish wall, which was even destitute of a platform for musquetry. Through these intervening houses and mud-walls, the intrepid citizens broke holes for musquetry and cannon, and the houses in the environs of the city were either pulled down or consumed by fire. Gardens and olive grounds were, with the greatest cheerfulness, rooted up by their proprietors, whenever they promoted the defence of the city, or covered the approach of the enemy. The women, and even the children, imitated the exertions of the men.

The industry and heroism of the citizens were equally astonishing, and great was the sagacity of those who conducted its defence They manufactured gunpowder within the city, notwithstanding it was on fire in every quarter. At the end of almost two months, every effort to recover the adjacent heights and environs had proved abortive; and the bodies of the besieged were almost exhausted, but their courage was unimpaired. On one quarter of the town the French opened a most tremendous fire; the mud-walls were battered down; the French columns had entered the city, and were in possession of half of it, even to the street in the centre, when the French general demanded a capitulation in these words; "*Head-quarters, Santa Engracia; the Capitulation.*" And he was answered in the following words: "*Head-quarters, Saragossa; war to the knife.*" The French occupied one side of the principal street called Coso, and on the opposite side the Arragonese threw up their entrenchments within a few paces of them. It was certain and inevitable destruction to appear within this dreadful interval during the day; but the combatants often rushed against the batteries of each other, across the street, during the night. The ammunition of the Spaniards

began at length to fail, and the people insisted on being led out against the enemy with nothing but their knives. At this most dreadful period an opportune supply of ammunition and provisions arrived with 3000 Spaniards, Swiss, and volunteers of Arragon, who unexpectedly found their way into the city under general Palafox. It was then determined, that if the whole city of Saragossa should be consumed, the patriots would retire over the Ebro to the suburbs, and defend them till they perished; a resolution which caused the people to shout for joy. The conflict was continued from house to house, from door to door, during eleven days, when the French had lost the whole of the city but about an eighth part. On the night of the 13th of August the fire of the French was terribly destructive, and when their batteries ceased firing flames were seen issuing from many parts of the buildings which they occupied. On the morning of the 14th, to the astonishment of the Saragossians, the enemy's columns were beheld at a distance retreating across the plain, on the road to Pampeluna.

The French general, Duhesme, had been instructed to reduce Gerona in Catalonia, at the same time when Le Febre marched against Saragossa; but after spending a month in the siege, he was threatened in flank by the insurgents, and retreated with precipitation. The French with difficulty prevented the patriots from cutting off the communications of Figueras, and investing Barcelona. Such were the successes of the patriots in the south and east, though their efforts in the north of Spain were not crowned with so much success, having lost the battle of Medina del Rio Seco, in the province of Leon.

While marshal Besseires despatched a force against Saragossa he had also pushed forward columns against Segovia, Ligrono, Valladolid, and St. Andero, Segovia was captured, after the peasantry had been defeated before its walls. The town and province of Velentia were likewise disarmed, and the members of the council of the captured towns were deputed to go to Bayonne, there to supplicate the forgiveness of Joseph Buonaparte, and swear fealty to his *Catholic Majesty*. General Merle had marched towards the mountains of St. Andero on the 21st of June, and defeated the natives under the patriotic bishop in one quarter, whilst general Ducos drove them from post to post into the town from other points. The French generals then made their entrance into St. Andero on different sides; the peasants returned home, and the city swore allegiance to the usurper. But the most terrible blow to the cause of the patriots was the defeat of the army of the western provinces under Cuesta. That general, whose forces included all the prisoners which the British government had restored, was attacked on the 14th of July, on the high grounds of Medina del Rio Seco, by the French general Bessieres. Every position was carried which his raw troops had occupied; he lost the whole of his artillery, baggage, stores, and the greater part of his army. The Spaniards took their rout through Benevento as far as Astorga, and were pursued for many days, every place left behind them surrendering as the enemy advanced.

It appears, however, that in spite of this defeat the patriots entertained some faint hopes of rallying under Cuesta, and that the fugitives from Medina would obtain reinforcements. When the news of the battle of Baylen reached Madrid, the French immediately began to fortify the Reteiro. On the 29th of July, in the evening, they began to evacuate Madrid, on which day king Joseph, with the remainder of the troops, left the metropolis, proceeding towards Burgos, after he had plundered the public treasury of the plate and crown jewels of his unfortunate predecessor. The Spaniards emphatically said, "that Joseph had put the crown into his pocket, which he durst not wear upon his head."

While the government of France could not extinguish the flame of insurrection in Spain, they were still less qualified to prevent its explosion from being heard over the whole of Europe. In vain had Buonaparte endeavoured to impress the Spanish regiments in the army, which he kept watching his recent conquests in Germany, with an idea that his proceedings had received the sanction of the most respectable part of their countrymen. He published an account in the Moniteur that those regiments had voluntarily come forward to devote themselves to his cause, and beg the honour of forming the body-guard of the new sovereign Joseph. Had

any such offer been ever made it by no means agreed with the subsequent spirit manifested by the same troops, who, when informed of the true state of their country, placed their colours in the centre of a circle, around which they formed, and after swearing an oath of patriotism on their bended knees, marched through the hostile battalions by which they were surrounded, but none thought proper to put their desperate courage to the test.

Ten thousand Spaniards, under the marquis Romana, on the islands of Langland, Zealand, and Jutland, who had thus emancipated themselves from the tyrannical yoke of the French, were conveyed away by our fleet in the Baltic, under admiral Keates, and were landed at Corunna on the last day of September, together with their stores, arms, and artillery.

The legitimate government having been installed at Aranjuez, preparations were made upon a great scale for completing the work which had been so happily and gloriously begun. The French had at this time about 60,000 men in Spain, who occupied a strong country, having the Ebro in their front, the river Aragon on their left, and the bay of Biscay on their right. Three armies were set on foot by the Spaniards, in the hope of expelling them; that on the right, or the eastern army, as it was called, under Palafox, the deliverer of Saragossa; the central, under Castanos, whose deliverance of Andalusia had rendered him deservedly popular; and the left or western army under Blake, who, for the reputation he had obtained at the battle of Rio Seco, had been thus promoted. The nominal force of these armies was 130,000 men; but it is not probable that they amounted at any time to more than half that number. The Spanish army, before this revolution, had fallen into the worst state of indiscipline; and during revolutions discipline is the last thing which a soldier learns. Blake had indeed 10,000 with him, who, with their commander, the marquis de Romana, had been brought off from Denmark by admiral Keates, in a manner as well planned as it was dexterously executed. These were good troops; but except these, the Spanish armies consisted either of raw levies, or of men who had never seen any thing more than the worthless routine of their slovenly service. The officers were equally inexperienced; in the first ebullition of national feeling, the local authorities assumed the power of granting commissions, and soon abused the power by granting them to their friends and dependents, without any reference to desert and talents. Men in abundance offered themselves, brave, hardy, patient, devoted to their country, and hating the perfidious enemy, with all the vehemence of national and religious hatred. But where all were ready to learn there were none to teach. The Spanish commissariat, always bad, was now in so wretched a state that the armies could scarcely be kept together. Men, who in active service, bore without a murmur the secret privations, were not equally passive when they found themselves without proper supplies in their own quarters; a sense of injury was felt, and acting as if the contract between them and their government was broken, they made no scruple to forsake their regiments and return home; for in the general overthrow there scarcely remained a shadow of law. The obvious remedy for these evils would have been to reorganise the army by the assistance of British officers. But it must be remembered that at this time the British army did not possess that character which it established during the peninsular war; the French, aided too by many misdirected expeditions on our part, had persuaded the continental nations that we were not a military people, and that they were as decidedly superior to us by land as they acknowledged themselves inferior by sea. The Spaniards also, who are proverbially a high minded people, were elated with their first successes, and would have regarded such a measure as a degradation. They had a confidence in the nature and extent of their country, the spirit of the people, the goodness of their cause, and their old renown, which did not allow them to contemplate the thought of subjugation to France as a thing possible. This confidence may be called blind and unreasoning, as their faith in Santiago and Our Lady of the Pillar; but it was rooted in them. It exposed them often to loss, and to defeat, and danger, but it always preserved them from despondency, and in such a contest perseverance was sure of being successful at last.

Buonaparte mean time had not been idle. His first care was to keep the French people,

as far as possible, in ignorance of the events which had taken place in Spain. It is a curious indication of his fear of public opinion respecting this fresh war in which he was about to involve France, merely for his own personal ambition, that he caused it at this time to be announced that the king of England was dead, and that the prince's first act had been to change his ministers, preparatory to a change of policy on the part of Great Britain. He had expected to strike terror into the Spaniards; but after the capture of the fleet, the surrender of Dupont's army, and the signal defeat of Le Febvre's at Saragossa, he saw that considerable efforts were required to crush the insurrection, Before this was made it was necessary to be secure of the continental powers; for this purpose he had a conference with the emperor of Russia at Erfurth, which terminated in an insidious proposal of peace to England, the main object being to secure the alliance of Russia in case of an apprehended attack from Austria. It was not till after his preparations were complete that Buonaparte thought fit to publish a detail of the affairs of Spain, composed in his usual style of misrepresentations and falsehoods. In this paper it was affirmed that the landholders, the enlightened men, the superior clergy, were all animated with the best sentiments; but that the English faction, which had always been very active in the seaports and in Madrid, had taken advantage of circumstances, and that England, in fine, had brought about an insurrection by seducing the monks and the inquisition! The excesses which the people had committed in their fear of treason, and their indignation for the massacre at Madrid, were carefully related, and in this respect the paper is valuable, nothing of this kind being omitted. The loss of the ships at Cadiz was not noticed; it was said that Saragossa had been almost wholly destroyed by mines, by bombardment, and by fire; but it was not said that the French had been compelled to abandon the siege; the only acknowledged reverse was the capture of Dupont. This unexpected event, it was said, which was more important because it encouraged the insurgents, the information that the English threatened the coast of Galicia, and the heat of the season which was unfavourable for rapid movements, induced the king (meaning Joseph Buonaparte,) to concentrate his force, and place them in a country less burning than the plains of New Castile, which might at once offer them a milder air and more salubrious water. In sum, the principal army of the malcontents had been destroyed at Rio Seco; the body of insurgents scarcely deserved to be taken into account. Men of a right mind saw with with sorrow that England had succeeded in exciting a civil war in the heart of Spain; but the event could not be doubtful; and all that the English papers had published concerning these transactions was false and absurd. So completely had Buonaparte succeeded in shutting out information from the countries under his controul, that his grand army of Germany, as it was called, which he now ordered into Spain, knew nothing of what had occurred there till they were in the country, and learned from the French upon the spot the fate of Dupont and of Junot, and the other disgraces and losses which had been sustained. They learned it with astonishment, but the impression was transitory. "We thought," said M. Rocca, "we were going upon an easy expedition which would soon be terminated; conquerors of Germany, we did not suppose that any thing could afterwards resist us."

One of the reasons assigned by the British generals for granting such favourable terms to Junot was, that the British army might be able immediately to co-operate with the Spaniards; one of the effects of this convention was to delay the effects of that co-operation; the transports, which should have carried the British troops to those places where they might have advantageously acted with the Spaniards, being employed in transporting the French to their own country, that they might lose no time in marching to act against them. The convention of Cintra was signed on the 30th of August; in August it had been determined that a British army should be sent to act in the north of Spain, but it was not till the 6th of October that sir John Moore received his appointment to the command, and was ordered to form a junction in Galicia or Leon with 15,000 men, who had been sent to Corunna under sir David Baird. No time was then lost in making the necessary preparations, and seeking for the necessary local information; but so much had already been lost, that sir John Moore, with his advanced-

guard, did not reach Salamanca till the 15th of November. Before he entered that city, he heard that the Estremaduran army, or army of reserve, under count Belvidere, had been routed at Burgos.

Buonaparte had made full use of the leisure which had been given him. The British troops had scarcely begun their march from Portugal, before he had commenced his operations. His first object was to destroy Blake's army, before it could be supported by the English. That army was successful in the first action; never did men behave more gallantly, and never did any army endure severer privations: from the wretched state of their commissariat, they were without clothing, without shoes, and almost without food, among the mountains and snows of Biscay; yet they made head against the enemy without murmuring. But the French continually brought up fresh troops to supply the place of those that fell; and thus, by dint of repeated attacks, and by numbers even more than discipline, succeeded in finally beating down and dispersing the best of the Spanish armies. While Lefebvre and Victor were thus employed, Soult and Bessieres attacked the army of Estremadura, which occupied the centre of the Spanish line of operations, for the armies of Castanos and Palafox were now united under the command of the former. This army was weak in numbers, not exceeding 12,000 men, who were mostly recruits and volunteers; among the latter were the students of Leon and Salamanca, youths of high spirit, who were, almost to a man, cut off, fighting with the most heroic and devoted courage. There remained only the army of the right; Lasnes and Moncey were to act against this, in front and on the left, while Ney, coming upon the rear, was to cut off their retreat; the first part of the plan was carried into full effect, Castanos being defeated with great loss at Tudela; but Ney, stopping a day at Soria for the sake of plunder, did not reach Agreda till a day after the wreck of the Spanish army had passed through on their retreat. This last event, which completed the defeat of the Spaniards along their whole line, took place on the 23rd of November, ten days only after sir John Moore had arrived at Salamanca.

This last officer had been sent, in the month of May, to assist our ally, the king of Sweden, against a combined attack from Russia, Denmark, and France. On the 17th of that month, his army reached Gottenburg, but was not allowed to land. Sir John went to Stockholm to communicate his orders, and concert measures for the security of Sweden. He there found, to his astonishment, that, although the Swedish army was totally insufficient even for defensive purposes, the thoughts of the king were intent on conquest. It was at first agreed, that the English should remain in their ships till some Swedish regiments could be collected at Gottenburg, and that the combined army should land and conquer Zealand. The plan being examined, it was found that the island of Zealand, independent of its fortresses, contained a regular force superior to any that could be brought to act effectively against it; and that the islands adjacent were full of French troops, which in small parties could pass over to it with the greatest facility. It was then determined that the British alone should land in Finland, storm a fortress, and gain possession of the province. It was justly represented by sir John Moore, that 10,000 British troops were not qualified to cope with the main force of the Russian empire. The Swedish monarch replied, "I shall compel you to execute any enterprise that I may judge to be expedient." The British commander enquired, "By what authority he could do so." "By authority from your own sovereign," returned Gustavus. Sir John requested a sight of the document, but this proposal was construed by the king into an imputation on his royal word; and he ordered the British commander to be arrested. Sir John, however, found means to escape from Stockholm in disguise, and brought his troops back to Britain, in conformity to his instructions.

Sir John Moore enjoyed the highest reputation of any general in the British army. He was a man of acknowledged talents, and of tried courage; indefatigable in business; a strict disciplinarian, but one who reconciled all who were under him to that discipline, by his goodness of heart. But he was of a melancholy temperament, and never contemplated any thing hopefully. The difficulties of his situation were very great: he perfectly understood the weakness and disorder of the Spanish armies, and the imbecility of the government; the character of the people he

did not understand so well; and judging from the apathy which he saw, he believed that the French would have little more than a march to subdue the country. "The probability," says he, in a letter to one of his brothers, "is that the French will succeed; and if they do it will be from no talent having sprung up after the first effort, to take advantage of the impulse, and of the enthusiasm which then existed. The Spaniards have not shewn themselves a wise or a prudent people. Their wisdom is not a wisdom of action; but still they are a fine people; a character of their own, quite distinct from other nations; and much might have been done with them. Pray for me that I may make right decisions, if I make bad ones it will not be for want of consideration." These words feelingly express the state of the general's mind. He arrived, by no fault of his own, too late in Spain to assist the armies of Blake and of count Belocdere; and while he waited six weeks at Salamanca, to be guided by the course of events, events occurred so rapidly, and such difficulties appeared to crowd upon him on every side, that he remained in a state of indecision. Great things have been effected in war by hope, miraculous ones by despair; but indecision can lead only to disaster and ruin. From the moment Blake's defeat was known, it became certain that Buonaparte would make for Madrid; there were then two courses for the British general, which to choose, to advance to Madrid, and take upon himself the defence of the capital; or to retreat, and take up a defensive position. Sir John Moore perceived the alternative, and stated it to Mr. Frere, the British minister at Aranjuez.

"As soon as the British army has formed a junction, I must, upon the supposition that Castanos is either beaten or retreated, march upon Madrid and throw myself into the heart of Spain, and thus run all risks and share the fortunes of the Spanish nation, or I must fall back upon Portugal." "The question," he says farther, "is not purely a military one. It belongs at least as much to you as to me to decide. Your communications with the Spanish government, and the opportunities you have had of judging of the general state of the country, enable you to form a just estimate of the resistance that is likely to be offered. You are perhaps better acquainted with the views of the British cabinet; and the question is what would that cabinet direct were they upon the spot to determine? It is of much importance that this should be thoroughly considered; it is comparatively of very little on whom shall rest the greatest share of responsibility. I am willing to take the whole or a part, but I am very anxious to know your opinion."

Sir John Moore's own judgment was for retreat. The day after he had thus written to the British ambassador, advices reached him of the dispersion of Castanos' army; upon which he immediately ordered sir David Baird to fall back on Corunna and embark there, while he made for Lisbon; and he desired sir David would write to England, and beg that transports might be sent to the Tagus, adding these remarkable words, "they will be wanted, for when the French have Spain, Portugal cannot be defended." Mr. Frere was for the bolder course; he argued upon the importance of preserving Madrid, for the effect it would produce in Spain, and still more in France; and he remarked "that the siege of a capital by a pretender to the throne would be a circumstance decisive against him, even if, in other respects, his claim were a legitimate one. He thought that a strong force would soon be collected about the British if they advanced there; the remains of Castanos' army were falling back thither, and thither the reinforcements from all parts would be directed; of the people he had no doubt, nor of the inhabitants of Madrid, who were full of resolution and determined to defend their town. Any retreat he deprecated; but in case sir John should differ from him in opinion, he ventured to recommend retaining possession of Astorga; a retreat from thence to Corunna would be less difficult than through Portugal to Lisbon; and in that position he might wait for cavalry from England, which would enable him to act in the plains of Leon and Old Castile." Every day now brought fresh tidings; the French advanced rapidly upon Madrid, and the inhabitants became more enthusiastic as the enemy approached. Their spirit had been tried and proved on the 2nd of May; and it had been shown at Saragossa that no fortress is capable of such a formidable defence as a great city when the inhabitants are determined to defend it street by street, and house by house. Mr. Frere communicated this intelligence to sir John Moore,

representing the propriety and necessity of supporting the Spanish people, and taking upon himself any responsibility which might attach to the advice. This despatch he sent by colonel Charmilly, a French emigrant officer in the British service. But as Mr. Frere was now informed of sir John Moore's determination to retreat, in case he should continue in that determination, he desired that Charmilly might be previously examined in a council of war. This was stated in a second letter, which Charmilly was not to deliver unless it was necessary. In writing it Mr. Frere was not influenced by his zeal for the public service alone; he thought that a council of war would exonerate the general from any responsibility which he might be unwilling to incur. Sir John Moore was exceedingly indignant at receiving this letter; that feeling, however, was soon subdued, and, upon weighing all circumstances, he determined to make a forward movement, and recalled sir David Baird. Before he could begin his march he was informed of the betrayal of Madrid; materially as the circumstances had now changed, he thought it possible to strike a blow against an enemy's corps under Soult, of which he had obtained information by an intercepted letter from Berthier. But the movement had been delayed too long, and was undertaken with little or no hope,—"it was," he said, "of the most dangerous kind, as he ran the risk not only of being surrounded by superior forces, but of having his communication with Galicia intercepted;" and he advanced, in his own words, "bridle in hand, and expecting to have a run for it." That expectation was woefully fulfilled. Buonaparte, with all his disposable force, hastened from Madrid in the hope of cutting him of. The army of Soult alone was superior to that of the British, and Junot with another corps threatened our right flank, while Buonaparte proceeded with so much rapidity that the advanced-guard of his cavalry marched through to Tordesillas on the same day that the van of the British left Sahagun. Both the French and the British were moving towards Benevente, which was sixty miles distant from the former, and forty from the latter. The whole disposable force of the French continued rapidly to advance; the cavalry of Buonaparte came up with the British rear-guard at Benevente, and by the gallantry and skill of lord Paget they were repulsed. It was the intention of Soult to cut off the retreat of the English at Astorga, but the manœuvres of sir John rendered all his efforts to accomplish that object ineffectual. The total apathy of the Spaniards of Galicia prevented the English general from halting in that province, and had he remained at Astorga, it would have been difficult if not impossible to retreat to Corunna. Buonaparte joined the army of Soult at Astorga, and perceiving that sir John by the rapidity of his movements had totally escaped the danger of being surrounded, determined to proceed no farther in person, and charged marshal Soult with what he called, in his own insolent language, "the glorious mission of destroying the English army, of pursuing them to their point of embarkation, and driving them into the sea." Never, in the most melancholy ages of Spanish history, had a more miserable scene been represented than was now to be witnessed in the ranks of the retreating army. The horses began to fail, the rain continued pouring, the baggage was to be dragged, and the men were to wade through half melted snows, the feet of the men as well as of the beasts began to fail, more magazines were left behind, more ammunition destroyed along the way. Some of the men abandoned themselves to destruction, conscious that if they proceeded they must die of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Several got into the wine cellars, and giving way to desperate excess were found dead when the French entered the town. That no horror might be wanted women and children accompanied this wretched army. Some were frozen to death in the baggage waggons, some died of fatigue and cold while their infants were sucking the empty breasts, and one female expired between her two babes in the drifted snow.

The different divisions had been ordered to collect at Lengo, and the design of retreating on Vigo was abandoned. Several partial actions occurred in the neighbourhood of the former position, and it was the general opinion of the army, that a successful resistance might have been opposed, at that place, to the collected forces of the enemy. On the 7th of January, 1809, the English general perceived the French accumulating on his left wing, to which he repaired in person. The men were so animated by his voice and ap-

pearance that they rushed forward with charged bayonet, driving back a column of the enemy, before which they were at first retiring, with considerable slaughter.

On the 8th of January, at an early hour in the morning, the British army was assembled at Lugo in battle array, and offered to engage the enemy. But the challenge was refused, and sir John determined to continue his retreat. Whenever an opportunity occurred of facing the enemy the conduct of the British troops was chearful, courageous, and exemplary; but in almost every instance of retreat their demeanour was insulting, licentious, and intemperate. On the road from Lugo to Corunna their irregularities were as disgraceful as their insubordination was alarming. They arrived, however, January 11th, at the latter place, twelve hours in advance of the French, and arrangements were renewed to give the enemy battle. The position on the heights at the greatest distance from Corunna, but the most interesting in respect of defence, was necessarily abandoned to the enemy, as the small number of the British were unequal to the protection of so great an extent of ground, and a second range was occupied of inferior advantage. The British were drawn up in battle array on the 16th, in order to receive the enemy, who commenced a dreadful cannonade from eleven guns which they had planted on the heights, and five strong columns were perceived advancing to attack the British. The position of the English right wing was unavoidably bad, and sir John therefore commanded in person where his presence was most needed to animate, and his skill to direct the troops. It was soon discovered that the French extended far beyond the right flank of the British, which it was their object to turn. To prevent this manœuvre from succeeding, one half of the 4th regiment, of which that flank was composed, received orders to fall back, to refuse their right, and to form an obtuse angle with the other half. This manœuvre was most admirably performed, and they commenced a heavy flanking fire. Sir John Moore called out to them that this was exactly what he wished to have done, and rode on to the 50th, commanded by majors Napier and Stanhope. They penetrated an enclosure in front, and gallantly charged the enemy, driving them out of the village of Elvina, but one of their majors advancing too far in the pursuit received many wounds, and was made prisoner, while the other major was mortally wounded.

The commander-in-chief then proceeded to the 42nd regiment, and exclaimed "Highlanders remember Egypt." They rushed impetuously forward, driving the French before them till they were impeded by a wall. After accompanying them in this charge, sir John dispatched captain Hardinge to order up a battalion of the guards to the left flank of the 42nd, which caused the officer commanding the light infantry to apprehend that they were to be relieved by the guards because their ammunition was expended, and he began to fall back. The general discovering his mistake said to the Highlanders, "my brave 42nd join your comrades; ammunition is coming, and you have your bayonets!" On learning this they instantly moved forward. Captain Hardinge returned and pointed out to the general where the guards were advancing. The enemy kept up a powerful and unremitted fire, and the artillery played incessantly on the spot near which they stood. Sir John was struck by a cannon-shot, which carried away his left shoulder and part of the collar-bone, leaving the arm hanging by the flesh. He fell from his horse on his back, his countenance remained unaltered, and he seemed insensible to pain. Captain Hardinge, who dismounted and took him by the hand, perceived that his eyes were anxiously fixed on the 22nd, which was warmly engaged. On being told that they were advancing, his features sparkled with delight. Colonel Graham, who now came up to assist him, viewing the composure of his features began to hope that he was not wounded, till he saw the dreadful laceration. From the size of the wound it was vain to make any attempt to stop the blood, and he consented to be removed in a blanket to the rear. In raising him up his sword hanging on the wounded side touched his arm, and became entangled between his legs. Captain Hardinge began to unbuckle it, but the general said in his usual tone and manner, "It is as well as it is. I would rather it should go out of the field with me." He was borne by six soldiers of the 42nd regiment and of the guards. Hardinge observing his composure, expressed his confidence that he would be restored to the army and recover. Moore

turned his head, and looking steadfastly at the wound for a few seconds replied "No Hardinge, I feel that to be impossible."

As the soldiers were carrying him slowly along he made them frequently turn round that he might see the field of battle, and listen to the firing, and was well pleased when the sound grew fainter. A spring waggon came up bearing colonel Wynch who was wounded. The colonel asked who was in the blanket, and being informed that it was sir John Moore, wished him to be placed in the waggon. Sir John asked one of the Highlanders whether he thought the waggon or blanket was best. The man replied the blanket would not shake him so much, as he and the other soldiers would keep the step, and carry him easy. They proceeded with their beloved commander to his quarters at Corunna weeping as they passed along.

In the mean time general Paget hastened with the reserve to support the right wing, and colonel Beckwith rushed on with the rifle corps, and advanced on their flanking corps so far as almost to carry off one of their cannon, but a greatly superior force moved up the valley and at last compelled him to retire. General Paget, however, attacked this body of the enemy which he repulsed, and rushing on dispersing every thing before him till the enemy, perceiving that their left wing was entirely exposed, precipitately fell back, The French then advanced on generals Manningham and Leith, who commanded in the centre, where they were more easily repulsed, the ground being of a more elevated nature, and more favourable for the management of artillery. The position on the left was strong, and here the efforts of the enemy were extremely unavailing; but a body of them gained possession of a village on the road to Betanzos, and continued to fire upon it, till they were attacked by lieutenant-colonel Nicholls, and completely driven out. Night now advanced, and the French had fallen back in every part of the field; but the firing was not discontinued till darkness concealed the hostile parties from each other.

No victory was ever gained under heavier or more severe disadvantages. The French force did not fall short of 30,000 men, and the British did not amount, by this time, to 15,000. The superiority of the French artillery was equally great; they had met British guns on the road, sent off too late to the patriotic armies, which they had turned back, and employed against the British army. Our artillery was already embarked, and the Shrapnell shells, which contributed so essentially to the success at Vimiera, were not employed in this more dangerous engagement. If we take into view the moral and physical state of the two armies; the disadvantages under which the British army laboured were still greater. The French were clothed in the stores which they had overtaken on the road; they were elated with a pursuit in which no man had been hurried beyond his strength, constantly receiving reinforcements to their previously superior numbers, while the British were in a state of misery, to which no army had ever before been reduced before a complete defeat; they had lost their military chest, stores, baggage, horses, women, and children; their sick, wounded, stragglers, and every thing but their unconquerable courage. The British loss in battle did not amount to 800 men, while that of the French exceeded 2000. If a British army gained a victory under circumstances like these, what might not have been accomplished by that army unbroken, with all its means in readiness, and invigorated by health, strength, pride, and hope!

Sir John Moore lived to hear the joyful news that the battle was won. "Are the French beaten? I hope the people of England will be satisfied! I hope my country will do me justice." He then said to colonel Anderson, who had been his companion in arms for 21 years, "Anderson, you know I have always wished to die this way. You will see my friends as soon as you can:—tell them every thing;—say to my mother," but here his voice entirely failed, and he became very much agitated, not venturing to name her a second time. He sometimes asked to be placed in an easier posture. "I feel myself so strong, I fear I shall be long dying." In a short time after he pressed the hand of Anderson close to his body, and died without a struggle in the course of a few minutes. He fell, as it had constantly been his wish to do, in battle and in victory. Perhaps no man in private life was ever more beloved, and no general in the British army was more universally respected. All men deemed him worthy of the chief command. Had he been more confident in himself, and inspired with

DEATH OF GENERAL MOORE.

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less veneration for the French generals, he would have been still more equal to the difficulties of his arduous situation. Let it always be remembered with gratitude, that sir John Moore preserved the honour of Great Britain, when advised by some of his general officers to conclude the retreat by a capitulation. He fought and he conquered, while his victory deprived us of one of the greatest generals that ever fought at the head of an army.

1809. He frequently said, that if he was slain in battle, he could wish to be buried where he fell. At midnight the body was removed to the citadel at Corunna, a grave was dug for him on the rampart there, by a party of the 9th regiment; no coffin could be procured; and the officers of his staff wrapped the body, dressed as it was, in a military cloak and blankets. The interment was hastened; for some firing was heard about eight in the morning, and the officers were afraid that they should be ordered away, should a serious attack be made, in which case they would not have the opportunity of paying him their last duty. The officers of his staff carried him to the grave, and the chaplain read the funeral service, after which the body was covered with earth.

General Hope, who had now the chief command, spent the night in embarking the troops. They were at ten o'clock to march from the field by brigades, leaving strong picquets to guard the ground, and give notice if the enemy approached. General Beresford occupied the lines in front of Corunna with a rear-guard of 2000 men, to cover the embarkation. General Hill was stationed on a promontory behind the town, with a corps of reserve; and almost the whole army was embarked during the night; the picquets were withdrawn, and likewise embarked before day, little remaining ashore by day-light, except the rear-guard and reserve. The French pushed on their light troops to the heights of St. Lucia, which commanded the harbour, drew up some cannon to a rising ground, and fired at the transports. During the night of the 17th and the subsequent morning, general Beresford sent off all the sick and wounded who were in a condition to be removed; and, in fine, the rear-guard got into the boats, no attempt being made by the enemy to interrupt them. Such was the termination of our first campaign in Spain.

CHAPTER LVIII.

GEORGE III.

[1809.]

Investigation into the Conduct of his Royal Highness the Duke of York.—Second Campaign in the Peninsula—BATTLE OF TALAVERA—Retreat of Sir Arthur Wellesley—Renewal of the War between France and Austria—Military Preparations—Capture of Vienna—Battle of Aspern—Inactivity of the Archduke—Battle of Wagram—Humiliating Treaty of Vienna.

AMIDST the momentous events which occured in every quarter of the globe, the fickle and inquisitive temper of the English people was diverted from every serious and important subject of national interest to the secret narratives of exalted licentiousness, and courtly scandal. The merits of the duke of York, as chief commander of the army, had

been long and generally acknowledged, but the insinuations and aspersions of a lawless and malignant crew diffused throughout the people a jealousy of his power, and a contempt of his character as cruel as unjust. That he was in many instances guilty of official indiscretion, and that his private habits by no means accorded with the strictest rules of virtue and morality, was admitted by his friends; but though he had sometimes complied too readily with the wishes of a favourite mistress, and in one or two instances sacrificed the rules of promotion to the smiles of Mrs. Clarke; the ferment excited and the language adopted respecting his personal failings, and his public delinquency, were totally disproportioned to his errors.

1809. It is with unmingled pleasure that the historian is recalled from the contemplation of triumphant corruption at home, to the narrative of the victories abroad, atchieved by the prowess of our military heroes. Fresh troops meantime had been sent from England to the Tagus, and on the 22nd of April, 1809, sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon; the error of placing such a man under the controul of inferior minds had been severely felt, and he came now as commander-in-chief. Thus far our government had grown wiser by experience, but it had not yet learned to proportion the effort to the occasion.

While general Beresford, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Portuguese, advanced from Coimbra, in a N. E. direction, to act upon the enemy's left, sir Arthur proceeded with all speed to the Douro, and reached it after a few skirmishes. The Portuguese eagerly brought boats; an immense standard of white cloth, bearing an embroidered cross, was planted by the people on the beach of Villa Nova, and the opposite wall of Porto, which runs along the river, was lined with people waving white handkerchieves, and with the most lively gestures inviting their deliverers. General Murray effected his passage at Avintas, about a league from the city. Another division embarked immediately above Villa Nova; and general Sherbrooke, taking advantage of the weakness of the enemy in the town, crossed directly from that suburb. They made a vigorous attack upon the first troops who landed; but failing in this, took flight, and sir Arthur is said to have sat down to the dinner which had that day been prepared for marshal Soult. Beresford, mean time, by a rapid movement, had reached Amarante, where he drove in Loison's out-posts, and recovered the bridge; then marched upon Chaves, while Silveira hastened to occupy the passes of Ruivaes and Melgaço: but for this the Portuguese general was too late; for finding Amarante occupied, Soult turned to the left, and leaving every thing behind him, fled by way of Braga and Montalegre; but the British troops had then so far outstripped their commissariat that they could proceed no farther.

The French committed great cruelties in their flight; they burnt all the villages, and murdered the peasants, many of whom were found by the English hung up along the road side. They suffered for their crimes, for every straggler and every man who dropped by the way was put to death without mercy by the country people, before our advanced-guard could come up. To overtake them was impossible:—"If an army," says sir Arthur in his despatches, "throws away every thing, and abandons all those who are entitled to its protection but impede its progress, it must obviously be able to march through roads where it cannot be overtaken by an enemy who has not made the same sacrifices." Soult therefore escaped with the loss of from 7000 to 8000 men, (a third of his army,) and the whole of his stores, baggage, and artillery. Sir Arthur then turned his face towards Victor, who had just entered Portugal on the side of Alcantara; that general, however, whose advance had only been designed as a feint in Soult's favour, returned to his former quarters at Truxillo, and if Cuesta had been skilful enough to co-operate with the British army, might have been cut off by a movement which sir Arthur meditated through Castello Branco and Plasencia upon the bridge of Almarez. Victor was aware of his danger, and retreated beyond that bridge, and the British army then marched to form its junction with the Spaniards in the same country on the right bank of the Tagus. The Spaniards had at this time two efficient armies on foot if they had been properly commanded; that under Cuesta, which the junta had re-established with prodigious exertions after the battle of Medellin; and that under Vanegas, in La Mancha, which had in like manner been

refitted after its more opprobrious route to Ciudad Real. The former was now united to the British army; and while Vanegas on the right alarmed the enemy for Madrid, sir Robert Wilson and his Portugnese legion communicated with the allies on the left, and kept up a correspondence with it. It was a golden opportunity. Buonaparte had received a tremendous check in Germany, and all his exertions were required upon the Danube; the French in Spain were disheartened, and they expected again to be driven beyond the Ebro.

But the course of the British general was impeded at the very moment when time thus fairly offered his forelock. Vanegas perplexed by orders and counter-orders, and having neither the eye which sees all occasions, nor the moral courage which incurs any responsibility rather than let one pass, did not advance upon the capital as he ought to have done, contenting himself with an useless cannonade of Toledo. And Cuesta would not join with sir Arthur in making an attack upon Victor before he should be joined by Joseph and Sebastiani, for a heap of nugatory reasons, one of which was that he scrupled at fighting upon a Sunday! His priests might have told him that if his horse or ass had fallen into a pit on the Sabbath day, it is the fool only who would scruple to help them out,—much less should a man scruple to stretch forth his hand for the assistance of his suffering country. Victor employed the time well which had been thus insanely given, and fell back upon the army which was hastening to join him. Had the attack been made when sir Arthur proposed, the victory had been certain, and the possession of the capital would have been the reward; all difficulties concerning subsistence would have been at an end. The difficulties were now severely felt. The Spanish commissariat was in the most miserable state; ours was at that time only in its apprenticeship; it was interfered with by that of our allies; and owing partly to the nature of our government, and partly to an excess of honourable feelings in the British character, we have sometimes sacrificed the common interest to an overstrained delicacy on these points. A proper search in Talavera would have discovered large quantities of grain, for the ample supply of both armies, at a time when sir Arthur was actually disabled from advancing by want of bread and means of transport. Cuesta acknowledged this inability, and advanced alone in pursuit of Victor, expecting to enter Madrid; he received a check at Tarrijos from the combined armies of the enemy, and retreating twenty miles, recrossed the Alverche, and again formed a junction with the British. Sir Arthur then perceived that having lost the opportunity of making the attack, it must be his fate to abide it. He made his dispositions accordingly. On the 24th of July, before one o'clock, the brigades of artillery and reserve ammunition marched from their encampment, and assembled an hour before day-light near the ruins of an old convent about a mile from the Alberche, where the ammunition remained, to be at hand if required. Two divisions of infantry, and a brigade of cavalry, under lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, forded the river in front, while the Spanish army crossed it by the bridge on our right in order to turn the left flank of the enemy's position, but to the great disappointment of the British, Victor had retreated during the night to Santa Olalla. General Sherbrooke's division proceeded to Casalegas, one league beyond the Alberche, and Cuesta continued the pursuit as far as Torrijos, on the road from Santa Olalla to Toledo. On the 26th Joseph Buonaparte had concentrated the whole of his disposable force between Torrijos and Toledo, amounting to nearly 50,000 men. He advanced, on the same day, to Torrijos, and drove in the advanced-guard of Cuesta, who retreated in a disorderly manner across the Alberche to the position in front of Talavera. Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke at the same time withdrew from Casalegas, leaving an advanced-guard of one division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry under major general Mackenzie, in the woods on the right bank of the Alberche, between that river and the town of Talavera.

On the 27th the French advanced from Santa Olalla, crossed the Alberche about two o'clock in the afternoon, and attacked the division of major-general Mackenzie, which was ordered to retire to its station in the position taken up by the main body of the army. This movement was effected in the best order; the advanced-guard disputing every foot of ground with the enemy who were much superior in numbers. The position occupied by the combined army extended

nearly three miles, the right flank protected by the Tagus, and the left resting on a height which commanded the greater part of the field of battle. On the left of the position was a valley running between the height and the mountains, which took the direction of Escalona. The Spanish army was posted on the right in two lines. The town of Talavera, in part surrounded by old walls, was occupied by a division of their troops, and the ground in their front was much intersected with olive grounds and vineyards, and with mudbank enclosures. The right of the British line joined the left of the Spanish, and extended to the height before mentioned. The ground in front was open, but in many parts intercepted by deep gullies formed by the rain from the mountains and at that time dry. In the centre between the combined armies was an unfinished redoubt, which did not afford the least centre to the guns placed in it, being merely an excavation of about twenty feet wide, and two feet deep, with the earth thrown up inside of it. As soon as the advanced-guard was withdrawn the enemy pushed forward, and about five o'clock in the evening commenced a general action, by a heavy cannonade, upon the British line, and an attempt to take possession of the commanding height on our left near the valley. In this attempt they were completely repulsed, and driven back by the division under general Hill. During the night a second attempt was made on the height, of which the enemy obtained a momentary possession, but were again repulsed and pursued with great slaughter nearly to their own lines. In this state of alarm the night was spent. Daylight discovered the contending parties drawn up in order of battle as on the preceding night, within 600 yards of each other. Nearly an hour elapsed before a gun was fired, when the action recommenced by a heavy cannonade on both sides, and by an attempt of the enemy with two divisions of infantry to storm the height. They were once more repulsed by the bayonets of major-general Hill's division. From this period till about mid-day the action was chiefly maintained by the fire of artillery, that of the enemy being considerably more numerous and of heavier metal than our own. Their shells were thrown with great precision, and did considerable execution. One of our ammunition waggons was blown up, and we in return dismounted several of their guns, and blew up two of their tumbrils. During the interval after the firing had ceased, the French were observed to be drawing into line more cannon and fresh troops, and forming in the rear several heavy columns of infantry. It was at this time that the wounded on both sides were carried off to the rear, and while engaged in this painful duty the British and French soldiers shook hands with each other, and expressed their mutual admiration.

About two o'clock the French again advanced, in order once more to attempt the turning of our left flank, and at the same time to penetrate the centre with the main body of their army. General Hill repulsed them on the heights as before, while an irresistible and sanguinary charge, made by the 23rd dragoons and the 1st hussars of the king's German legion, had the effect of checking a column which advanced by the valley. Owing to the great inequality of the ground and the gullies with which it was intersected, the cavalry were unable to preserve that solidity so necessary in a charge, and their loss was therefore considerable. Notwithstanding this circumstance they penetrated a solid column of the opposing enemy, but were in the end obliged to retreat, after deciding, by their powerful diversion, the battle in that quarter. On the right the enemy had pushed on within a short distance of the redoubt, when they were repulsed by a vigorous charge with the bayonets of general Alexander Campbell's brigade, supported by two regiments of Spanish infantry. At the same time 18 pieces of cannon, which colonel Robe of the royal artillery had planted in an oblique direction, were brought to bear on the flank of the enemy's column, and occasioned great destruction by the fire of Shrapnell shells, both as they advanced, and as they retreated beyond the reach of the British musketry.

As the enemy retreated from their grand attack, the division of general Sherbrooke made a charge with the bayonet; but the brigade of guards, having advanced rather too far, became exposed to the fire of a heavy battery of artillery, and of a line of infantry. From this dangerous predicament, they were extricated by the advance of the first battalion of the 48th regiment, supported by general Cotton's brigade of cavalry. King Joseph,

seeing himself foiled at all points, shortly after commenced his retreat across the Alberche to Santa Olalla, leaving a rear-guard of 10,000 men in the heights behind the river, but which he also withdrew on the 31st. The loss sustained by the British army, which entered the field as an efficient force of 18,300 men, consisted of 34 officers, 767 men, killed; 195 officers, 3718 men, wounded; nine officers, 644 men, missing; making a total of 5307. The loss of the enemy is estimated by captain Stothert at 14,000, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 22 pieces of cannon.

CUESTA was very unequal to the command of an army in such times, and unquestionably marred the campaign by his previous blunders; but in this instance he was justifiable; for he hardly begun his march before the French were in sight. Sir Arthur now saw that his only course was to retreat across the Tagus before that retreat could be cut off; for he was between two armies, each superior to his own, and had seen how little in their present state of discipline was to be expected from his allies. The bridge of Almaraz had been destroyed; he crossed, therefore, at the Puente del Arzobispo, and took a position which enabled him to defend the passage at Almaraz, and keep open the defiles of Deleitosa and Xaraicejo. A plan which Ney had formed, of occupying those defiles, and cutting him off from Portugal, was thus defeated; and the French, not thinking it prudent to make any further movements against such an enemy, turned their efforts against Vanegas, who, after a successful defence at Aranjuez, was defeated at Almonacid; but the French purchased the victory with so severe a loss, that they were not able to follow up their success.

THE contest in Germany presented a striking contrast, in its conduct and results, to that of the peninsula. Austria was condemned once more to bow to the superior fortune of the enemy; and after indiscreetly engaging in hostilities, Francis II. was compelled to abandon his capital to the victors on the 10th of May. The archduke Charles, having learned the fall of Vienna, moved down on the left bank of the Danube, for the purpose of watching the movements of the enemy. He fixed his head-quarters, on the 16th of May, at Ebersdorf, the chain of his outposts extending on the right as far as Krews, while, lower down the river, some battalions occupied Presburg. The advanced guard was pushed forward near to the Danube, and the cavalry was posted along the banks of a small rivulet, on ground covered and partly concealed by bushes. Buonaparte, having resolved to attack the archduke in his position, marched his army along the south bank of the Danube, till it had reached the distance of about six miles from Vienna. As the French advanced, the archduke retreated, and permitted them to extend along the north bank of the Danube. Buonaparte, left at liberty to fix on the field of battle, posted the right wing of his army on the village of Essling, and the left on the village of Aspern. The archduke, on the 21st, at day-break, called the troops to arms, drew them up in order of battle, and communicated to his generals the plan of intended operations.

THE French, under marshals Massena, Lasnes, and Bessieres, were directing their march towards Hirchstettin, when they were first met by the Austrian advanced guards. The first day of conflict (May 21st) terminated without any decided advantage on either side, but the attacks of the French, early in the morning of the 22nd, far surpassed, in impetuosity, those of the preceding day. They were both most sanguinary and destructive; and, on the night of the 21st, Aspern was in possession of the Austrians, and Essling occupied by the French. On the morning of the 22nd, Aspern was recovered by the latter, but at the close of day they were driven from both villages, effected their retreat from the left bank of the Danube, and took up a position in the island of Lobau. In these tremendous conflicts, the archduke Charles and the emperor Napoleon exposed their persons wherever glory or expedience called for their appearance. The loss on both sides was lamentably great. Eighty-seven officers of rank, and 4000 privates, with a proportionate number of wounded, disappeared from the ranks of the Austrians. The loss of the French amounted to 27,700 in killed and wounded, and 2300 prisoners. Five of their generals were killed, eight wounded, and two taken. Many hundreds of dead bodies floated down the Danube, and a pestilential air was wafted along the theatre of death.

THE inactivity of the archduke gave rise to conjectures, which were too faithfully verified.

His apathy was the more inexcusable, as Beauharnois, the viceroy of Italy, after a series of successful movements, was enabled to effect a junction with the grand French army early in June. The French army then occupied a long line from Lintz to Raab. On the 4th of July, the whole of the French army was concentrated in and around the island of Lobau. So confident were the generals of ultimate victory, that the French renamed the most important positions, and the isle of Lobau was called *Isle Napoleon*. On the 2nd of July, St. Croix, Massena's aid-de-camp, took possession of an islet, called the Mill Island, which was connected with the left bank of the river by a little bridge. Here he threw up works for the purpose of deceiving the Austrians, and inducing them to suppose that Essling would be attacked from that position. The stratagem succeeded. Their attention was diverted from the real point of danger, and the redoubt of Essling kept up a vigorous fire in the direction of these temporary works. Prince Charles, supposing that the second battle would be fought on the same ground as the first, had thrown up lines, of which the right was protected by Aspern, the left by Enzersdorf. They were covered by redoubts, surrounded by palisadoes and frizes, and defended by more than 150 pieces of cannon. Perceiving, however, on the evening of the 4th of July, that his left wing was in danger of being surrounded, so many of the French having crossed the river, he sent orders to the archduke John, to join at Maerbeck, with his troops, and act in concert with the wing which was endangered. There appeared no impediment to this movement. At ten o'clock on the night of the 4th, 1500 French crossed from the right bank, silenced the Austrian batteries, and drove their troops from the woods of Muhllenten. At eleven, the batteries from the three islets opened on Enzersdorf, and that place was soon in flames. St. Croix crossed, with 2500 men in barges, from the great island, on the left also of the enemy's works, to cover the construction of the bridges which Dessales and the engineers, directed by General Bertrand, had prepared. The night being utterly dark, and the rain falling in torrents, favoured their movements; and when morning dawned, to the utter astonishment of prince Charles, Buonaparte had arranged his whole army in order of battle, at the extremity of the Austrian left wing, having turned all his entrenched camps, and rendered all his works useless. By six o'clock every fortification between Enzersdorf and Essling was taken, and almost the whole of the garrisons were killed or wounded. One battalion repulsed the French at Enzersdorf in two assaults, but it exhausted all its ammunition, and at the moment when a supply arrived the enemy entered the place.

After a series of complicated movements, the archduke was compelled to abandon his entrenchments, as well as the country between Enzersdorf and Wagram. On the morning of July 6th, the battle was renewed. Buonaparte had passed the night in accumulating his force towards the centre, while the archduke, though perfectly familiar with Buonaparte's system, absurdly weakened his centre, to strengthen his extremities. In every attack, whether made by the French or by the Austrians, with fire-arms or the bayonet, the latter had rather the advantage. But Buonaparte, concentrating almost the whole of his artillery, battered one single point of the Austrian line, towards the centre, as if it had been a fortress. To this tremendous thunder there was nothing of the same kind to oppose, as the Austrian artillery had been placed at the two extremities of the line. The battle was irrecoverable, and precipitately retiring from the scene of carnage, the discomfited archduke retreated to Moravia. Immediately after the termination of the conflict, a dreadful circumstance occurred. Between 3000 and 4000 men, chiefly Austrians, were reposing in a field of rye, which took fire, and most of them, unable to move, from their wounds or from fatigue, became victims to the flames. The French took ten pieces of cannon, and 20,000 prisoners, among whom were 400 officers, while his own loss was reported by Buonaparte to amount to no more than 1500 killed, and from 3000 to 4000 wounded. Considering all the circumstances of the battle, and the tremendous fire on the centre of the Austrians, their loss in killed and wounded must have considerably exceeded that of the French, whatever it might be. They stated their own loss, from the 5th of July, when Buonaparte crossed the Danube, till the termination of hostilities, at 17 generals, 847 officers, 30,471 men, and 4100 horses, killed, wounded, and captured.

That of the French they computed at one third less. The field of battle was crowded with innumerable dead bodies, and the Austrian army was reduced in its retreat to 60,000 men.

NOTWITHSTANDING the loyal enthusiasm of the Austrian people, and the commotions excited in the Tyrol, by the gallant and eccentric Hoffer, all serious thought of resistance to Buonaparte were now abandoned. Proposals for an armistice were carried from the emperor Francis to Napoleon, by prince John of Lichenstein, (July 12th) which was agreed to and signed immediately. Three months after, the armistice was succeeded by a regular treaty of peace, which was dated at Vienna, October 14th, 1809.

CHAPTER LIX.

GEORGE III.

[1809 to 1811.]

Expedition to Walcheren—Capture of Walcheren—Deplorable Prevalence of Disease—Sir Francis Burdett committed to the Tower—Affairs of Spain—Battle of Busaco—Retreat of Lord Wellington—Massena advances to the Portuguese Frontiers—Domestic Politics—Indisposition of the King—Establishment of a Regency—Parliamentary Proceedings—Campaign in the Peninsula—Battles of Fuentes de Onoro, Albuhera, and Barrosa.

THE war between Austria and France began on the 8th of April, 1809; the battle of Aspern was fought on the 22nd of May, and known here on the 8th of June; the battle of Wagram was fought on the 6th of July. The armistice, which ended in a peace, was agreed upon the 12th of July; and on the 28th of July, sixteen days after this, the expedition in aid of the Austrian monarchy sailed from this country.

To conduct the army, constituting a greater land force of English soldiers than the duke of Marlborough ever had under his command, the person selected was the earl of Chatham,—a nobleman altogether unknown as an officer, and known only as a civilian for his unsatisfactory conduct of the admiralty, from which, on account of the universal complaints against him, he had been removed by his own brother.

ALL the arrangements of the expedition fell under the official management of lord Castlereagh, the secretary for the war department. On the 8th of April, while the expedition was in preparation, but three months before it actually sailed, the secretary of state for foreign affairs gave notice, that he would resign if lord Castlereagh was not removed from his office. On the 28th of April, the president of the council, lord Camden, admitted that it would be desirable that lord Castlereagh, (still conducting the expedition) should be turned out of office. On the 31st of May, the secretary of state again represented his intention of resigning, if the said lord was not removed from the conduct of the war; and obtained a promise that he should be removed. The cabinet permitted him to conduct this important expedition; and, as soon as it had failed, revealed the

intention they had long cherished of turning him out of office. The secretary for war and colonies then resigned,—and shot the secretary for foreign affairs through the thigh on Wimbledon common.

In the mean time the French, who were to be taken by surprise, had thrown 5000 men into Bergen-op-Zoom on the 3rd of August. On the 8th, 3000 men were thrown into Antwerp, and the armed workmen amounted to 6000. On the 10th of August, 25,000 French infantry were at or near Antwerp; and 40,000 men within a day's march. On the 14th, water was let into the ditch of Antwerp; and all the ships of the French line had long before got up above Antwerp. The armament sailed in two divisions. On the arrival of the army in the islands of Walcheren and South Beveland, it was found that the enemy was not disposed to make any resistance except in Flushing, which was invested on the 1st of August. On the 13th the batteries were completed, and the frigates and smaller vessels having taken their respective stations, the bombardment immediately commenced. The town suffered dreadfully, especially from Congreve's rockets. On the 14th of August the line of battle ships cannonaded the town for some hours, and the fire of the enemy was silenced. On the 15th, general Monnet, who commanded the garrison of Flushing, demanded a suspension of arms, which was succeeded by the surrender of the town. The garrison, amounting to 6000 men, were made prisoners of war. This fortunate result was rather owing to the imbecility of Monnet, than to the skill or vigour of the conquerors. Our batteries and trenches were constructed without method or arrangement; our troops were posted within range of the enemies' guns before any of the stores necessary for the attack were landed, and the French were suffered to remain within musket shot of the British operations. The island of Cadsand, however, the only place from which the enemy could receive supplies or reinforcements, was left unoccupied by the English. Advantage was soon taken of the neglect, and 3000 French troops passed over from Cadsand to Flushing. Three weeks after the capture of the place, lord Chatham discovered that the obstacles to the passage of the Scheldt were insurmountable, and on the 14th of September returned to London, where he presented to his majesty a clandestine memorial of the proceedings.

In consequence of despatching the expedition just as the season for fevers began, the return of sick was as follows.

On the 13th of September, rank and file only, 7626. On the 19th, 8123; the 21st, 8681; 22nd, 8799; 23rd, 9046.

It was in vain that every responsible officer implored relief and assistance to the sick, no answer was returned to their repeated applications, and it was not till the greater part of the forces were destroyed, that the ministers at length determined on their recal. Such was the termination of an enterprize which had effected nothing more than the capture of one ill-fortified town in fourteen days, in the prosecution of which 2000 men died, and 10,000 caught the infection; and which cost the nation in lives 8000, and in money between two and three millions.

A circumstance occurred in the course of the Walcheren enquiry, which, though trivial in its origin, led to important consequences, and diverted the public mind from the contemplation of misfortune and disgrace. When the examination of evidence commenced, Mr. York thought proper to enforce the standing order for the exclusion of strangers from the gallery of the house of commons, in order to prevent that immediate publication of the proceedings which in the case of the duke of York had irritated the minds of the people. Among the many animadvertions on this obnoxious proceeding, there was one contained in the placard of a debating society, which being deemed a violation of the privileges of the commons, its author, Mr. John Gale Jones, was summoned to their bar, and on the motion of Mr. Yorke was committed to Newgate. Sir Francis Burdett conceiving this to be an infringement on the rights and liberties of the subject, made a speech in the house to that effect, and moved that Mr. Jones should be discharged. His motion being negatived, he published in a weekly paper, called "Cobbet's Political Register," a letter to his constituents, to which was appended an argument in illustration and support of the doctrine which he had advanced respecting parliamentary privilege. This paper was brought under the cognizance of the house, and was voted to be a libellous reflection on its just rights and privileges; in consequence of

which vote he was ordered to be committed to the Tower. He resisted the warrant for the avowed purpose of proving its illegality. His door was defended by chains, and all access, except to his intimate friends, rigidly precluded. Piccadilly was crowded by thousands of the lowest of the rabble, and the military being called in, conducted themselves with a patience and forbearance worthy the character of English soldiers. After much evasion on the part of sir Francis, and much indulgence on the part of the sergeant-at-arms, the deputy of the latter obtained access to the person of the member for Westminster, by entering the lower avenues of the house, and after a formal resistance conveyed him to the tower, attended by a military force. As the imprisonment of a member committed by the vote of the house of commons, expires with the session, the friends of sir Francis prepared to celebrate his deliverance on the 20th of June by a grand procession. A triumphal car was prepared, the metropolis presented an unusual scene of gaiety and fashion, and in streets remote from the tower, the approach of the patriot was expected with breathless anxiety. Evening arrived and no sir Francis appeared; at length an empty triumphal car was observed to proceed slowly along in the direction of the Haymarket, and it was announced to the disappointed multitude, that as sir Francis had left town for Wimbledon, without communicating with his friends, the car must be considered as his proper representative! It is to be lamented that in the progress of this extraordinary affair, from the first resistance of sir Francis to the evening which closed the procession, many lives should have been lost, many industrious individuals have been deprived of their limbs, and momentous injury have been done to the morals of society. Nor is this regret diminished by the consideration that the question might have been as effectually brought before a judicial tribunal by a simple protest, or an act of refusal, as by prolonged resistance.

The enthusiasm of the English ministry in favour of the Spanish patriots almost atoned, in the opinion of a large majority of the English nation, for the errors and misfortunes of their general policy. Had not their determination to support the peninsular cause been founded on the firmest conviction, and supported with exemplary consistency, the contest might have been abandoned in despair. The new year was opened with vigorous measures on the part of the enemy. They forced the passes of the Sierra Morena almost without resistance, overran the kingdom of Andalusia, entered Seville, and were only prevented from getting possession of Cadiz by the celerity of the duke of Albuquerque. The junta was overthrown by a popular commotion; but like the Spanish people they comported themselves with dignity in their overthrow, and did not give up their authority till they had appointed a regency, and convoked the cortes. The seat of the new government was necessarily fixed in Cadiz; their last asylum and its authority might seem to be confined to the isle of Leon; for, except Galicia in the north, and Valencia in the south, and Catalonia, where fortress after fortress was now falling, the French were nominally masters of Spain.

Marshal Massena, who in the late Austrian campaign had been made prince of Essling, was appointed to the army selected for the expulsion of the English from the peninsula, and his first operation was to besiege Ciudad Rodrigo, which his troops appeared before at the latter end of April. Lord Wellington had taken up a strong position upon the Coa, and the Portuguese army had now been reorganized and disciplined. Ciudad Rodrigo held out gallantly; the trenches were opened on the 15th of June, and though the works were old and imperfect, and the place hardly to be ranked in the third order of fortresses, Massena is believed to have lost 9000 men before it surrendered on the 10th of July. Almeida was his next object; the place was well provided, there was a sufficient garrison, an English governor, and lord Wellington at hand to take advantage of any opportunity in their favour; but on the second day the powder magazine blew up, and Almeida was no longer tenable. At six in the morning of the 27th of September the enemy made two desperate attacks on the position of the allied army, the one on the right, the other on the left of the Sierra de Busaco, but which were repulsed.

The allied army, meantime, retreated before the enemy by easy marches, and in perfect order; instead of spreading panic by the rapidity of their march, their steadiness and admirable discipline inspired the peasantry

with courage; under their protection the Portuguese removed their property, destroyed their mills, broke up the bridges, and laid the country waste. In this manner lord Wellington retired within the line of Torres Vedras. These works extended from the sea to the Tagus, at a point where the Tagus, being about twelve miles wide, protected them as efficiently as the sea itself. Massena reconnoitred them; he had promised to drive the English into the sea, but he thought it necessary now to solicit reinforcements from Buonaparte before he ventured to make the attempt.

Instead of collecting the provisions in magazines, Massena gave notice that the soldiers were to provide themselves for two months,—a licence of general plunder, which produced all the waste and havoc that might be expected from it. The number of deserters was so great, that they formed themselves into a kind of little army, which they organised into regular companies, and called the eleventh corps, electing general, officers, and subalterns. It consisted of more than 1600 men, who frequently attacked the foraging parties of the French, and made the prisoners join them. They occupied the country about Caldas and Alcobaço, in full sovereignty, as an established army of avowed professional robbers; and Massena at last found it necessary to send two divisions against them; they fought desperately; but at length, being surrounded and overpowered, they laid down their arms: the leaders were then shot. The men were again incorporated in their regiments, not being the less fit for the service in which they were employed. One of the favourite sports of Massena's soldiers was to go a hunting for women, whom they sold to their officers, or to the best bidder.

When the session was closed in the summer of 1810, parliament was prorogued till the 1st of November; a few days previous to that day, a proclamation was issued by the king in council, stating it to be the royal pleasure that it should be further prorogued. This proclamation was to have been followed, as usual, by the commission; but the royal sign manual could not be procured for this purpose. The princess Amelia, a favourite daughter of his majesty, had long laboured under a severe complaint, which, though it occasionally, and for a short time, yielded to a youthful constitution, and the power of medicine, always returned, and on every return exhibited more dangerous and alarming symptoms. Her state preyed on the mental powers and feelings of the king; and towards the end of October, he was reduced into the same melancholy state in which he had been in the year 1788. As, therefore, the sign manual could not be obtained for the commission, parliament was obliged to meet on the day appointed, the 1st of November. In the hope that his majesty's malady would go off, they adjourned; but when they met again, finding that it did not abate, committees were appointed for the examination of the physicians in attendance on his majesty; the result of this examination was, that, though the physicians believed his majesty would recover, yet they could not state how soon, and they were all of opinion, that he was totally incapable of exercising the royal functions. The important subject, therefore, of a regency, after a lapse of 21 years, became once more the topic of senatorial debate and general conversation.

1811. The great concern which occupied the attention of parliament, and excited the public interest, at the commencement of this year, was the supplying of that deficiency in the executive branch of the government, which the continued mental indisposition of his majesty had created. After repeated adjournments of parliament by the ministers, in hopes of a favourable turn in the king's malady, it appeared no longer possible to avoid the measure of forming a regency; and the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Perceval, on December 20th, moved in the house of commons three resolutions, copied from those of Mr. Pitt on the like occurrence in 1788-9; the first, declarative of the present incapacity of the sovereign; the second, of the competency of the two houses of parliament to supply that incapacity; and the third, that the proper mode of doing it would be by bill. Of these the first passed unanimously; the single negative of sir Francis Burdett attended the second; but on the third Mr. Ponsonby moved an amendment, "that an address should be presented to the prince of Wales, praying him to take upon himself the office of regent." On this motion a division took place, in which the amendment was rejected, the votes for it being 157, against it 269,—majority for the minister 112

In the house of lords the same resolutions were proposed and carried, after a similar amendment had been moved on the 3rd and rejected, the division being, contents 74, non-contents 100, majority 26. The arguments employed on these debates were in general so similar to those resorted to by the different parties on the former occasion, that it is unnecessary to recapitulate them. It is only observable that the principle maintained by Mr. Fox and others of the opposition, that the prince of Wales, as heir apparent, succeeded of course to the regency on such an emergency as the present, seems in this instance to have been abandoned.

According to the plan adopted by the ministers in conforming to the precedent of 1789, the great seal was affixed to a commission for the opening of parliament, which ceremony took place on January 15th; and on the 17th the regency bill was committed. Its clauses underwent a fresh discussion in its passage through the two houses, and various amendments were proposed by the opposition, but were negatived by the ministerial majorities. The last stand was made upon the duration of the restrictions, which lord Grenville attempted to reduce from twelve months to six, but without success. In the debate on this topic lord Grey renewed, with greater force, a charge which he had on a former occasion brought against the lord chancellor, respecting his conduct in setting the great seal to a commission for giving the royal assent to various bills in 1804, while the king, who in that year suffered a return of his infirmity, was yet in a state requiring medical superintendence. He arraigned the chancellor, on this account, of a crime little short of treason, and forcibly urged the necessity of making effectual provision in the present bill against the recurrence of a similar circumstance. The chancellor defended himself with vigour, and professed his readiness to submit the whole of his conduct on this occasion to the strictest investigation. Before the house rose, lord King, on the ground of this charge, moved that the name of lord Elden be expunged from the list of the queen's council. On a division there appeared for the motion 64, against it 189.

Exclusive of parliamentary proceedings, the domestic affairs of the British empire were not in general highly interesting during the present year. The commercial distresses, indicated by lists of bankrupts, more numerous than were ever before known, induced among the middle classes of society a kind of desponding apathy, adapted to damp that political ardour which, in a free country, is continually exciting to action men of disengaged minds. At the same time the uncertain state of his majesty's health, and of the consequent duration of the regency, and the system of government likely to be pursued under it, kept persons in the superior ranks in a state of dubious expectation. With the exception, therefore, of some feeble attempts to awaken the public attention to the cause of parliamentary reform, and some of the usual party contests in the city of London, scarcely any occasions occurred to set in motion considerable bodies on a political account, in this part of the united kingdom. Another exception might indeed be made, with respect to the alarm excited among dissenters by lord Sidmouth's bill; but its operation was silent, and its effect was produced before the public at large was apprized of its existence.

The public tranquillity had been little disturbed in England, notwithstanding the pressure of the times, during the greatest part of the year; but before its termination a series of disorders broke out which soon put on a serious aspect, and were the prelude of a riotous and mischievous disposition in a large tract of the manufacturing districts, the effects of which still continued to be the occasion of much trouble and alarm. Their commencement was in the neighbourhood of Nottingham, the hosiers of which town having been obliged, from the decrease of demand for their manufactures, to discharge many of their workmen, much distress necessarily ensued for want of employment. This was enhanced by the new application of a certain wide frame in the weaving of stockings, whereby a considerable saving of manual labour was produced, and a consequent farther diminution of hands. The rioters assumed the name of *Luddites*, and acted under the authority of an imaginary *Captain Ludd*, which name seems to have signified not one individual, but a secret committee of management. The spirit of tumult spread into the neighbouring counties of Derby and Leicester, in the manufacturing parts of which many

frames were destroyed during the month of December, though Nottinghamshire still continued the principal scene of mischief, and an advance of pay to the workmen had not the effect of restoring order. Through the course of this year, however, the evils were confined to the districts of the hosiery manufacture.

Amidst the gloom of commercial distress and the dissatisfaction so universally occasioned by the accumulation of our financial burdens, the fortitude, the valour, and the philanthrophy of the British nation in its foreign policy and warfare, commanded the admiration of Europe, and a gleam of exhilirating sunshine dispersed the darkness of general depression. Lord Wellington had more than justified the predictions of his friends, and had equally baffled the aspersions of his domestic foes, and the arms of his military enemies. Beneath his auspices the ablest generals of France had been beaten and deceived; with inferior numbers he destroyed and exhausted her most experienced armies, and at the commencement of the present year he was enabled for the first time to resume offensive and decisive operations.

1811. The French while they waited for reinforcements had taken up a position at Santarem, which lord Wellington did not think it advisable to attack. Romana's army which had joined lord Wellington, and, after the death of its leader, had been detached for the relief of Badajoz, under his successor Mendizabal, was surprized and almost destroyed, and the city itself scandalously given up by its governor, at a moment when he had received intelligence from lord Wellington that Massena had begun his retreat, and that he might rely upon speedy relief.

The retreat was conducted with great military skill but not without some blunders. It was known at the time that Ney and Massena had quarrelled, but the cause of the dispute was not known. It arose from some reproaches which the commander-in-chief made to Ney for the slowness of his column, which the latter attributed to the quantity of carts and animals laden with plunder, collected as they went along. In consequence of these reproaches, when they reached the Foz d'Aronce, Ney ordered a guard to take possession of the bridge, seize all the plunder and burn it; and the execution was begun upon Massena's own share, who did not venture to countermand the order, however bitterly he resented it. Shortly afterwards he deprived Ney of his command, which was given to Loison. Having reached the frontiers, the French were safe from further pursuit. Lord Wellington, whose means were greatly inadequate to the demands upon them, leaving his army, hastened to the Guadiana, to see if Badajoz could be recovered.

Massena, in the beginning of May, attacked the allied army, in hopes of relieving Almeida from its blockade. The chief scene of this memorable action was at Fuentes D'Onoro. On the 3rd of May the enemy attacked that village, which was defended in the most gallant manner by the light infantry battalions of major-general Picton's division, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Williams, of major general Howard's, and of the king's German legion, aided by the second battalion of the 83rd regiment. These troops retained their position, but lord Wellington having observed the repeated efforts of the enemy to obtain possession of the village, and fully aware of the importance of that post in future operations, reinforced it successively with the 71st, 79th, and 24th regiments. The contest continued till night, when the British remained in possession of the place. The 4th was chiefly spent by the French in reconnoitring, and their principal efforts throughout the 5th were directed against the village of Fuentes D'Onoro. It was again defended by the 71st, 79th, and 24th regiments, under the command of colonel Cameron, who was severely and mortally wounded. The contest in this quarter lasted till night, when the enemy retired, leaving the allies in possession of the village. On the 8th the enemy collected the whole of their army, with the exception of part of the 2nd corps, which remained opposite Alameda in the woods near Gallegos. In the night of the 9th they crossed the Alzava, covering their retreat by their numerous cavalry, and on the 10th the whole were behind the Agueda, with the exception of one brigade of cavalry, which remained near the bridge of Ciudad Rodrigo.

While these operations were carrying on along the line of the Tagus, other events, scarcely less important, were transacting on the Guadiana. Marshal Beresford was marching with rapidity to the siege of Badajoz, and on approaching Campo Mayor attacked a

body of the enemy's horse which he drove to the bridge of Badajoz, after capturing 200 prisoners. He then marched to Jurumenha, and established a bridge across the Guadiana. On the 5th he passed the river, and advanced for the purpose of obliging the enemy to retire from the province of Estremadura, previous to undertaking the siege of Badajoz. After a variety of complicated manœuvres he arrived before that fortress. On the 4th of May the city was closely invested on the south by three brigades of infantry, a brigade of six pounders, two squadrons of cavalry, and subsequently by a great proportion of sir William Beresford's infantry. The fort of St. Christoval on the north side of the river, and on an eminence commanding the bridge, was bombarded, but without success. On the 12th, information was received by marshal Beresford that Soult had left Seville on the 10th with 15,000 men, for the purpose of raising the siege. He immediately made arrangements to receive him, and on the 16th the whole of the combined army, amounting to about 8000 British, 7000 Portuguese, and 11,000 Spaniards, assembled in the morning under the command of marshal Beresford. The army was formed to receive the enemy in two lines nearly parallel to the river Albuhera, on the ridge of the gradual assent from that river, and covering the roads to Badajoz and Valverde. General Blake's corps was on the right in two lines; its left on the Valverde road joined the right of major-general William Steward's division, the left of which reached to the Badajoz road, where commenced the right of major-general Hamilton's division. General Cole's division, with one brigade of general Hamilton formed the second line of the British and Portuguese army. At eight o'clock in the morning the cavalry of the enemy was seen passing the rivulet of Albuhera considerably above the right of the allied position. Shortly after a strong force of cavalry, and two heavy columns of infantry marched out of a wood directly in front, as if to attack the village and bridge of Albuhera. During this time the principal body of the French infantry, under cover of their very superior cavalry, was filing over the river considerably above the right with an intention to turn that flank, and cut off the communication with Valverde. Major-general Cole's division was therefore ordered to form an oblique line to the rear of the right, with his own right flank thrown back, while general Blake formed part of his first line, and nearly all his second.

The enemy commenced his attack at 9 o'clock, and, after a long and gallant resistance, gained the height upon which the Spaniards had been formed. As these heights raked and entirely commanded the whole position of the combined army, it became necessary to make every effort to retake and maintain them. Nearly at the beginning of the enemy's attack a heavy storm of rain came on which, with the smoke from the firing rendered it impossible to discern any thing, distinctly, and had been extremely favourable to the enemy in forming his columns. The right brigade of general Stewart's division under lieutenant-colonel Colborne, proceeded to dislodge the enemy on the heights, and finding that they could not be affected by the fire, had recourse to the bayonet. Unfortunately while in the act of charging, a body of Polish lancers (cavalry,) which the atmosphere and the nature of the ground had concealed, attacked the right brigade unexpectedly in the rear, and mowed down their ranks with destructive fury. The 31st regiment on the left of the brigade alone escaped this formidable charge, and kept its ground until the arrival of the third brigade under major-general Houghton, who, in the act of cheering his men, fell pierced with wounds. Though the enemy's principal attack was on this important point, he also made a continued attempt on that part of the original front of the combined army at the village and bridge, which were defended by major-general Alten, and the light infantry brigade of the German legion. This point now formed the left, to which major-general Hamilton's division had been brought up, supported by a considerable body of Spanish cavalry. While the enemy's attack continued on the right he attempted to turn that flank with his cavalry, but by the able manœuvres of major-general Lumley, his endeavours were baffled. Major-general Cole observing the attack of the enemy, judiciously brought up his left a little, marched in line to attack the enemy's left, and contributed, in conjunction with the brigades of general Stewart's division, to force him to abandon his situation, and retire precipitately on his reserve. In these charges the fusileer brigade

was particularly distinguished, and the enemy was pursued and driven across the rivulet of Albuhera. After the enemy had been repulsed in his principal attack, he still continued for a short time near the village, on which he could neither make any impression, nor cross the rivulet. The action, which had commenced at nine o'clock in the morning, continued without interruption till two in the afternoon, when the enemy being driven over the Albuhera, the rest of the day was passed in unimportant skirmishes. The force of the enemy, which had been stated at 20,000, was afterwards found to be from 20,000 to 22,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, and a numerous artillery. Their loss amounted to 9000 men. Two thousand were found dead on the field of battle, 2 generals were killed and 3 wounded, and from 900 to 1000 men were taken prisoners. Their loss would have been still greater but for the overbearing number of their cavalry. The loss of the allies amounted to 8000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The colours of the 3rd regiment, or buffs, and one standard were taken by the enemy, but afterwards recovered. Ensign Thomas, who carried one of the colours, being surrounded by the enemy, was asked to give it up. His reply was "*Not but with my life,*" and his life was the immediate forfeit. The other standard was carried by ensign Walsh of the same regiment, who being severely wounded by a cannon shot, which broke the staff from the colour, contrived to detach the latter from the remnant of the staff and to secure it in his bosom till the wound was dressed, when he produced it.

After the victory of Fuentes D'Onoro lord Wellington hastened again to that part of his force which he had placed under marshal Beresford's orders. He arrived too late to prevent the battle of Albuhera; and renewed the siege of Badajoz, which that battle had interrupted. While this was pursued with miserably inadequate means, and with a heavy loss of men, Soult and Marmont formed a junction to relieve the garrison. The British general could not afford to win such victories as Albuhera; he therefore raised the siege, recrossed the Guadiana, and taking up a position within the Portuguese frontier, defiled their collected force, which he knew could not long be kept together. While lord Wellington, acting upon this confidence, baffled, with consummate skill, the efforts of an enemy greatly superior in numbers, he was secretly preparing to besiege Ciudad Rodrigo. The first business was to restore the works at Almeida, so as to make it a secure place of deposit for his artillery and stores. There was a possibility that the place might be reduced by blockade, for standing in a hostile country, sixty miles from the nearest French cantonments, supplies could not be thrown in without an escort at least equal in number to the blockading force; but it was not easy for the French to keep together so large an army when they had no magazines. With these views, as soon as Marmont and Soult had separated for want of supplies, lord Wellington returned again to the Agueda, and by the middle of September Ciudad Rodrigo was so much distressed that Marmont, with between 60,000 and 70,000 men, was compelled to come to its relief. The allies retired behind the Coa, and the French papers boasted that they would have been driven to the lines of Lisbon if the moment had come which was fixed for the catastrophe! When that moment should arrive, Marmont was to be joined by the army of the south, of whose unbroken force he boasted. Lord Wellington had his eye upon that force; and general Hill, being detached against a division of 5000 men under general Girard, who occupied the country about Caceres, surprized them completely, killed above 600, and took above 1400 prisoners, with the whole of their artillery, baggage, stores, &c. While the French were astonished at the change of system in their enemies, general Hill continued to alarm them by repeated incursions; and lord Wellington taking advantage of a moment when Marmont had detached part of his troops to assist Suchet in the conquest of Valencia, brought up his battering train against Ciudad Rodrigo, invested it on the 8th of January, and carried it by storm on the 19th, four days before Marmont collected an army at Salamanca to march to its relief. The operations of the siege belong to the annals of the ensuing year.

At an early period of the year, and on the very day (March 5th,) Massena abandoned his position at Santarem, a memorable and glorious conflict occurred in a part of the peninsula remote from the combinations of the grand armies. A British force exceeding

3000 men under lieutenant-general Graham, and a body of 7000 Spanish troops, commanded by general Lapena, were embarked in the bay of Cadiz, in order to effect a combined attack on the rear of the French army blockading that city. After some preliminary operations, general Graham received directions from general La Pena to move to a position about half way between Barrosa and the river Santi Petri. As he proceeded on his march, he received information that the enemy had appeared in force on the plain and was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa. General Graham immediately countermarched in order to support the troops left for the defence of the position of Santi Petri, but before he could disentangle himself from an intervening wood, the advanced troops were seen returning from Barrosa hill, while the French were ascending it. With singular promptitude and skill the general instantly determined on attacking the enemy, for a retreat under such circumstances would have endangered the whole allied army. The troops with which he was engaged were the two divisions under Rufin and Laval of general Victor's army. The former of these which gained the ascent of the hill, was attacked by the British right wing, commanded by general Dilkes, while the latter was engaged by the left wing supported by a battery of twelve guns. In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action, notwithstanding the base desertion of the English army by general Lapena with his Spaniards, the enemy was in full retreat on all parts, leaving behind them an eagle, 6 pieces of cannon, 2 generals wounded and taken, with many other officers killed, and many prisoners. The exhausted state of the British troops and the treachery of the Spanish general rendered pursuit impossible. The number of French in the action was about 7000, and their loss was calculated at 3000. That of the victors amounted to 1243 killed and wounded. Though the battle of Barrosa was among the minor actions with respect to numbers, and produced no important consequences, yet the ability and firmness displayed by general Graham acquired the gratitude and applauses of his country, and obtained him a rank among our most deserving and able commanders.

CHAPTER LX.

GEORGE III.

[1811 to 1813.]

Progress of the American War—Conflict between the President and the Little Belt—Assassination of Mr. Perceval—State Intrigues—Retention in Office of the existing Ministry—Repeal of the Orders in Council—Naval Actions between the Vessels of Great Britain and America—Spanish Campaign—Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo—Storming of Badajoz—Battle of SALAMANCA—The Russian Campaign—Conflagration of Moscow—Disastrous Retreat of Buonaparte—Operations in the First Campaign of 1813*—Battle of Bautzen and Wurtzen—Conclusion of an Armistice.*

WHILST a suspension of amity, or rather an alienation, was subsisting between England and the United States, an incident occurred which appeared likely to have involved the two nations in immediate hostility. The American frigate, President, having fallen in with the British sloop of war, Little Belt, on the American coast, an action was brought on

which terminated in a severe loss of men to the latter vessel. The circumstances in which both parties agree are the following. The ships coming in sight of each other on the forenoon of the 16th of May, about 14 or 15 leagues from Cape Henry, captain Bingham of the Little Belt, gave chase, and soon discovered the other ship to be a man of war, which, upon descrying him, bore down towards him. Captain Bingham made all sail southwards, and was followed in chase by commodore Rogers in the President, who evidently gained upon the other. At half past six, captain Bingham, who had discerned the stars in the President's broad pendant, brought to, hoisted his colours, had his guns double shotted, and every preparation made against a surprise. Commodore Rogers, who affirms that he had not been able to make out what nation the chase was of, took a position to windward of her, and about a quarter past eight got within hail. Now come the variances in the narratives of the two commanders. Captain Bingham thus states the matter. "I hailed and asked what ship it was. He repeated my question. I again hailed and asked what ship it was. He again repeated my words and fired a broadside, which I immediately returned." Commodore Rogers on the other hand says, "I hailed, what ship is that? To this inquiry no answer was given; but I was hailed by her commander, what ship is that? After a pause of 15 or 20 seconds I reiterated my first inquiry; and before I had time to take the trumpet from my mouth, was answered by a shot that went into our main mast." He goes on to state, that while he was in the act of giving an order to fire a shot in return, a shot was fired by the second division of his ship, which was instantly answered by three others in quick succession from his antagonist, and soon after by his whole broadside. The action, however, brought on, thenceforth became general, and lasted about three quarters of an hour, when a suspension ensuing, the hailing was repeated, the ships recognized each other, and parted for the night. In the morning the President sent a boat on board the Little Belt, with a message lamenting the unfortune occurrence, and offering every necessary assistance, which captain Bingham declined. His spirit in maintaining a force so superior (the desparity being 18 guns to 44) was worthy of his station, but was attended with the loss of 32 men killed and wounded, and great damage to the vessel. The American loss was very trifling.

The domestic politics of the year 1812 were almost exclusively influenced by an event unexampled in British History since the time of Felton, and by the perpetration of a crime peculiarly repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen. As Mr. Perceval (May 11th,) was entering the lobby of the house of commons, at a quarter past five o'clock, a person of the name of Bellingham, who had placed himself on the side of the door for that purpose, fired a pistol at him, the ball of which entered his left breast. Mr. Perceval immediately staggered and fell. He was taken up by Mr. W. Smith, and with the assistance of other members was conveyed to the speaker's apartments, but before he reached them, all signs of life had disappeared. The assassin had taken so sure an aim, that the ball passed through Mr. Perceval's heart at the centre.

As soon as the horror occasioned by this catastrophe had somewhat subsided, a person exclaimed, where is the villain that fired? Bellingham stept forward and coolly replied, I am the unfortunate man. He made no attempt to escape, and being interrogated as to his motive for the deed, he said, "My name is Bellingham, it is a private injury. I know what I have done; it was a denial of justice on the part of government." He was then searched and carried to the bar of the house, and it being ascertained that the act which he had perpetrated was unconnected with any public conspiracy, he was committed to Newgate. He was executed on the 18th of May, and died with exemplary firmness in the presence of a numerous but tranquil multitude.

The claim of Bellingham to redress for the disappointments sustained in Russia, which he adduced as a defensive plea, does not appear to have rested on the slightest rational foundation. He falsely imagined himself to have been wronged by the Russian government. An application made to the British ambassador was disregarded, and for this refusal he made the government at home responsible. He conceived himself entitled to receive from them the same sum, which he would have recovered from the Russian government had his complaints been favourably listened to. The claim was such as ministers were bound to reject, and Mr. Perceval fell a

victim to a decided ministerial duty. His estimable character in private life, and his amiable manners, joined to a fate so tragical, threw an extraordinary interest over his memory. The provision made for his family, which was no more than necessary to support their rank, met with universal approbation. His bitterest political enemies were the most zealous to express their horror and regret, and their anxiety to make every possible compensation to his domestic circle, for a loss so irreparable. With whatever sincerity he was regretted by his political friends, they sustained no political injury from his untimely end. After a long series of intrigues, in which their opponents were found wanting, they were retained in office by the express command of the prince regent.

A MEASURE which had been refused to motives of external policy, was now imperiously called for, by circumstances occurring within the kingdom. The closing of all the ports of the continent, joined to the suspension of intercourse with America, had created a measure of commercial suffering, which had not been experienced for ages. All the manufactures, which had been carried on with a view to foreign consumption, were at once annihilated. Patiently to endure such sufferings, is more than can fairly be expected from the uninstructed classes of society. Commotions arose in districts peculiarly affected, which inspired the most serious alarm. They were with difficulty prevented, by military force, from breaking out into open insurrection. Crimes were committed, of a magnitude before unknown in this country; and a general character of atrocity seemed to have infused itself into the national disposition. Ministers felt the propriety, and almost necessity, of yielding to this cry of the nation. They consented that an investigation should take place, into the consequences which had followed from the orders in council, and into the question, whether it might not now be expedient to revoke them. A committee of the house was accordingly formed, and a great mass of evidence collected. The lead was soon taken by Mr. Brougham, an active young statesman, who, I believe, understood questions of commercial policy better than most of the senior members on either side. He conducted the enquiry very ably, and with that species of headlong force and impetuosity which characterised all his exertions. It was difficult to separate the effects of the continental exclusion, and of the orders in council. The two indeed were anxiously confounded by the party hostile to ministers. But it certainly appeared, that considerable distress had arisen from these orders, and particularly from the loss of the American trade, which they had induced. The vote might have been doubtful; but lord Castlereagh anticipated it by announcing, that the orders in council were to be immediately recalled, and a trial made of an opposite system. An order to this effect appeared accordingly in the next gazette, but did not reach America till war had been declared by the president and congress.

A NATURAL and strong barrier of the British dominions in North America was formed by the river St. Lawrence, and by the vast lakes of Huron, Erie, and Ontario, through which it successively passes. To have crossed below the Ontario lake, would have formed the most direct road to the heart of the country, and to the capital. But the river was there at its greatest breadth; and the passage was defended by strong fortifications, and by the concentrated strength of the British forces. To have crossed between Ontario and Erie would have been liable to similar objections, though not quite to the same extent. But the branch of the river between Erie and Huron presented the point, at which this natural barrier could be most easily overcome. Here the Americans possessed Detroit, a fort of some strength. That of Michmel, Lincurk, and lake Huron, kept in check the Indian tribes, who were well known to be secretly attached to the British interest. The proximity of their back settlements enabled the Americans to anticipate here the arrival of the British forces. Early in July, general Hull crossed the St. Lawrence, took possession of Sandwich, from which the British had retired, and made preparations for the siege of fort Amherstsburg. He here published a proclamation, inviting the Canadians to join his standard; and the prosperous aspect of his affairs induced some to obey the call. But this career of success was of short duration. Captain Roberts, with a small British and Canadian detachment, reached Michillomaik before any reinforcements could enter that place; and the garrison, which did not exceed

60, surrendered at the first summons. This event was a signal for all the American tribes to declare in favour of Great Britain, and to rise in the rear of the American army. General Hull, in the view of preserving his communications, sent successive large detachments under major Miller and colonel M'Arthur. Meanwhile, general Brock, the British commander, having brought up a small reinforcement, determined, though still inferior in number to the Americans, to advance without delay. Hull then began a retrograde movement. Upon being pressed, he withdrew to the other side of the St. Lawrence. General Brock immediately commenced operations against the fort of Detroit, by erecting batteries on the opposite bank. These soon began to act; and in a day or two after, the army succeeded in crossing the river. General Hull, being then summoned, made no farther resistance, but surrendered himself, with the fort and the whole garrison, amounting to upward of 2000 men, prisoners of war.

The English frigate Guerriere, commanded by captain Dacres, on the 19th of August was brought to action by the American frigate the Constitution, captain Hull. The Guerriere rated 38 guns but mounted 49, with 263 men on board; the Constitution rated 44 guns but mounted 65, with a compliment of 450 men. The engagement was sharp, but of short duration, for the Guerriere being totally dismasted, and rolling so deep as to render her guns useless, while the enemy was enabled to rake her at pleasure, it became absolutely necessary to strike her colours. Of the crew 15 had been killed and 63 wounded. Not the least imputation attached to the conduct of captain Dacres or of his crew, who yielded only to the irresisitble force of physical superiority.

On the 18th of October his majesty's armed brig, Frolic, fell in with the American sloop of war, Wasp, which the former brought to action, that she might save her convoy from Honduras. She soon, however, became so unmanagable that the Wasp was enabled to assume a raking position, while the Frolic could not get a gun to bear. Every officer was therefore wounded, and only 20 of the crew remained unhurt. The enemy boarded and made prize of the brig, which was afterwards recaptured by the Wyndham, who at the same time took the Wasp.

The Macedonian frigate, captain Carden, descried, in latitude 29, on October 25th, a ship which proved to be a large frigate under American colours. He closed with her as soon as possible, and the action began at nine in the morning. After an hour's firing, on coming to close quarters, he found his antagonist so much superior that he had no claim to success. He bravely continued the action for two hours and ten minutes, when the injuries his ship sustained having rendered her a perfect wreck, while his opponent was in good condition, he reluctantly submitted. His opponent was the United States, captain Decatur. She was of the scantling of a 74 gun ship, mounted 68 guns, and had a compliment of 478 picked men. The loss of captain Carden's crew was 104 killed and wounded.

The last operation of importance by land was an attack on the British position of Kingstown, on the Niagara river, by general Wadsworth with 1400 Americans. After a short but decisive conflict, general Wadsworth and 900 of his army surrendered prisoners of war to the same number of the British. The loss on the part of the latter was small, with the exception of general Brock who was killed while cheering his men, in whom his country was deprived of an officer of distinguished courage and ability.

From the narrative of events so deeply to be lamented by every friend to humanity, and every lover of his country, I gladly return to the scene of warfare in the peninsula. The campaign in Valencia, however calamitous, served yet as a diversion in favour of the allied army on the other side of the peninsula. The motives have already been noticed, which induced lord Wellington to determine upon commencing a series of offensive operations. These were doubtless much strengthened by the desire of relieving the present pressure upon the east of Spain. Early in January, therefore, notwithstanding the obstacles which the season presented, the army crossed the Agueda, and invested Ciudad Rodrigo. The siege was pushed with extraordinary vigour. On the very first day the British succeeded in storming an outwork which the French had raised, and which was expected to have protracted the siege for upwards of a week. In ten days more the lines were completed, and several breaches effected 1812.

in the walls. The advances were not carried quite so fast as is usual before an attack; but, on considering all circumstances, lord Wellington determined to hazard one. The troops marched to the assault in five columns, one of which, under general Pack, was destined only to make a false movement, in order to deceive the enemy. After a desperate struggle every point was carried; even the false attack was converted into a real one; and the allies in less than half an hour after commencing the assault, were complete masters of the place. The loss was considerable; upwards of 1200 were killed or wounded; general Mackinnon, an officer of high promise, was among the former; general Canfurd among the latter. But lord Wellington justly considered, that as the French army was now fast approaching, the British lost less even by a severe siege than by a battle and siege united.

Marmont had established his winter cantonments on the banks of the Tagus, with a view both to convenience of supply, and of supporting the operations against Valencia. In pursuance of the latter object, he had detached general Monthrun with 5000 men, to take in the rear the army of Valencia. General Monthrun was too late; and having missed his object, amused himself with attempting a fruitless *coup de main* against Alicant, which prevented his co-operating with the main army. Marmont however, collected from the the north and centre of Spain, a considerable force, with which he arrived at Salamanca. He there heard of the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo. He advanced and offered battle; which lord Wellington, who had now no object to fight for, prudently declined. The French army then withdrew, not to its former situation, but to establish itself in cantonments along the Tormes.

In consequence of this last change the forces of the contending parties were placed in a situation very advantageous to the allies. Marmont and Soult being placed at the opposite extremities of the peninsula, their armies could not co-operate, nor even hold communicaton, unless in a remote and circuitous manner. The allied army was interposed between them, and could direct its united strength upon any point. This advantage was very ably improved by lord Wellington. He caused the whole army, with the exception of a small corps of observation, to march rapidly from the north upon Badajoz. All the preparations had been made for the siege of that important fortress. The troops newly arrived, combined with those formerly under general Hill, composed a force truly formidable. Operations immediately commenced. Notwithstanding the unfavourable season which placed the troops up to the knees in mud, the works advanced with rapidity. The defence was conducted by the same governor and garrison, who had formerly resisted with success all the efforts of the allied army. At the end of a month, however, the approaches were carried to the foot of the walls, and a practicable breach was effected. On the night of the 6th of April, therefore, lord Wellington determined to storm the place. The result was singular. The main attack directed against the point where the breach had been effected completely failed; and the British were repulsed with great loss. But two false attacks made, one by general Picton on the castle, the other by general Leith on the bastion of St. Vincente, both succeeded, and these false attacks took the place. A lodgment being thus established, both in the castle and in the town, the garrison immediately submitted. It was then 4000 strong. The loss of the allies exceeded 3000 in killed and wounded; being greater than is usually incurred even in a sanguinary battle. Nothing, except the urgent necessity of despatch arising from the critical situation of the army, could have justified so great a waste of British blood.

Meanwhile the French armies were in motion. Soult having collected all the forces of the south, arrived on the 8th, at Villa Franca. There hearing of the fall of Badajoz, he immediately retreated, and his rearguard sustained some loss. Marmont did not attempt, as formerly, to effect a junction with the army of the south. He began with attempting to carry, by a *coup de main*, first Ciudad Rodrigo, and afterwards Almeida. Finding both places prepared to receive him, he pushed forward into the interior of Portugal, driving before him the British army of observation. On arriving at Castello Branco, however, he learned the result of the siege, and evacuated that place on the very same day that he entered it. No time was to be lost in securing his retreat; lord Wellington,

with the bulk of his army, immediately began a movement towards the north.

All the frontier barriers having thus fallen, lord Wellington determined no farther to delay the expedition into Spain, which he had long meditated. As a preliminary, he directed general Hill, who still commanded in the south, to endeavour to destroy the bridge of Almaraz, which formed the only communication, lower than Toledo, by which a great army could cross the Tagus. General Hill performed this service, which was attended with great difficulties, with the same skill, activity, and genius, which he had displayed formerly in the surprise of Girard.

On the 13th of June, the allied army broke up from their cantonments on the Agueda, and advanced into Spain. On the 16th, they entered Salamanca, the French army retiring before them; and they were received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy. The French had erected in this place three forts, which lord Wellington had hoped speedily to reduce. They were found, however, to be considerably stronger than was expected; the first attack was unsuccessful; and it was found necessary to wait for some days the arrival of a battering train. The enemy hovered round, endeavouring to communicate with the garrison, and to throw in supplies; but all their attempts were frustrated by the activity of general Graham. On the 27th, the principal fort was stormed; and the rest, which depended on it, immediately surrendered. The French army then retired, and took a position behind the Douro.

The French broke down the bridges over the Douro; and lord Wellington was not yet provided with the means of forcing a passage. Marmont was joined by Bonnet, which, with other reinforcements, rendered his force equal, or superior to that of the English commander. He determined, therefore, to act on the offensive. He repaired the bridge at Toro, and passed over it a considerable body of troops, with the view of exciting the expectation, that the remainder would cross at that place. Suddenly, however, this body was recalled, and the whole army was carried, by a most rapid march, thirty miles up the river, to Tordesillas. It there crossed, and placed itself on the left flank of the allied army, which was with difficulty preserved from being turned. This brilliant manœuvre completely changed the aspect of the campaign. Marmont had now established a communication with Madrid, so that all the armies in the north and centre of Spain were either united, or had the means of uniting; and they composed a force decidedly superior to that of the allies. Marmont, however, did not wait for their entire junction, but continued to press forward. Lord Wellington drew up his army in order of battle; but the French general, instead of accepting, made it his object to turn the British flank at different points. His attempts were defeated; yet, by repeatedly threatening the communication of the allies with Portugal, he succeeded in inducing them to retire gradually towards that frontier. On the 22nd of July, both armies had crossed the Tormes. The British occupied a species of peninsula formed by the river, which bends southwards soon after passing Salamanca. The French, who had crossed at Alba, were in a condition to threaten the communication with Ciudad Rodrigo.

Marmont seems to have felt an extraordinary elation at the success with which his manœuvres had hitherto been attended. He conceived at once the chimerical hope, entirely to cut off the English army. With this view he extended his line, so that it might inclose the allies within the position which they had taken up. His force, however, was not such as that this extension could be made without unduly weakening some point. His left became thus exposed to attack. The error thus committed was at once perceived and improved by the British commander. Nearly the whole army being instantly brought opposite to the enemy's left, an attack was commenced upon that wing. Three divisions, under generals Leith, Cole, and Cotton, charged in front, while general Pakenham formed another across the enemy's flank. This single movement decided the victory. The left wing made no resistance; the British troops overthrew every thing opposed to them. In the centre, the contest was more obstinate. General Pack was repulsed in his attack upon the hill of the Arapiles; the fourth division was forced to retreat before a French division; and the confusion was increased by general Beresford being wounded and obliged to leave the field. These troops, however, being reinforced by those which had routed the French left wing, victory soon declared alike

in their favour. Only the right wing now resisted; but as the whole of the allied army could be directed against it, this soon shared the fate of the two others. As the evening closed, the whole force of the enemy was in total rout. Favoured by the darkness, they fled through the woods and over the Tormes, the British army still pursuing. Their loss on this day consisted, besides dead, of 7000 prisoners, 11 pieces of cannon, and 2 eagles. Marmont lost an arm; Bonnet was severely wounded; so that the care of saving the wrecks of the army devolved on general Clausel, the third in command. The loss of the British was not very considerable, compared with so splendid a victory. About 700 were killed, and 4000 wounded; in which latter number were included many of the general officers.

The enemy fled towards the Douro, in total rout and confusion: the road behind them was strewed with baggage, ammunition, and wounded. On the day succeeding the battle, three French battalions, overtaken by the English cavalry, laid down their arms, and numerous prisoners were daily brought in. The enemy no longer attempted to defend the passage of the Douro. Lord Wellington crossed at Trudella, and on the 4th of August entered Valladolid. He did not, however, advance to Burgos, notwithstanding the importance attached by him to the possession of that place, because no artillery was yet come up, and because an important moral effect might be produced by acting in another direction. Leaving, therefore, a force under general Paget, to observe the motions of the enemy, he proceeded with his main body towards the capital. A slight disgrace and loss was sustained in an action of the vanguard, in consequence of the Portuguese troops having been struck with a panic, which ill corresponded with their former conduct. But upon the whole there was nothing which could resist the progress of the allies. Joseph Buonaparte had not with him above 15,000 or 20,000 men, a large proportion of whom were Spaniards. On the approach, therefore, of the allied armies, he evacuated Madrid, and retired to Almanza, on the frontier of Murcia and Valencia;—an advantageous position, whence he could communicate either with Soult or with Suchet. On the 12th of August, the allied army entered the capital. The Retiro, though garrisoned by 1500 men, immediately surrendered, and Guadalaxara was at the same time taken by the Empecinado. To render still more flattering the prospects of the allied army, intelligence was received of the arrival of a new expedition at Alicant. It consisted of British and Neapolitan troops from Sicily, joined to a Spanish force which had been trained at Majorca, under British officers. The whole consisted of 16,000 men, completely disciplined, and every way qualified for acting in the field.

The French had derived some advantage from the absence of lord Wellington, during his expedition to Madrid. They sent a strong detachment westward, along the Douro, which raised the blockades of Toro and Zamora, and withdrew the garrisons from the forts there erected. They advanced with the same view to Astorga; but that fortress had fallen immediately before their arrival. They then returned to Valladolid; but soon found this place untenable, when lord Wellington began to move towards the north. Upon his approach, they not only abandoned Valladolid, but did not even attempt to cover Burgos; and they retired towards the Ebro. Lord Wellington found, therefore, no difficulty in investing the castle of Burgos, but soon received intelligence which induced him to move in another direction.

Soult, immediately on receiving intelligence of the loss of Madrid, formed the resolution to sacrifice every other object for the recovery of the capital. His rear-guard was precipitately driven out of Seville by a detachment under colonel Skerret and general Cruz. At the same time, the positions in the Sierra de Rondo were abandoned, and the whole French army directed its retreat upon Grenada. Having collected his divisions in that city, he did not halt, but continued his route through the province, and through Murcia, to the Valencian frontier.

Having now collected his whole force, Soult left a small body of troops in Valencia, and then advanced, 60,000 strong, upon the capital. General Hill had repaired thither from Estremadura, and had been strengthened by the junction of several detached Spanish corps. He had still, however, no force sufficient to cope with the enemy. He was, therefore, ordered, with the view of preserving the communication between the different allied

corps, to retire behind the Adaja Lord Wellington himself raised the siege of Burgos, and retreated to the same position. There was no longer then any obstacle to the junction of all the French armies, which was immediately effected. Soult now determined to make a sacrifice of every other object for the sake of driving the allied army beyond the Spanish frontier. He again abandoned Madrid; and collecting his whole force, 90,000 strong, marched against lord Wellington. Notwithstanding his superiority, he did not venture to attack. He merely threw himself into positions which menaced the communication of the allied army with Portugal, and he fortified himself carefully in every successive position. Lord Wellington, who could not prudently attack an enemy thus numerous and strongly posted, had no alternative but to retire into Portugal. Retreat is adverse to the British army; it is almost always the signal for an entire relaxation of discipline.

Every circumstance now combined to effect the downfall and discomfiture of Napoleon. The invasion of Russia conspired with the disasters in Spain to prepare the way for the deliverance of Europe. Russia seems to have entered upon this contest, fully aware of its great magnitude, and her exertions to prepare for it had been very extraordinary. By vast levies, she had accumulated an army of 300,000 men, nearly triple of that which in the preceeding war her utmost efforts had brought into the field. Notwithstanding this great preparation, she had determined, with singular prudence, to follow a system strictly defensive. The Dwina, whose course lay considerably within her frontier, was fixed upon as the first point where a stand was to be made; and along its banks a range of fortifications and entrenched camps had been erected.

Meanwhile, Buonaparte was not less diligent in organizing all the means of success. Prussia, held completely within his grasp, was compelled to allow her whole military force to be employed in this war against her own independence. Austria agreed to furnish a contingent of 30,000 men. Fifty thousand men were withdrawn from Spain, and the armies there having in vain attempted to bring the war to a termination, placed themselves now in an attitude of defence. These troops, with all that could be spared from the interior of France, from Italy, and from every quarter of Germany, began their march, so that they might reach the Polish frontier at the season favourable for opening the campaign. By the beginning of June, about 300,000 men had been there accumulated. Buonaparte himself arrived on the 21st at Gumbinnen, and determined immediately to cross the Niemen.

On the evening of the 23rd of June, the French army arrived at Kowno. Their passage was not disputed, a few cossacks only appeared on the opposite bank. Bridges were instantly thrown over, and the army passed in the course of the night. Buonaparte immediately pushed forward to Wilna, the Russian head-quarters, and the capital of Russian Poland. He entered it on the 28th. The enemy had evacuated the place on the day preceding, after setting fire to their magazines and military stores. Buonaparte continued to advance on the road to Smolensk. The weather was dreadful, rain fell in torrents. Several thousand horses perished; and part of the artillery was buried in the mud. He pressed, however, eagerly forward. On the 8th, Davoust had entered Minsk, from whence he advanced and seized upon the strong place of Borysow. On the 18th he arrived at Orcha, and on the 20th, at Mohilow on the Dnieper. Notwithstanding this rapidity, the corps of Docturow, which had been stationed between Sida and Grodno, found means, though with difficulty and by a circuitous march, to arrive at the Dwina. But the army of Bagration, 40,000 strong, and deriving additional importance from the high character of its commander, was irretrievably separated. Bagration successively attempted to rejoin the main army by Wilna, by Minsk, and by Bobruysk, but every where found himself anticipated. He had nothing left, therefore, but to cross the Dnieper, and proceed towards Smolensk.

Buonaparte having so far succeeded, now collected his force in order to attack the Russians, while still unsupported by their left wing. They were strongly entrenched between Dunaburg and Drissa; yet upon the approach of the enemy they formed the wise resolution not to engage with a part of their force against his united strength. They broke up therefore, and retired to Witepsk. Buonaparte occupied and demolished the entrenched camps, and then immediately fol-

lowed the Russian army. He crossed the Dwina at Bechenkovitzki, and his advanced posts came into contact with the rear of the enemy. The Russians, however, who had not yet been able to unite with Bagration, still adhered to their determination of retreating till that object could be accomplished. They broke from Witepsk and proceeded to Smolensk, where the junction, so long delayed, at length took place.

In the course of these movements several partial actions occurred, in which the Russians appear to have been uniformly successful. Sebastiani was surprised opposite to Dunaburg, and a whole battalion cut off. Bagration defeated a large body of French cavalry. The Saxon troops, 3000 in number, were surrounded and entirely captured by general Tormesow at Kobrin. These achievements afforded a favourable omen, not only of the bravery of the troops, but of the skill and activity of the Russian generals; qualities, the exclusive possession of which had so long been the boast of their adversaries.

Notwithstanding these favourable occurrences, the advantage of this campaign had as yet been considerably on the side of France. She had driven her adversary beyond the limits of Poland; she had forced him to abandon all his entrenched camps, with the Dwina, the national barrier of his empire. This occupation of Poland afforded to Buonaparte a promise of considerable advantage. His first act in entering Wilna was to proclaim anew the kingdom of Poland. A diet was immediately convened, and a constitution framed. Every thing, notwithstanding the attempt to exhibit a contrary appearance, was evidently done by the sole dictation of a single man. Still it was something; they had the name at least and the form of liberty; and as their co-operation was necessary, they had a certain pledge of favourable treatment.

Buonaparte allowed his troops a short repose after the succession of dreadful marches through which they had passed; then suddenly collecting them he advanced upon Smolensk. The Russians were prepared to receive him. Part of their army occupied the place; the rest was posted on the other side of the river. During the course of the 16th, the French made repeated and desperate attacks upon Smolensk, but were uniformly repulsed with great slaughter. The city, however, sustained severe damage, and was set on fire in several places. In the course of the following night the Russians withdrew from it, and joined their force on the other side of the river. The whole united then began their retreat on the road to Moscow. The vanguard of the French, under Ney, attacked their rear-guard at Valentina, but were repulsed after an obstinate contest. Smolensk formed now the only fortified position by which Moscow could be covered, and a general clamour arose among the officers at its being so soon relinquished. Government were so far swayed by this opinion that they transferred the chief command from general Barclay de Tolly to Koutousoff, a veteran of seventy-five, who had distinguished himself in a long series of wars. Succeeding events left no doubt as to the extreme prudence of his appointment.

Koutousoff, although he disapproved the evacuation of Smolensk, did not choose to give battle in a country which no longer afforded any advantageous position. He continued the retreat of the army towards Moscow, while Buonaparte slowly and cautiously followed. Although his approach to the capital became so near, that unless some stand were made, he must inevitably become master of it, Koutousoff now assumed a position at Borodino, which he considered as extremely favourable, and in which he wished to be attacked. The French emperor determined upon attacking. He led therefore his troops to battle. The contest was tremendous; scarcely does history record so awful a scene of human destruction. Sixty thousand of dead and wounded lay strewed on the field; and yet its fortune remained undecided. The loss on both sides was almost alike immense. But on such occasions the advantage evidently rests with the party which stood had on the defensive. The Russians preserved their position, which was all they had aimed at; while Buonaparte, unable to gain a victory, remained baffled. He even retreated to some distance, though cossacks only are said to have followed. Among the many French officers who fell on this day, attention was chiefly drawn by the infamous name of Caulincourt, the midnight murderer of the duke of Enghien; he fell in the field by a fate of which he was unworthy. On the Russian side a far more illustrious chief received his mortal wound.

Bagration, whose heroism had formed a prominent feature in all the recent Russian achievements, closed here a life of glory. Irreparable were the loss, had there not at this moment arisen a new race of commanders, whose names, hitherto unknown to Europe, were soon placed in the foremost rank of military fame.

Buonaparte, soon after his retreat from Borodino, was joined by the corps of Victor, which secured to him still a numerical superiority over the Russians. Although he had failed, therefore, in his attempt to break the army, he determined, at whatever risk, and in whatever manner, to possess himself of Moscow. He immediately began to manœuvre, with the view of turning the Russians. Koutousoff saw that he could defend Moscow only by fighting a battle upon its site; he considered its destruction as the consequence; and he does not seem to have been aware, how fully his government was determined to sacrifice it to the safety of the empire. He considered also, that his thinned ranks might soon be filled from the militia of all the neighbouring provinces, who were crowding to join him. In pursuance, then, of that cautious system, which from the beginning had been acted upon, he withdrew to the south, and left open the road to Moscow. Buonaparte advanced without opposition, and on the 14th of September entered the Russian capital. But here a dreadful spectacle presented itself. From one extremity to the other, that antient and renowned metropolis was in flames. The Russian government had long resolved and meditated this plan, to deprive the invader of the fruits of victory. Every thing which admitted of it having been previously removed, persons appointed for that purpose set fire to the city in various quarters, wherever the flames were most likely to spread. All the fire engines had been removed or destroyed. Before the French, therefore, could stop the progress of the flames, only a tenth part of the city remained unconsumed.

The French army did not, amid the ruins of Moscow, enjoy that repose and plenty which they expected, and stood so much in need of. The province in which they were immediately situated, is not endowed with any fertility which could qualify it for supplying their wants. The neighbouring governments, indeed, watered by the Volga and Oka, formed the granary of Russia, and were blessed with a luxuriance almost inconceivable. But the French could derive little benefit from this surrounding abundance. Koutousoff took a position at a small distance to the south of Moscow, in which he covered the provinces of Tula and Kalouga, which were the grand scene of this fertility. This position was so strong as to secure him against attack; and his strength and proximity rendered it impossible for the enemy to separate and occupy any extensive range of territory. On the other side general Winzingerode was stationed with a large body of troops to exclude the enemy from the Petersburgh road and the northern provinces; a service which he performed in the most distinguished manner. Wittgenstein, who still defended the line of the Dwina, had carried on a very successful war in that quarter against Oudinot and Macdonald. He had rendered it impossible for them to form the siege of Riga, or to make any serious impression on that part of the empire. Reinforced now by 18,000 men from Finland, he began a movement upon Moscow. Every thing gave way before him. St. Cyr who endeavoured to defend the important position of Polotsk, was completely routed and driven beyond the Dwina. Wittgenstein then continued his victorious march upon Witepsk, and upon the route by which the French army communicated to the west of Europe. This movement was combined with another, which promised to render it completely decisive.

The exigency of her affairs had at length induced Russia to purchase peace from Turkey, by granting the demands of that power to their full extent. Flushed by her former successes, she had required the cession of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the establishblishment of the Danube as the southern boundary of her empire. She now contented herself with that part of Moldavia, the smallest and least important, which lay on the eastern bank of the Ruth. She thus renounced, most wisely, almost all her recent conquests on that side, and was enabled to employ her whole force in averting the imminent danger with which herself was threatened. The army then which had been employed upon that frontier, immediately began its march through the south of Poland. United with that previousiy stationed in Volhynia, it formed an aggregate

of 80,000 men. The French communication on this side was supported by the Saxon troops, and by the Austrian contingent under the prince of Schwartzenburg. These the Russian army drove before it, separated completely from the main army, and compelled to retire beyond the Niemen. Nothing then prevented it from forming a junction with the force under Wittgenstein, on the high road leading to Moscow. The fate of the French army had then been sealed. Cut off from their native country and all their resources, they must have been completely enclosed within the forests and wilds of Muscovy.

Buonaparte could not be insensible to the imminent perils which surrounded him. There was evidently no hope of safety but to fly, abandoning Moscow and all his conquests; yet from that step the most extreme reluctance withheld him. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* had as yet been his uniform motto; and to change it in the face of Europe, of his allies, and his enemies, was a humiliation scarcely to be endured. He now made repeated attempts to draw the Russian generals into a negotiation. To have made peace, almost on any terms, while Moscow was still his, would have preserved to him, at least, the semblance of victory. His antagonists, however, conscious of their own strength and of the dire necessity which urged him, turned a deaf ear to every proposal. This was not the time for them to treat. Having precipitated himself into such a situation, it behoved him to extricate himself by his own efforts. No resource remained, except that bitter one, which nothing could longer avert. Yet even after the sacrifice had been made, it still remained a difficult task to save the army. Their stock of provisions was nearly exhausted; and to return by the road they had come, drained as it was of every resource, presented a hopeless prospect. Buonaparte appears to have conceived the plan of penetrating by the route of Toula and Kalouga, which would have led him through fertile and unexhausted districts. As a preliminary to such a march, however, it was necessary to beat the Russian grand army, which covered that road. Koutousoff, perceiving that movements were making indicative of this intention, resolved to anticipate them. He attacked by surprise the advanced-guard of the French army under Murat, and totally defeated it with the loss of 3000 prisoners, and 60 pieces of cannon.

This disaster seems to have convinced Buonaparte that his intended retreat could no longer admit of delay. Reluctantly therefore, and too late, he formed the resolution of abandoning Moscow. On the 19th of October the French army began its march, leaving only a garrison in the Kremlin. This last measure seemed to have been adopted rather with a view to retard the advance of the enemy, than with any hope of retaining possession of the place. On the 22nd, general Winzingerode arrived, drove the French garrison out of Moscow, and re-established the Russian ensigns in the Kremlin. Approaching, however, too near the enemy with a view of inviting a suspension of bloodshed, he was surrounded and taken prisoner.

Buonaparte on leaving Moscow, made a feigned movement towards the Kalouga road, with the view of inducing the belief that this retreat would be in that direction. Having thus diverted the attention of Koutousoff he immediately began to retreat by forced marches and with prodigious rapidity, on the road to Smolensk. He himself, apparently with the sole view of securing his personal safety, marched in the van, surrounded by the imperial guards, whom, amid all the late battles, he had preserved unbroken. Eugene, the viceroy, in whom he seems to have placed a confidence not justified by any military achievements, brought up the rest of the army, with all the artillery and baggage. To them this march was dreadful. They had to force their way through roads almost impassable, without supply, without resources, with all the elements to contend against them. Clouds of cossacks hovered on every side, harassed them with continual attacks, seized all the stragglers, and cut off the army in detail. Millaradovitch, a Russian general, made a vigorous attack upon the rear-guard and defeated it, with considerable loss. Platoff, near Visma, broke in with his cossacks, threw all into confusion, and carried off 3000 prisoners, and 128 pieces of cannon. Their situation was truly critical; for while Koutousoff followed close behind, Tchitzhagoff, with the army from Volhynia and Turkey, would soon block up all the avenues by which they could advance. No time was to be lost to resume their march. On this they left Smolensk. But the calamities which they had experienced before arriving at that place, became as nothing when compared with those

which now overtook them. The frost set in with a severity scarcely known even in these climates. All the horses perished; there were no longer any means of conveyance either for the baggage or artillery; all shelter, all provisions failed; and his army, lately so formidable, exhibited to mankind a spectacle of woe, beyond all that they had ever inflicted. The sword of the enemy soon came to complete the calamity. Koutousoff, who with his main body had been marching by a route parallel to that of the French, now unexpectedly attacked in the line of the retreating army. Davoust's corps occupied the central part, connecting the advanced-guard with the rear. This was the corps surprised by Koutousoff. The defence was vigorous, Buonaparte himself commanding in person, and exerting every effort to save this vital point of his line. But all was vain; the rout was complete; nearly the whole corps, 24,000 strong, was destroyed or taken. He himself fled from the field of battle. The destruction of this body separated entirely the rear-guard under Ney from the rest of the army. This whole force, completely surrounded, were compelled, after a vain resistance, to lay down their arms. In these two affairs the number of prisoners amounted to 21,000, besides nearly an equal number of killed and wounded. More than half the French army was lost.

Buonaparte, with all that remained of his troops, hurried forward to the Beresina. He hoped to effect his retreat by the way of Minsk, which was the best, and led most directly to the Vistula. This road, however, was now occupied by Tchitzagoff, who had entered Minsk, had possessed himself of the magazines and hospitals there deposited, and had seized every thing belonging to the enemy which could be found in that quarter. He was now prepared to dispute the passage of the Beresina. There remained, however, another route, leading directly to Wilna and Konigsberg, and by it the French army, though more circuitous, might at length arrive upon the Vistula. Buonaparte now made it his sole object to force his passage in this direction. The Beresina, being now near its source, was passed without difficulty, and he formed a junction with the corps of Victor and St. Cyr, which had been employed in watching Wittgenstein. His force was now raised to 70,000 men, of which the division that had newly joined, still possessed its cavalry and artillery. Wittgenstein and Tchitzagoff having formed a junction, commenced an attack upon the rear of the retreating army. The action was obstinate. Of its result no very detailed or satisfactory account has yet been received. It would rather appear, however, that it had been in favour of the French, and that the Russians sustained a repulse. Under favour of this success, the French army hastened, by forced marches, towards Wilna. No obstacle opposed their progress, and they arrived without having sustained any farther important loss. And here, as some obscurity rests upon the subsequent events, it will be convenient to close for the present, our narrative of military operations. Some others of a different description were meanwhile passing, but less worthy of attention.

Napoleon determined to set out for Paris. At Smorgony, even before the army had reached Wilna, he assembled his generals, and leaving the command to the king of Naples, immediately took his departure. He travelled incognito, either from necessary attention to personal safety, or from being unwilling to exhibit himself to the world in such a humiliation. On the 18th of December he arrived at Paris, which he found tranquil. His name and presence, still terrible, prevented any other commotion; and he proceeded without fear or mercy, to drain the population and resources of France, in order that he might be enabled to appear in the field.

On April 15th Napoleon again set out for the army, and arrived at Mentz on the 20th. The French army, formidable in number and appointment, consisted of twelve corps, besides the imperial guards. The viceroy of Italy, Eugene Beauharnois, was appointed second in command, and Berthier chief of the staff. The several corps were placed under generals and marshals long known in the service. Such was the mighty force with which the ruler of the fate of France moved to another, and, as was generally thought, a concluding campaign.

The march of the different divisions of the French was directed so as to form a junction near Jena, and upon the Saale. Marshal Ney, who took the lead on the left, arrived in front of Erfurt on April 21st, and the intermediate corps were rapidly closing in. The allied armies of Russians and Prussians had for some time been concentrating in the neighbourhood

of Leipsic. The death of the veteran chief, Koutousoff, on his march, had transferred the supreme command to Wittgenstein, whose head-quarters were at Doelisch, to the north of Leipsic, whilst those of the Prussian general Blucher were at Altenburg, to the south of that city. The French commanders successively crossed the Saale with greater or less opposition, whilst the Russian and Prussian forces formed an union between Leipsic and Altenburg. Napoleon joined his troops, and took the command; and the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia animated their respective armies by their personal presence. On April 30th, Wittgenstein having received intelligence which convinced him that it was the intention of the French to make a junction between that part of the army which was under the command of the viceroy, and the main body, sent general Winzingerode's corps from Leipsic on the road to Weissenfels to make a reconnoissance. This corps came to action on May 1st, by which it was ascertained that the enemy's chief force was in the vicinity of Weissenfels and Lutzen, whilst the viceroy's position appeared to be between Leipsic and Halle. Wittgenstein therefore resolved to prevent the enemy's operations by making a previous attack upon his principal force, and with that view marched in the night between the 1st and 2nd of May to the defile of the Elster, in the vicinity of Pegau. About noon, Blucher with the vanguard moved to the attack of the French, posted in Gross Groschen, which village he carried by storm after an obstinate defence. The battle soon became general along the line, and continued with great carnage till near seven in the evening. The result was, that the allies kept possession of the field, and that after the following day had passed without fighting, the French retreated, and Napoleon established his head quarters at Querfurt. The losses on each side are so differently stated, that they cannot be spoken of with any certainty.

The king of Saxony now joined his arms to those of the French emperor, in consequence of which, marshal Ney was admitted into Torgau. The French had already possessed themselves of Leipsic. Their troops continued to advance, and the main army of the allies to retire before them; and on the 12th and 15th, marshal Macdonald came in contact with the Russian rear-guard under Miloradovitch, and some actions of no great moment were brought on. In the mean time Ney and Lauriston crossed the Elbe at Torgau, with the intention of acting on the right of the allies. The latter, who had conducted their retreat in such good order as not to lose a single gun, took up their first position on the heights overhanging the Spree, with the centre of the front line behind Bautzen. On the 19th, Napoleon having joined his main army, consisting of more than 100,000 men, with a numerous artillery, planned an attack upon the allies in front, whilst the force under Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier, should move from their position to the north of Bautzen, and turn the right of the allies. Wittgenstein having penetrated into this latter design, determined to counteract it by a separate attack on the corps of those generals, which he entrusted to Barclay de Tolly and D'Yorck. They engaged with Lauriston and Ney on the 19th, and a severe action is said, in the Russian account, to have terminated in favour of the allies. At least it is certain that it frustrated this part of the plan.

On the 21st, another very sanguinary conflict took place. Napoleon, in person, taking the command of his whole assembled forces, moved at day break to the attack of the allies in advance of Wurtzen and Hochkirchen. The details of this engagement are not intelligible without plans. The loss of the French during these two days is stated by themselves at 11,000 or 12,000 men in killed and wounded, and the duke of Friuli (Duroc) was among the former. The allies also claim the capture of 3000 French prisoners, and 12 pieces of cannon, and asserted that the enemy had no trophies of war to show on their parts. It is almost needless to say that the French statements gave a very different view of these results. The general event however was, that the allies continued retreating, but in good order, and intent upon taking every opportunity to check the impetuosity of their advancing foe. A brilliant affair in which the Prussian cavalry under Blucher defeated, on the 26th, a French division of infantry marching from Haynau, under general Maison, is mentioned with distinction in the dispatches of sir Charles Stewart, the British resident with the allied army. The different French corps, however gradually advanced with no effectual opposition through Silesia towards the Oder, and Napoleon established his head-quarters on the 31st at Neumarkt, not far

from Breslau, which capital was entered by Lauriston on June 1st.

During the course of these occurrences, important transactions were taking place in the north of Europe. Sweden was induced by the turn which affairs had taken, openly to join the cause of the allies. Of this resolution she gave a public declaration by forming, in March, a treaty of alliance and subsidy with the court of Great Britain.

The advance of the French to the Elbe, having rendered it necessary for the divisions of Tettenborne, Domberg, and Tschernicheff, to cross that river, they concentrated their force at Hamburg. Davoust with about 10,000 men, occupied Luneburg, Harburg, and Stade, and stationed some small posts at intermediate points on the Elbe. The advance of Sebastiani to Sulzwedel, caused Walmoden, with the corps of Domberg and Tschernicheff, to post himself at Domitz; and thus the defence of Hamburg was left to its own volunteers, with Tettenborne's Hanseatic corps, and some Mecklenburghers. On the 8th of May, Davoust having collected a body of men at Harburg, opposite to Hamburg, embarked them for an attack upon Wilhemsburg, an island in the Elbe, between the two towns. They effected a landing, driving before them the volunteers posted for the defence of the island. The utmost alarm, in the mean time, prevailed among the people of Hamburg; among whom it was reported that Davoust had promised the soldiers five hours plunder of the city. The drums beat to arms, the streets were crowded with men running to the alarm posts, and the ramparts were filled with affrighted spectators. At length, upon the advance of a battalion of Mecklenburghers, the enemy were beat back to their boats. At the same time a body of Hanoverians and Lubeckers being marched to the assistance of a corps, posted on Ochsenwerder, attacked the assailants on the right flank, and compelled them to retreat. On the morning of the 9th, the French appearing determined to renew their attempt, the Danish sub-governor of Altona went over to Vandamme, the French commander, and expostulated with him on the attack upon a city in their neighbourhood, in the safety of which they were so much interested, declaring that the Danes would assist in repelling it, if persisted in. Receiving a rough answer, the governor, on his return, sent three Danish gun-boats fully manned, which anchored in the passage opposite to Hamburg; and in the evening a Danish corps with ten pieces of artillery, together with some cossacks, were drawn up in a line along the sands, and Russian guns were placed close to Altona. Things were in this situation, when the approach of a body of Swedes caused the Danes, on the 12th, to quit Hamburg, and retire to their own territory, leaving however their artillery for the protection of the place. The Swedes, to the number of 1200, entered the town, in which they mounted guard, and Hamburg again flattered itself with security. They took part in its defence against another attack of the French on the 22nd; but the crown prince found himself under the necessity of recalling these troops. The protection of Hamburgh was therefore abandoned; and on May 30th, general Tettenborne, with all the military, evacuated it, and 5000 Danes with 1500 French, under the command of general Bruyere, made their entry unopposed. The loss of Hamburg was severely felt both in a military and a commercial view.

Although Napoleon had astonished all Europe with the efforts he had been able to make after the destruction of his veteran armies in the Russian campaign, and by his successes had retrieved in a great measure that military renown which he had been in danger of losing, yet he must have been sensible that his advance from the Saale to the Oder was a series of hard fought battles, in which his best troops were gradually melting away. Encouraged by the Austrian cabinet, which was now in a state of apparent neutrality, he transmitted to the emperor Alexander proposals for an armistice, preparatory to a congress for a general peace to be holden at Prague. A cessation of hostilities in consequence took place on the 1st of June, and the armistice was ratified on the 4th.

During the greater part of the present year no events of importance occurred in the peninsula. The opposing commanders took advantage of the spring and summer to collect their resources and arrange their future movements. Lord Wellington prepared to execute a series of operations which might enable him to pass the barriers of France; and the same power whose standard had continued unfurled while all Europe bent before the tyrant, was now the first to inflict upon him this extreme and signal humiliation.

CHAPTER LXI.

GEORGE III.

[1813.]

Meeting of Parliament—Debates and Arrangements respecting the Charter of the East India Company—Progress of the Catholic Question—The Motions and Speeches of Mr. Grattan—Opposition of the Speaker—Rejection of Mr. Grattan's Bill.

ON the meeting of parliament after the recess, (February 2nd, 1813,) the tables were immediately crowded with petitions relative to the two great subjects which during the present year had peculiarly occupied the enquiries of the nation: the renewal of the East India charter, and the claims of the Roman catholics. The first of these questions related merely to local or private interests, and while the towns and commercial bodies, which were at present excluded from the benefits of East Indian commerce, contended for the abolition of the monopoly, every individual whose emoluments were derived from the existing charter, equally concurred in opposing the principle of alteration. On the 22nd of March lord Castlereagh introduced the subject by observing, that as the East India charter was on the point of expiring, it fell to the lot of parliament to decide on the future government of a country containing threefold the number of inhabitants existing in this kingdom. He said that if he and his colleagues had conceived that the arrangements they were about to propose would shake a system which would answer all the great purposes of government, they should have hesitated to suggest them, but his proposition would not only abstain from touching the principle of that system, but would render it more applicable to the circumstances of the times. He then spoke highly of the government of the company in India, and of the persons who conducted it, and he assured the committee of his readiness to change his opinions on the subject, though they were the result of mature consideration.

THERE were three propositions in this question which his majesty's ministers had to consider. Whether the existing government in India should be allowed to continue in its present state; whether an entire change should be effected in it; or whether some middle course could be adopted satisfactory to all parties. With respect to the first he was strongly impressed with a conviction that the perseverance of ministers in the present system would be improper. There was no reason for tying up during the period of another charter the commerce of the country from half the habitable globe, by placing it under the administration of the company alone, and excluding all other persons except foreigners. The commercial sphere had become too extended for the limited powers of a chartered company, and it was the duty of parliament not to consign the private trade to the controul of their shipping system. He was prepared to contend that the company had taken a burthen on their shoulders beyond their strength, and that the evil arising from a want of capital, compelled them to withdraw from the most beneficial branches of commerce, to engage in other transactions attended with inevitable loss. He gave some examples of these facts, and inferred the expedience of *letting in* the national capital to the relief of the company, on the principles of the regulations adopted in 1793, or the improved system of 1802. The other alternative

of abolishing the present system, he was certainly not disposed to admit, unless all arrangements between the company and the public should appear impracticable. Dismissing therefore the two extremes of the question, he would proceed to state those modifications of the existing system which were the subject of certain resolutions to be laid before the committee. After opening the nature and purpose of these resolutions, they were handed to the chairman of the committee, and read. They commenced with a declaration, That it is expedient that all the privileges, authorities, and immunities, granted to the East India company, shall continue and be in force for the further term of twenty years, except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed. The 2nd resolution was to continue the present restraints to the commercial intercourse with China, and the company's exclusive trade in tea. The 3rd contained a permission to any of his majesty's subjects to export to, and import from all ports within the limits of the company's charter, such goods, wares, &c. as are allowed by law, under certain enumerated provisions. The 4th regulated the application of the rents, revenues, and profits accruing to the company from their territorial possessions in India; and the 5th regulated in like manner the application of the proceeds from their sale of goods, and the profits of private trade. The 6th directed the application of the surplus revenues of the company after the reduction of their debt in India to ten millions sterling, and that in England to three millions. The subsequent resolutions declared the expediency of allowing British ships built in the East Indies to import goods, &c. from that country during the present war, and to an assigned period after it; of making provision for further limiting the granting of gratuities and pensions to officers of the company; of continuing the power in the court of direction to supply vacancies occurring in the chief offices in India; of limiting the number of king's troops in future to be maintained by the company in India; and of placing the church establishment in British territories in India under the superintendence of a bishop and three archdeacons.

On March 30th the examination of evidence commenced in the house of commons, before a committee of the whole house, with that of Warren Hastings, esq., and was continued through a number of meetings, in which a great many individuals who had served in high stations in India were examined. On April 18th, so much of the time of the house having been taken up with this matter, that the general business of parliament was interrupted, lord Castlereagh moved for the appointment of a select committee for the further inquiry into the affairs of the East India company. A debate ensued on the subject, which ended in a division, when the noble lord's motion was carried by 95 against 37. The examinations were then carried on before the select committee for a considerable time longer; and in the mean time some of the same individuals were examined before the house of lords. The mass of fact and opinion thus produced, was of a bulk sufficient to fill a volume, and will not admit of an abridgement compatible with our limits that could afford any idea of its substance. It stands upon record as a curious document relative to the state of India, though occasionally marked with the particular views and prepossessions of the persons contributing to it.

The examinations in the house of lords were soon concluded by a motion of the *Marquis of Wellesley* for the production of certain papers on East India affairs. In his speech introductory to the motion, his lordship charged the ministers with having brought in their resolutions unexplained, unconsidered, undebated; and he thought that their lordships were called upon to retrace their steps, and to revert to the general sources of the principles upon which they were to legislate on this arduous question. He deprecated any attempt to decide it upon the principle that it was an anomalous state of things that the same person should be merchant and sovereign. If it were an anomaly it had been found very good in practice. Proceeding to particulars, he said he was of opinion that the India trade was essential to the company in a commercial point of view; and on considering the resolutions, he dwelt upon the evils that would arise from admitting British subjects to trade to all the countries within the company's charter. He remarked upon various omissions of important points in the resolutions: and concluding with moving for a number of papers which he specified.

The marquis was replied to by the *earl of*

Buckinghamshire, who produced several arguments for the advantage to be derived from opening the India trade to individuals.

Lord Grenville then rose, and delivered his opinion at length on the general subject. He thought that the manner in which it had been taken up laboured under one fundamental defect, that of treating as principal what was in its own nature subordinate. The interests of the East India company were made the first object of consideration, whereas that of the British crown, as sovereign of our Indian possessions, ought to be regarded as paramount. It was now become a measure of absolute necessity to make a public assertion of the sovereignty of the crown in India, and parliament must give laws for India, pronouncing not upon a single and separate question of general or local legislation, but upon the whole principle and frame of government under which the British dominion in that country shall henceforth be administered. On this enlarged idea his lordship made a number of particular observations relative to the policy proper to be adopted in Indian affairs, which are incapable of abridgment; but upon the whole he decidedly approved of admitting private merchants to a participation in the trade.

Lord Wellesley's motion for the production of papers was then put to the question, and carried.

On May 31st, *Lord Castlereagh* moved the order of the day in the house of commons, for resolving itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider further of the affairs of the East India company. After a debate concerning the order in which the resolutions were to be considered, his lordship moved the first, which was to declare the expediency of the continuance of the East India company with its privileges, &c. for a further period, with the exceptions of certain limitations and modifications. This motion gave rise to some long and eloquent speeches, in which the friends and opposers of the company's exclusive privileges produced their copious store of facts and arguments. The resolution, however, was agreed to without a division.

On June 1st, lord Castlereagh moved the second resolution, declarative of the expediency of leaving the intercourse with China, and the tea trade, in the hands of the company. A debate followed, in which the company's monopoly was opposed by some speakers as injurious and unnecessary, and defended by others. The resolution was, however, carried with a division.

The debate in the third resolution, comprehending the important point of opening the trade to the company's possessions in India, occupied the committee on June 2nd and 3rd, and was productive of a great variety of statements relative to the company's principles of government in that country, the condition of the natives, their capability of improvement, the effect of intercourse with strangers, and the probable consequences at home of rendering the trade free, which was chiefly a repetition of topics already frequently discussed in speech and writing. The question was at length put, and carried without a division.

A number of other resolutions were agreed to, some only *pro forma*; and Mr. Lushington reported from the committee all the resolutions, in number fourteen, which were ordered for further consideration.

On June 16th, the resolutions being brought before the house, several were read and agreed to. The 8th, relative to India built shipping, was negatived, lord Castlereagh having stated that he intended omitting this subject in his bill.

The discussion of the third being resumed, Mr. Baring moved an amendment, to confine the return of vessels from India to the port of London; and he intimated that if this amendment was agreed to, he should propose to limit this arrangement to the period of five years. A debate ensued, in which many of the former arguments relative to opening the trade were repeated. On a division the votes were, for the amendment, 43; against it, 131. Majority 88.

Some other proposed amendments were negatived without a division. Lord Castlereagh then proposed an amendment, providing that with respect to places out of the company's charter, an application for licences to trade should be made only to the board of controul, who might, if they thought it necessary, consult the directors. It was objected, that there appeared no occasion for licences at all to places not within the charter. The amendment was, however, carried by 122 votes against 19. The third resolution was

then passed. All the other resolutions were agreed to, except the 13th, relative to the propagation of the christian religion in India, the debate on which was adjourned; and leavé was given for a bill to be brought in on the other resolutions, and they were ordered to be sent to the lords.

On June 18th, the *Earl of Buckinghamshire* stated his intention to move for a committee on the next Monday, upon the resolutions received from the commons.

The *Earl of Lauderdale* deprecated precipitation on such an important business, and said that he had moved some days ago for the production of papers essential to its due consideration, which had not yet been laid before the house.

The *Earls of Liverpool* and *Buckinghamshire* spoke of the necessity of proceeding without further delay; and it was understood that the papers would be ready at the time mentioned.

On June 21st, the house of lords having resolved itself into a committee, the *Earl of Buckinghamshire*, on moving the resolutions, went into a detail in order to shew the policy and expediency of adopting them. The resolutions being read and agreed to, the *Earl of Liverpool* moved that the report be received to-morrow.

The *Marquis of Lansdowne* made a number of animadversions upon the resolutions, in which there were several points of great importance and delicacy which required the most deliberate consideration of the house; and he moved, as an amendment, that the report be received that day three months. After some debate on the merits of the resolutions, in which nothing new was advanced, the house divided. For the original motion, 49; for the amendment 14. Majority 35.

The adjourned consideration of the 13th resolution, relative to the propagation of christianity in India, was resumed in the house of commons on June 22nd. The extraordinary zeal for religion which is a prominent feature of the present time, had displayed itself in a great number of petitions to parliament from different places and societies in the island, during the course of discussions on Indian affairs, requesting that, in the new arrangment, provision should be made for the instruction of the natives in the principles of the christian faith; and so much attention had been paid to these applications in framing the resolutions, that the 13th expressed the opinion of the committee "that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among the natives of the British dominions in India, of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement, and that, in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs."

Lord Castlereagh premised his motion for this resolution with some observations to correct the misconceptions which had prevailed on this matter. He said that a very general idea had gone forth, that it was intended to encourage an unrestrained resort of persons to India for religious purposes, on the same ground as it was imagined that an unrestrained commercial intercourse for commercial purposes with that country would be permitted. The house would now be aware that the latter was a mistaken notion; and he could say the same of the former. It was, however, thought by the framers of the resolution in question, that no danger would arise from allowing a certain number of persons, under the cognizance of the court of directors, who were again controlled by the board of commissioners, to proceed as missionaries to India. As the house had adverted to the interests of religion in the charter granted in 1793, it would seem as if they were now less disposed to the cause of christianity than formerly, if such a proposition had been omitted. He then made some observations to shew that there were no grounds for apprehension from such an allowance, under proper controul, and that great good might result from it. He then moved the resolution.

A long debate ensued, in which *Mr. Wilberforce* particularly distinguished himself as the advocate for proselyting attempts. In his speech he addaced a number of facts, many of which had appeared in publications on the subject, and the purpose of which was to do away the motion of the impossibility of working any change upon the religious opinions of the Hindoos, to show the present wretched state of their morality, and the mischiefs of their superstitions, and to answer some of the charges made against the missionaries. After some other members had

spoken on each side of the question a division took place, when there appeared, for the resolution, 89: against it, 36. Majority 53.

On June 28th *Lord Castlereagh* moved for the house to go into a committee of the whole house on the bill for continuing the charter of the East India company, with its new regulations. On this occasion, as if nothing had already been said on the subject, speakers arose, who at length gave their opinions on the various topics connected with it; in particular, the friends and partizans of the company fought their battle with great vigour, though with no new weapons. The bill was at length committed, and a day was appointed for receiving the report.

The committee being resumed on July 1st, *Lord Castlereagh* requested that gentlemen would in this stage confine themselves to the consideration of the particular clauses of the bill, without any previous discussion on the general principle. On the reading of the second clause, relative to the trade with China, *Mr. Canning* rose, in pursuance of a former notice, to move a limitation with respect to time. After some preliminary observations to shew that the continuance of such a monopoly was not necessary to the political power of the company, he moved as an amendment, that the exclusive trade to China should be granted them for a period of ten years. A debate followed on this topic, which was concluded by a division, for the amendment, 29; against it, 69; majority 40.

Mr. Philips proposed as an amendment of the clause, that notice should be given to the public on the 10th of April, 1813, that their exclusive trade was to terminate in three years, the substitution of April 10th, 1812.

This amendment was rejected by 59 votes against 18.

When the clause respecting the propagation of christianity was read, a decided opposition to it was declared; and *Sir T. Sutton* moved the omission of the words in the preamble of the clause, declaring the purposes for which missionaries were to be sent to India, and the substitution of the words "for various lawful purposes." This motion rekindled the debate between the opposers and the promoters of the scheme for christianizing India; of the former of whom were the greater number of those who had resided in that country; of the latter, those at home, who are distinguished by the name of the evangelical party. The substance of the debate being only a repetition of the matter of prior discussions, it will suffice to state the result, which was a division, when there appeared for the original clause, 54; for the amendment, 32. Majority 22.

The consideration of the bill being resumed on July 2nd, *Lord Castlereagh* called the attention of the committee to the clause relative to the appropriation of the company's funds, which, he said, had been generally misunderstood. It was not the design of the framers of the bill to take out of the hands of the company the application of any funds of which they were in legal possession, and of which they might dispose to the general advantage of the proprietors; the great object in view was to draw a precise line between the territorial and the commercial transactions of the company.

On the clause providing that 20,000 of the king's troops should be maintained in India by the company, *Mr. R. Thornton* objected that it was a larger number than was hitherto allowed by law to be employed. *Lord Castlereagh* said, that although a much smaller number had been named in the last act, yet that in point of fact many more troops had been found necessary, and that the number employed was about 20,000. Our territory in the East had trebled since 1793, whence an increased military establishment was requisite.

On the clause respecting the appointment of a bishop and three archdeacons, *Mr. W. Dundas* stated that a majority of the British residents in India were of the Scotch church, and therefore would have no provision for their public worship; he therefore proposed a clause for the appointment of three Scotch clergymen, one at each presidency, with a salary of a £1000 each. This clause was discussed, and no other argument was brought against it, than that its principle would require that wherever there was an establishment for the episcopal church, there should also be one for the presbyterian. On a division, the clause was rejected by 20 against 18. At a subsequent discussion it was made known that the company had given an assurance for the maintenance of ministers of the Scotch church at its own expense.

Of the further proceedings of the house of

commons respecting this bill to its final passing the house, it is unnecessary to detail the particulars. Complaints of precipitation were made by the friends of the company to the last; and the court of proprietors instructed those directors who have seats in parliament to move for a delay till the bill in its amended shape should have undergone their consideration; but the minister was firm in resisting such motions. Some new clauses and amendments were proposed, and negatived, and the third reading took place on July 13. In the house of lords the progress of this bill was much more silent than in the commons, few members seeming to interest themselves in its provisions after they had given a general opinion of it at its first introduction. The *Earl of Lauderdale* was most conspicuous in opposition, and he entered upon the journals of the house a protest against the second reading, in strong terms of censure, particularly of the enactment which directs the yearly issue in India, for the purpose of investments, of a sum equal to the payment made from the funds at home on account of the territorial charges of the preceding year.

The bill passed into a law just before the close of the session. And the following is an abstract of its clauses.

Clause I. Declares that the former territorial acquisitions of the company in India, together with its subsequent acquisitions on the continent of Asia, or in any islands situated to the north of the equator, shall continue in its possession for a further term, to be computed from the 10th of April, 1814.

II. That the exclusive right of trading to China, and of trafficing in tea, as now exercised by the company, shall be continued to it.

III. A proviso that on the expiration of three years notice, to be given by parliament after April 10th, 1831, and the payment of the debt from the public to the company, the said term granted to it, and its exclusive trade, shall cease and be determined.

IV. That nothing in this proviso, or in other acts and charters, shall, however, determine the corporation of the company, or prevent it from carrying on a free trade, in common with other subjects.

V. Notice in writing signified by the speaker of the house of commons, to be regarded as a due parliamentary notice.

VI. From April 10th, 1814, any of his majesty's subjects may trade to and from any port within the United Kingdom, to and from all ports within the company's present limits, China excepted, in ships navigated according to law, subject to the conditions hereafter mentioned.

VII. The navigation act is not to prevent the importation of goods, the produce of any places within the charter, China excepted.

VIII. IX. None but the company, or those whom it may licence, shall import tea from any place whatsoever, or export military stores to its possessions.

X. Ships in private trade to the company's limits shall only clear out from, or import into, such ports of the United Kingdom, as shall be declared fit for the purpose by an order of council.

XI. Ships in private trade shall not proceed to any place within the limits of the company's charter on the continent of Asia, from the river Indus to the town of Malacca inclusive, or to any island within its government lying to the north of the equator, or to the factory of Bencoolen, and its dependencies, without a licence from the court of directors; and no such ship, unless specially authorized, shall proceed to any place within the said limits, except to one or more of the principal settlements of Fort William, Fort St. George, Bombay, and Prince of Wales's Island. The directors are required to grant licences upon application, to the settlements above-mentioned; and when application is made for a special licence to other parts, it shall be at the discretion of the directors whether or not to grant it; but in case of their refusal, they are subject to the controul of the board of commissioners for India (board of controul,) who may oblige them to issue the licence, recording their reasons for so doing.

XII. No ship in private trade shall proceed to any place more to the north than eleven degrees south latitude, and between the 64th and 150th degree of east longitude from London (except the ports within the company's limits above stated,) without a licence from the board of commissioners, who are to frame rules for granting the same; and in cases not falling under the rules, they are to record the special circumstances under which the licence is granted, and communicate them to the directors.

XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. No ship in the private trade within the limits above stated to be less than 350 tons measurement, nor to clear out without a manifest of her cargo, and an attested list of persons and arms; such list to be transmitted to the secretary of the court of directors, if in England, and to the secretary of the government, if in India.

XVII. No article of silk, hair, or cotton wools imported under this act, are to be entered or taken out of any warehouse, except for exportation, unless they shall have been brought into the port of London, and deposited in the company's warehouses; in which case they shall be put up to public sale, and if brought in by the owners, shall be delivered out to them upon paying the duties and charges.

XVIII. The treasury, however, may authorize such articles, when brought to the out ports, to be removed to the port of London for the purpose of being sold for home consumption, under the same regulations as if originally imported there.

XIX. Such articles imported either at London or elsewhere, and taken out of the warehouses for exportation, to be charged duty *ad valorem*.

XX. Nothing in this act is to extend to prevent, during the further term granted to the company, such further provisions by parliament as may be necessary for the carrying on private trade directly or circuitously within the company's limits, except to China, and without prejudice to the restrictions hereafter mentioned with respect to the resort to and residence of persons in the East Indies.

XXI. XXII. XXIII. Repeal of certain subsisting acts relative to private trade.

XXIV. Goods imported or exported by the company, to be subject to the same duties as those imported or exported in private trade.

XXV. No duties imposed by the authorities in India to be valid till sanctioned by the court of directors, and approved by the board of commissioners.

XXVI. XXVII. Repeal of the act 33 Geo. III. granting a duty to the company, on private trade from the East Indies; but with a proviso that the repeal shall not release the duty of 3 per cent, on articles of silk, hair, and cotton wool deposited in the company's warehouses in London, or the duties on articles imported from China, or the engagements between the company and the captains and officers of their ships.

XXVIII. XXIX. Regulations respecting security for the rates granted by parliament to the East India dock company.

XXX. XXXI. Authority granted to make use of India-built ships until August 1, 1814, unless provision be made respecting the same in the next session of parliament; also, power given to his majesty in council to authorize private traders to use India-built ships during the same term. Such ships declared not liable to forfeiture.

XXXII. Regulations respecting ships engaged in the southern whale fishery.

XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. XXXVI. Relate to persons desirous of going to India for the purpose of promoting the religious and moral improvement of the natives. If the court of directors think fit to refuse the applications for permission made in behalf of such persons, they are to transmit the applications to the board of commissioners, who, if they see no valid objection to granting the permission, may authorize the said persons to proceed to any of the company's principal settlements, provided with a certificate of sanction from the directors. The court of directors, however, may make representations concerning such persons to the board of commissioners; and those persons on arriving in the East Indies are to be subject to the regulations of the local governments. Further, the governments in India may declare the certificates and licences of such persons to be void, if they shall appear by their conduct to have forfeited their claim to protection.

XXXVII. Governors in India not to authorize the residence of any of his majesty's subjects within the company's limits, without a licence of the court of directors, except under particular circumstances.

XXXVIII. The board of commissioners may authorize persons to reside within certain limits out of the company's government.

XXXIX. His majesty's subjects may go and reside without licence at places more southward than 11 degrees south latitude, more westward than 64 degrees east longitude, and more eastward than 150 degrees.

XL. Unlicenced persons trading to or going within the limits of the company's charter, otherwise than as allowed by this

act, to be subject to the penalties of illicit traders.

XLI. Ships driven by stress of weather or accident within the proscribed limits not to be subjected to forfeiture.

XLII. The board of commissioners invested with full power to superintend and controul every instruction and regulation relative to the company's colleges and seminaries.

XLIII. to XLVIII. Relate to the schools, seminaries, and colleges of the company in India and England.

XLIX. to LIV. Church establishment in India. A bishop and three archdeacons to be appointed; their salaries; episcopal jurisdiction to be limited by letters patent from the king; pensions to be allowed after fifteen years service.

LV. Application of the revenues arising from the territorial acquisitions in India. The order of precedence appointed is, 1st, in maintaining the military force; 2. in paying the interest of debts owing by the company in England; 3. in paying the expenses of the company's establishments at their settlements; 4. towards the liquidation of the territorial debt of the company, its bond debt at home, or such other purposes as the directors, with approbation of the board of controul, may order.

LVI. A sum equal to the payments made from the commercial funds at home, on account of territorial charges in the year preceding, is to be annually issued in India for the purpose of investment or of remittance to England.

LVII. Application of the profits of the company in Great Britain, 1. in the payment of accepted bills of exchange; 2. in providing for the payment of other debts (the principal of the bond debt excepted;) 3. in payment of the dividend of India stock at the rate of 10 per cent. till the fund called the separate fund is exhausted, after which, the dividend shall be 10½ per cent; 4. in reduction of the principal of the debt in India, or the bond debt at home.

LVIII. Some regulations respecting home profits.

LIX. When the debt of the company in India shall have been reduced to ten millions sterling, and the bonded debt in Great Britain to three millions, the surplus proceeds to be employed, 1st, in repayment of the capital of any public funds created for the company; 2nd. in forming a guarantee fund not exceeding twelve millions, for security of the capital stock of the company and its dividend; 3. any further surplus to be divided in the proportion of one-sixth to the company, and five-sixths to the public.

LX. If after reduction of the company's debts they shall again increase, the surplus proceeds shall again be employed in the same manner for the reduction.

After some further articles relative to the payments and accounts of the company, the LXVIIIth enacts that the board of commissioners be invested with full power to controul the appropriation of any part of the territorial revenues of the company, except the sums directed by this act to be issued in India for the purpose of making good payments at home on account of territorial charges, or of loans in India.

By another article, the number of his majesty's forces, for which payment is to be made by the company, is determined not to exceed 20,000, including commissioned and non-commissioned officers, unless a greater number be sent to India on the requisition of the court of directors.

All the remaining articles relate to particular regulations respecting the company's servants, officers, judicial proceedings, &c. of which it appears unnecessary here to give an abstract, as being of little concern to the public in general.

The plan, of which these articles are an epitome, is in its general features sufficiently conformable to the dictates of justice and of policy. It continued to the company the sovereignty of India, the only probable method of governing so extensive and distant an empire without destroying the balance of the constitution at home. The crown which acted on the whole with great disinterestedness, could not forbear availing itself of this opportunity. Its influence in regard to the nomination of governors-general received an increase, and though that encroachment may be lamented, the actual transference of the dominions of these vast regions from the company to the crown, would have been decidedly dangerous to our domestic liberties. Foreign conquest, when extensive and conducted under the immediate sanction of a

court has always been destructive to public freedom, and parliament would be capable of exercising the sovereign functions. If so rich a prize were once thrown loose, the commanding influence of the crown would soon attract it within its own vortex. It does not appear, therefore, that a power so extensive as would be required for the superintendence of so mighty an empire could be so safely entrusted to any hands as those by which it is at present held. It has been represented as an anomaly to have an *Imperium in Imperio*; a sarcasm which would equally apply to any other corporation endowed with exclusive privileges and jurisdictions. In the case now stated of a great and distant country, of which the government cannot be safely entrusted to the rulers of the state, no expedient appears so advantageous and unexceptionable as that of a company which, with the means of supporting its own rights and policy, contributes but in a minor degree to the influence of the sovereign.

No session of parliament had ever presented so favorable prospects to the friends of catholic emancipation as that which met at the commencement of the present year. The question is of high importance; and, having become a badge of party, has acquired an interest superior to its actual consequence. About 4,000,0000 of the subjects of this empire are, on account of their religion, excluded from certain rights and privileges which are enjoyed by the rest of their fellow citizens. Is this exclusion necessary? does it impose any severe hardship on those subjected to its restrictions? does it originate in any sound or liberal views of policy?

It is vain to deny that there is a marked difference between toleration and power. He who is merely excluded from offices of trust and authority, suffers a hardship different both in kind and degree, from that which *he* sustains, who, on account of his religious tenets, is exposed to actual molestation. But still the one is decidedly a hardship as well as the other; by some minds, and those of the most elevated class, it will be regarded as still more insupportable. That a large proportion of the nation should be subjected to the grievance, is therefore a serious malady in the body politic; and it ought to be inquired whether the admission of these privileges be attended with so much danger as to justify their denial to so great an extent.

It is delicate and difficult to predict by reasoning the result of any political change. The most satisfactory mode is to enquire what consequences have followed in countries where the members of every persuasion were admitted to the highest offices of the state. In France, Sully and Neckar were protestants, and were a considerable time the guardians of the public welfare and the idols of the people. In Russia, political situations are thrown open without the smallest distinction to all persons of every persuasion; and in the republic of Poland, the most perfect equality prevailed between the adherents of all religions. Never, till the system of exclusion began, did the latter country become a prey to those dissensions, which finally rendered her the victim of her more powerful neighbours.

The weight of political opinion, as expressed by the greatest, the most virtuous, and the most able of our statesmen, is decidedly in favor of the catholics. All the orators of the first distinction on both sides, not only Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, but Pitt, Melville, and Wellesley, have shewn themselves equally zealous to promote this measure. They have even considered a failure in its execution as a sufficient ground for relinquishing office. The second class of public men is nearly in the same predicament, and we must descend to the third and lowest before we find a decided opponent of the catholic claims. I do not say that even so great a concurrence of sentiment in men so eminent, ought to shackle the independence of the mind, but it ought to abash the self-confidence of the most resolute, and induce them more seriously to examine the grounds of their dissent from such authorities.

In the reign of king William, two circumstances led to the severe proscription of the catholics. First, that there was a pretender to the throne whose exclusion rested upon his holding that persuasion. Secondly, that difference of religion was then, throughout Europe, a constant source of political and personal discord. The first of these circumstances confessedly exists no longer; and in regard to the second, the change is not less complete. In vain is it urged that certain

doctors and heads of colleges have pronounced that the catholic faith remains, and must for ever remain, unchanged: that the decrees of the councils of Trent and Constance are still binding on all its votaries. In vain is it alleged, and possibly proved, that anti-social doctrines were propagated by these councils; such as, that no faith is kept with heretics, and that the subjects of heretical princes are absolved from their allegiance. The catholics are unable to deny the authority of general councils without ceasing to be catholics; but they explain these passages by denying that any such doctrines were ever promulgated by general councils. Their assertion on this point is, I believe, erroneous; but, supposing it untrue, they do not think themselves bound to acquiesce in the doctrines of the councils to which I have alluded. No man can fairly be made responsible for inferences, the force of which he does not admit. Even were it otherwise, the opinions of a few retired scholars are of trivial importance when compared to the general conduct of men acting throughout Europe. During the course of the last twenty years, crimes in abundance have been committed in every quarter of the globe; but not a single instance can be adduced of that consequence arising from the influence of the catholic or of any other religion.

That part of the question on which the first and the greatest stress has been laid, consists in admission to civil and military offices. It appears, however, extremely doubtful whether the complaints of the catholics on this subject be wise or reasonable. Offices of a very high description are held by catholics, and there does not appear any legal obstacle why they should not obtain the highest. The following is the tenure by which they are held. At the period of the union between England and Scotland, the question was agitated whether the adherents of presbytery, the established religion of the latter kingdom, should be admissible to all offices throughout the united empire, and a compromise was made. It was agreed that an annual act of indemnity should be passed, by which all persons holding offices who had omitted to qualify according to the last act, should be relieved from the penalties attached to such an omission. The catholics urge that this tenure is precarious; yet the dissenters have frequently taken advantage of its conditions, which enable every description of sect to hold any office which the executive may choose to confer. Nor may it be inexpedient on the part of the catholics, and of their friends, to consider whether it would not be wise to concentrate their strength on objects of more vital importance. These are chiefly two; the right of sitting in parliament, and pecuniary provision to a certain extent for the catholic clergy.

Towards the close of the preceding year, a general representation had been formed of all the catholics throughout Ireland, in defiance of the prohibitory mandate of the government. Their perseverance excited the indignation of Mr. Wellesley Pole, who issued an angry and injudicious proclamation, which excited the most general discontent; but the imbecile and officious zeal of that gentleman having been repressed by the interference of his colleagues, all the subsequent steps of the Irish government bare the stamp of a cautious, moderate, and conciliatory spirit. The catholics, finding that they could not be legally permitted to carry into effect their representative system, had recourse to the legitimate expedient of an aggregate meeting, and the storm subsided.

Ministry, with a conscientious sense of duty, highly honorable to their integrity, had agreed to leave the question of emancipation, to the unbiassed decision of parliament. The opinion of the king was now entirely out of the question. The prince had evidently no objection to the measure, and his former sentiments afforded a presumption that he was attached to its promotion. A great proportion, however, of the nation, was still deeply embrued with the horror and dread of popery, and were supported by a number in the higher ranks, not indeed statesmen of the first order, but highly respectable men, zealous for the established church, and impressed with the dread of innovation. An association was formed by the title of the protestant association, of which the object was to resist all further concessions to the catholics. This body derived considerable lustre from the name of Granville Sharpe, the venerable advocate of liberty and humanity. All their hopes, however, were apparently disappointed, beyond the possibility of

revival by the declaration of lord Castlereagh, *(the real and efficient premier,)* in favor of concession. The same opinion was avowed by a large proportion of the cabinet, was promoted by the opposition, and was supported by that middle party of which lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning were the leaders.

THE parliamentary discussion of this important subject, so often already debated, that there would seem nothing left for farther argument, recommenced with Mr. Grattan's motion on February 25th, for a committee on the claims of the Roman catholics. Three of the sections of the bill of rights having been read on the motion of Mr. Yorke, Mr. Grattan rose, and said he was happy that the honorable gentleman had caused those passages to be read from the bill of rights, since he was decidedly of opinion that the qualifications enumerated in them as indispensable accompaniments of the sovereignty of this empire, ought to form the preamble of any bill introduced into parliament for the relief of the Roman catholics. After declaring that his purpose was to move for a committee of the house in pursuance of the resolution which, though made by a former parliament, he did not think he was guilty of an impropriety in referring to, Mr. Grattan proceeded to make some observations on the petitions which had been presented against the claims of the catholics. He first objected to the manner in which, particularly in Ireland, they had been obtained. They had often been the consequence of a requisition to the sheriffs of the respective counties to call a meeting of the protestant inhabitants. Now he thought it exceedingly objectionable for a public officer to call people together in sects, and to give a private and party meeting, the authority of a public assembly. He also objected to the calling of one part of his majesty's subjects to petition against another, especially to their petitioning another country against the liberties of their own. One of the first observations in these petitions is, that the tone which the catholics have assumed, renders it unwise to grant their claims. But this is not the matter in question. The question is one of allegiance; and it may be asked, Can you in any of their proceedings charge the catholics with want of allegiance? The anti-catholics say that the catholics desire political power. Why should they not? Why should they be sentenced to utter and hopeless exclusion from all political power? But in fact it is not power that they desire, but protection. They desire not to be taxed without their own consent; not to be tried by persons who are not only partisans, but are actually covenanted against them. They wish only for their liberties. They do not demand this or that office, but to possess their just civil qualifications. It is the protestants who ask for power. They desire by their petitions to keep all the patronage of Ireland in their hands; to maintain a continued ascendancy; to govern the other sects of the country. The tendency of their argument is, that we ought to have a church government. But ours is not a church government; it is a representative government, including all classes and religions.

AFTER some further observations, to show the superior policy of granting to the catholics their claims, to that of refusing them, the honourable gentleman proceeded.—"But," (say the anti-catholics,) "toleration in England is already greater than in any other country. I know very well that the principles of every established church are in some decree hostile to toleration: there is scarcely any established church which will tolerate so extensively and liberally as a wise parliament ought to do; but when it is maintained that toleration in England exceeds that of any other country, that it is perfect, I must declare my opinion to be the reverse. *Mr. Grattan* then brought the instances of France and Hungary, in which, catholic governments have given not only toleration but qualification; whereas, ours have given the former without the latter, and has accompanied its toleration with pains and penalties. He then entered upon that ground of debate concerning the allegiance capable of being rendered by catholic subjects to a protestant government, which has so often been matter of contest; and he concluded with moving "that the house will resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into its most serious consideration the state of the laws affecting his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to which, a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the protestant establishment, and to the

general stisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty's subjects."

Of the subsequent debate, when it is stated that it was continued by adjournment during forty days, and that its printed report occupies the compass of a moderate volume, it will scarcely be expected that we should fill our pages with an abridgment, especially when no argument on the main points was produced on either side which had not repeatedly been offered in the many previous discussions of the same subject; and what there was of novelty, referred to the conduct of the Roman catholics in Ireland since their minds had been irritated by disappointed, and the circumstances of the late petitions. With respect to the latter, various remarks were made by the different speakers on the conspicuous part taken by the establishment clergy in opposition to the catholic claims, which some represented as a renewal of that cry of danger to the church which had too often been raised at the instigation of bigotry and wordly policy; while others justified it as a reasonable measure of defence of the protestant cause against hazards by no means imaginary. Some of the most temperate debaters were advocates for the present motion, on the ground that it was only redeeming a pledge given to the country by its representatives, that the catholic question should undergo a full consideration in order to a final settlement. That, however, the alarms excited throughout the country by the anti-catholic petitions, and their operation on the minds of individual members, had produced a considerable effect, appeared from the result of the division, compared with that of the preceding session on a similar motion. It took place at four in the morning, after the debate of March 2nd, when there appeared for Mr. Grattan's motion, 264; against it, 224; majority in its favour, 40.

This point being gained, though by a hard contest, *Mr. Grattan*, on March 9th, moved the order of the day for a committee of the whole house on the catholic question. When this formed, he rose, and after some parliamentary observations, he said that he intended to propose resolutions, 1st, that the catholic disabilities should be removed; 2nd, that the establishments in church and state ought to be effectually secured; and he then should propose regulations for the ecclesiastical court and other matters, and an oath against foreign influence. He concluded with moving, "That with a view to such an adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the united kingdom, to the security of the established church, and to the ultimate concord of all classes of his majesty's subjects, it is highly advisable to provide for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which his majesty's Roman catholic subjects now labour, with such exceptions and under such regulations as may be found necessary for preserving unalterably the protestant succession to the crown, according to the act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject, and for maintaining inviolate the protestant episcopal church of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof; and the church of Scotland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as the same are respectively by law established."

The *Right Honourable Charles Abbott (the Speaker)* then rose to take the earliest opportunity of entering his warning protest against the course hitherto pursued, and also against the measure now proposed. He said three plans had been proposed relative to the object in question. The first was for unlimited and unconditional concession as urged by the Irish Roman catholics in their petition; but this had found few advocates in the house, and had been abandoned by the right honourable mover of the question, as well as by his eloquent supporter, Mr. Plunkett. The second was for qualified concessions, with some legislative controul over the Roman catholic clergy; which was apparently that of the mover, and undoubtedly that of Mr. Canning; but this was resisted by the Roman catholics themselves, who call it persecution, and inadmissible controul. This plan is also acknowledged to involve a repeal of the corporation and test acts. The third, that of lord Castlereagh, was for bringing the Roman catholics within the reach of political power with safety to the protestant establishment, by obtaining the concurrence of the head of the Roman catholic church to such arrangements as shall be satisfactory to both parties. This, however, is admitted at the present time to be wholly impracticable. Having

stated these plans, the right honourable member proceeded to object to the measure now proposed. It began, he said, with a sweeping repeal of all known securities as yet unknown. Some of the suggested securities he then considered and objected to; and he spoke of the ill consequences that might result from a bill framed upon such grounds, even if lying over to another session by exaggerating the hopes of the Roman catholics, and dissatifying the established church. He did not wish, however, that matters should remain on the present footing, and there were certain important changes to which he could agree. The first of these was the admission of Roman catholic military officers to a larger share of the honours of their profession, which he would to ranks of command, except the very highest at home. He would likewise give the Roman catholic soldier a legal right to his own religious worship in England as well as in Ireland; he would take away the necessity of English Roman catholics marrying in protestant churches; and would give full protection to catholic worship from disturbance. He then adverted to some other matters of regulation; and concluded with saying, that he must give his decisive negative to the sweeping principles of the proposition now laid before them.

Mr. Ponsonby said, that the right honourable gentleman seemed entirely to have misunderstood the nature of the resolution, which proposed nothing subversive of the establishment, but coupled the measures for the relief of the Roman catholics with others for its security; and in coming to the details, it would be in the power of any gentleman dissatisfied with such securities to superadd others. He made several remarks on the last speaker's idea of giving honours to the Roman catholics, but granting them no political power, and affecting to make them concessions which at the same time it was rendered impossible for them to receive; and he regarded it as an absurdity to retard the measure with progress, lest the plan should not prove acceptable to the catholics.

Sir J. C. Hippesley entered into a detail of considerable length respecting the course of proceeding which he would recommend to the committee, and the objects which would be proper for their deliberation.

Several other members then gave their opinions on the subject, which, at the present state of the business, were rather anticipations of their intended line of conduct, than immediately called for; and on a division of the house there appeared, for the resolution 186; against it 119; majority 67.

On April 30th, *Mr. Grattan* presented to the house his bill "to provide for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which his majesty's Roman catholic subjects now labour; and moved that it should be read the first time and printed, which was agreed to. He then moved for the second reading of the bill on the 11th of May, which was also carried.

The following is an abridged view of the most important contents of this bill.

After a preamble declaring the inviolable establishment of the protestant succession to the crown, and the protestant national churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and the expediency of communicating to his majesty's Roman catholic subjects the blessings of free constitution, in order to put an end to all religious jealousies, and unite all the inhabitants of those islands in the defence of their common liberties and government, it enacts, that it shall be lawful for persons professing the Roman catholic religion to sit and vote in either house of parliament, upon taking the following declaration and oath instead of the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, and the declarations against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints. The oath which is of great length, contains a promise of allegiance to the king; of supporting the protestant succession to the crown; a renunciation of belief in the temporal jurisdiction of the pope or any foreign potentate in these kingdoms, and of the validity of excommunication by the pope or council to depose princes; a declaration that no act in itself immoral can be justified on pretence that it is for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power; and that no sin can be forgiven at the will of the pope, or any priest, without sincere repentance; a declaration that the infallibility of the pope is not an article of the Roman catholic church; a disavowal of any intention to subvert or disturb the present church establishment; and a promise to make known all conspiracies, &c. for such a

purpose; and finally, an attestation that this oath is taken in the plain sense of the word, without equivocation or reservation, and that no power or authority can dispense with or annul it.

It is further enacted, that on taking the above oath and declaration, it shall be lawful for Roman catholics to vote for members of parliament when duly qualified; also to hold and exercise all civil and military offices or places of trust or profit, with the following exceptions, viz. the offices of lord high chancellor, lord keeper, or lord commissioner of the great seal of Great Britain, or lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland; also, to be a member of any lay body corporate, and to hold any civil office or place of trust therein. A proviso is subjoined, that nothing in this act shall extend to the repeal of any laws in force for establishing the uniformity of public worship in the episcopal church of England and Ireland; or to make any change in the ecclesiastical judicature of the realm; or to enable a Roman catholic to present to any ecclesiastical beneficence whatsoever; or to make it lawful for him to advise the crown as to the disposal of any preferment in the protestant churches of England, Ireland, or Scotland.

It is further enacted, that every person now exercising, or who shall hereafter exercise, any spiritual function belonging to the Roman catholic religion, besides the oath and declaration above mentioned, shall take a specified oath, the tenor of which is, that the person will never consent to the appointment of any bishop or vicar apostolic, but such as he shall deem to be of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct; that he will have no correspondence or communication with the pope or see at Rome, or with any tribunal established by their authority, or with any person authorised by them, tending to disturb the established protestant churches of these kingdoms; or any correspondence at all with such persons or tribunals, on any matter not purely ecclesiastical. A further enactment prohibits any person born out of the United Kingdom, except such as are born of British or Irish parents, from exercising any episcopal functions in it, and also requires a certain term of residence within the United Kingdom before such functions can be exercised.

We shall now proceed to give an uninterrupted, though necessarily very compendious, view of the further parliamentary proceedings relative to the catholic question, during the remainder of the session.

On May 11th, the day appointed for the second reading of Mr. Grattan's bill, sir *J. Cox Hippesley* rose, according to the notice he had given, to make a motion which he stated to be to the following purpose: "That a select committee be appointed to examine and report the state of the laws affecting his majesty's Roman catholic subjects within the realm; the state and number of the Roman catholic clergy, their religious institutions, and their intercourse with the see of Rome, or other foreign jurisdictions; the state of the laws and regulations affecting his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in the several colonies of the United Kingdom; the regulations of foreign states as far as they can be substantiated by evidence, respecting the nomination, collation, or institution of the episcopal order of the Roman catholic clergy, and the regulations of their intercourse with the see of Rome." If this were conceded, he should move that the committee consist of twenty members, whom he named. The honourable member then made an elaborate speech, in which he entered into many particulars relative to the opinions of different Roman catholic clergymen, as to oaths and tests required by government, and other circumstances tending to shew the necessity of further investigation before the proposed concessions were made. He concluded with the motion above recited, which was seconded by *Mr. Ryder*.

Mr. Grattan then rose to object to the motion of his own friend, whose former good services to the cause he liberally acknowledged, on the ground of the long and indefinite protraction of the measures for the relief of the Roman catholics, which, after a discussion that had already subsisted twenty years, it would occasion. He gave several reasons against the proposed investigation, and then took a summary view of his own bill, and replied to various objections to its provisions which had appeared in the newspapers as coming from the Roman catholics, but which, he contended, had not proceeded from any public body, but were only thrown out by individuals. He concluded with

moving, by way of amendment, the order of the day.

Mr. Ryder asked what would satisfy the protestants should this bill pass into a law? and he entered into some argumentation of prove the necessity of such a further enquiry as that proposed by the honourable baronet, whose motion he should support.

Mr. Canning, after expressing his surprise at the versatility of the last speaker, in seconding a motion brought forward by a favourer of a cause which he had always opposed, made a speech full of wit and eloquence, in which he exposed to ridicule the idea of going into such a voluminous enquiry as the honorable baronet had suggested, and states the necessity of proceeding without delay to an adjustment of the matter in question. He then went to the consideration of certain points relative to the bill, on which he had prepared amendments, and communicated them to Mr. Grattan. The first was, the ascertaining the loyalty of the catholic hierarchy; the second, the prevention of foreign influence; the third, the finding some security that the concessions to the catholics should be met by a corresponding spirit of conciliation on their parts. He touched upon the principle of his amendments, though the time was not yet come for their discussion.

Mr. Bathurst and the *earl of Dysart*, having spoken in favor of the honorable baronet's motion, and *lord Castlereagh* against it, the house divided. For the amendment, (the order of the day,) 235; for the motion, 189; majority against the motion, 46.

On May 13th, *Mr. Grattan* moved the second reading of his bill. An attack upon it was opened by *Dr. Duigenan*, who concluded his speech by moving that the bill be read a second time on that day three months. Of the debate that ensued, it is unnecessary to give any particulars. *Dr. Duigenan's* motion was rejected on a division, 245 against 203, and the bill was read a second time, and committed for the following day.

The bill, as amended by the committee and ordered to be printed, contained a number of new clauses, the principal scope of which was to appoint two separate commissions, one for Great Britain and the other for Ireland, consisting of Roman catholic ecclesiastics, exercising episcopal functions, lay Roman catholic peers or commoners, and privy counsellors; the principal secretary of state being one, to which board of commissioners the name of every person of the Roman catholic religion proposing to assume the functions of a bishop or dean shall be notified; and the said board shall report to his majesty, or to the lord lieutenant, whether they know or believe any thing which tends to impeach the loyalty or peaceable conduct of such person; after which, it shall be lawful for his majesty or the lord lieutenant, by and with the advice of the said commissioners, to approve or disapprove of the said person; and any one exercising the above functions, after disapprobation, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

To the same board likewise is to be delivered any bill, dispensation, or other instrument from the see of Rome, or any foreign person or body acting under its authority, or under any other spiritual superior, which is to inspect it, and if found to be unobjectionable, shall report the same to his majesty or the lord lieutenant, when it shall be enrolled in the office of the secretary of state, and then returned to the person delivering it.

On May 24th, the house being called over according to order, it resolved itself into a committee upon the bill as above amended, when the right honorable *the speaker*, rose. He began with enquiring, whether by means of this bill, the desirable basis of general satisfaction and concord was likely to be established? As far as we knew of the proceedings of the Roman catholics, some of the most distinguished of the laity had declared against it; and the clergy were loud in their cry against its ecclesiastical provisions. Of the protestants, it was needless to ask whether they would be satisfied with placing the government, if not the crown, of Ireland, within the reach of the Roman catholics, and creating the means of surrounding the sovereign himself with ministers of state of a religion hostile to his own right of succession. The right honourable gentleman then proceeded to show that the principle of our constitution was, exclusion of non-conformists to the established religion from political power; and that if it had been relaxed with respect to the protestant dissenters, it had been maintained in full force against the Roman catholics; and he went on to argue why it ought to be so. He spoke of their admission into

the parliament, the privy council, and the judiciary bench, as points that ought never to be conceded. He then noticed some matters of necessary restriction, and some of concession, which had been omitted in the bill; but, were they supplied, he must repeat his strong protest against the larger innovations; they were departures from principle, and breaking down barriers against danger. He next adverted to the guards and securities proposed by the bill, and attempted to shew their insufficiency; and he spoke of the papal supremacy, and its consequences, as a point of faith which will continue fixed and unalterable among the Roman catholic population of this kingdom. He concluded with moving that the words "to sit and vote in either house of parliament," in the first clause, be left out of this bill.

As the personal weight of the speaker, and his train of argument, seem to have exerted the principal influence on that side of the question, it would be superfluous to notice the repetition of the same arguments by others, nor in the replies to them from the opposite side, was any thing important produced, which had not been repeatedly urged in the long discussions of this topic. The clause in debate was by both parties regarded as of the most fundamental importance in the proposed bill; and whilst the dangers of admitting were mustered in their most formidable colours by one party, the evils to be expected from leaving the catholics in a dissatisfied state after their long expectations, were as forcibly insisted upon by the other. At length, the question being loudly called for, a division took place, on which the votes were, for the clause 247: against it, 251: majority for its rejection, 4.

The members being declared, *Mr. Ponsonby* said, that as the bill, without this clause, was neither worthy of the acceptance of the catholics, nor of the further support of the friends of concession, he would move that the chairman do now leave the chair, which was carried without a division; and thus the bill was abandoned.

This result was greatly aided by some other occurrences, which threatened a more fatal influence than even the vote itself, should the measure be adopted. The bill being founded on certain securities to be given by the Roman catholics, was manifestly nugatory, unless they agreed to give these securities. It might at least have been supposed that their consent had been obtained before the bill was brought into parliament. On the contrary, no sooner were its provisions made known on the other side of the channel, than they became the object of utter disgust and reprobation. The catholic body immediately assembled, and expressed their feelings in a manner the most decided and unqualified. In vain did Mr. Grattan insist that the report of its proceedings was misrepresented or invented: that there existed in Ireland no spirit inimical to the bill. Every new arrival brought additional proofs of its prevalence. In addition to the aggregate meeting, an assembly was held of catholic bishops, which spoke the same sentiments in language still less measured. The result of Mr. Abbot's motion was celebrated in Ireland as a jubilee. The most bitter enemy to the object of the bill did not feel any exultation at its failure to be compared to that which was excited in the breasts of those for whose relief and benefit it was solely intended.

Upon the whole, from a view of the provisions and fortunes of the bill, we are confirmed in our former opinion, that every attempt to bind a whole people by what are called securities, must be vain and chimerical. The expedients for this purpose must resolve themselves into empty forms, or their operation must tend to cherish that discontent the extinction of which is the grand object of the measure. The danger to the constitution would be increased when certain privileges were conceded, unaccompanied by that conciliation which was its principal object. If it be judged that all the catholic demands cannot be conceded, it were better to grant some of them, only unclogged by any conditions which would destroy their conciliatory effect. The catholics would probably accept more gratefully a part only in the shape of a free gift, than the whole in the form of an ungracious bargain.

The point on which the bill was rejected, principally referred to the admission of catholic members into parliament. Yet all the dangers which exist in catholic privilege appear to arise from admission to office. The influence of patronage and of power is more dangerous than that of a senatorial vote. Ireland returns one hundred members to the

house of commons, and contrasting the property of the Irish protestants with the numbers of the catholics, it appears improbable that more than 60 anti-protestant members would be returned. The greater part of these individuals would be moderate and prudent men, of large fortune, and consequently attached to the existing order of things. Their efforts in favour of their own religion would be mere incipient efforts; they might possess a certain influence by their votes and speeches, but there is no probability of their being able to carry against the immense majority of numbers any measure dangerous to the protestant establishment.

It is impossible to conclude these remarks without recurring to the occasional indiscretions of the aggregate meeting to which I have already alluded. Forgetting the immediate object of its formation, and neglecting the interests of the Roman catholics, it actively interfered in all the questions of foreign and domestic policy. It even went so far as to vote an address to the princess of Wales on the enquiry into her character, and implored the interference in favour of their claims, of the Spanish cortes, a prayer which was rejected by the latter with no equivocal indications of contempt.

CHAPTER LXII.

GEORGE III.

[1813.]

Persecution of the Princess of Wales—Is deprived of the Society of her Daughter—Her Conduct becomes the subject of a New Enquiry—History of the Delicate Investigation—Triumph of the Princess—Criminality of Lady Douglas—Effects of the Proceedings on the Public Mind.

AMONG the other objects of domestic interest, the character and conduct of the princess of Wales, and the treatment of that august personage by her husband and natural protector, excited the most lively sympathy. The vagueness of the charges exhibited against her, and the mysterious and uncertain nature of the investigations to which she had been subjected, while they excited the suspicions of the people and degraded the prince, gave additional confidence to the accusers of his consort. It was naturally concluded that imputations of such magnitude as those which had partially transpired, would not have been preferred or received but on the most unsuspected testimony corroborated by the most substantial evidence; that if the charges had been disproved to the satisfaction of her husband and her uncle, they would have been excited by every motive of policy and honourable feeling to have obliterated from her remembrance the wrongs she had sustained, and by an open manifestation of their protection and confidence, to restore her to all her domestic rights, and to all the honours of her exalted station.

But now that the whole of the evidence has been submitted to the world, how changed is the language of her adversaries! how de-

cided the revolution of sentiment even among the friends of her assiduous traducers One enthusiastic feeling of indignant sympathy burst into expression, and awakened the national spirit to avenge the injuries of insulted and persecuted innocence. Even the tools of power were compelled to join in the public reprobation of her accusers, to rejoice at the satisfactory manner in which she was able to meet their accusations, and to confess that she was worthy of public love and private confidence.

It becomes therefore a duty of serious importance to enquire, by what motives the prince of Wales has been induced at a later period to withhold from his legitimate consort those marks of courtesy and attachment, which even at the moment of separation he pledged his honour to observe, and how far it was consistent with justice or propriety that she should be deprived of the society of her daughter. It is impossible that we should estimate the motives of the prince regent, but from those by which he was directed in the original suspension of their nuptial intercourse. The reason assigned by his royal highness for the first separation was not that her conduct was marked by indiscretion, but that nature had not made them for each other. But if the alienation of his conjugal tenderness was the consequence of positive aversion, and not the result of previous attachment to another, a prudent husband would have sacrificed his peculiar feelings to the observance of that decorum which is seldom banished from the palace of the prince without being accompanied in its flight by many of the noblest virtues. If the plea that nature had not made them for each other, be admitted as an apology for the termination of conjugal intercourse, it cannot be received as a justification of neglect. A man of generous feelings or honourable principles, while he lamented the existence of a coldness that he could not overcome, would have endeavoured to soothe the disappointed hopes of an affectionate wife by every demonstration of respect and esteem. He would have regarded the impediment to their mutual happiness as the strongest claim to his courteous and assiduous attention, and the liberality of friendship would have been some compensation for the solicitude of love.

That spirit of generous gallantry, natural to Englishmen, was still further enflamed into expression by the political connection of the princess with the popular orators, and by the occurrence of an event fully calculated to awaken the sympathy of the public. The prince and his advisers had determined to withdraw the princess Charlotte from all society with her mother. She was allowed to see her only at stated times, and it was finally intimated that the restriction would be extended. The respectful forbearance of the princess now yielded to the provocation of the moment, and the following spirited letter of complaint first disclosed to the world the precise nature of those dissensions which divided the royal house.

Letter of the Princess of Wales to the Prince Regent.

"Sir,

"It is with great reluctance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your royal highness, and to solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so,—if they related merely to myself,—I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your royal highness's time. I should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have so long been a stranger, by the reflections that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted without any fault of my own,—and that your royal highness knows it.

"But, sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to myself and my daughter. May I venture to say—a duty also to my husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly, or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought

to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your royal highness has too sound a judgment and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive, how much more justly they belong to the mother of your daughter—the mother of her who is destined, I trust, at a very distant period, to reign over the British empire.

"It may be known to your royal highness, that, during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted station. At the expiration of the restrictions I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited, in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain, has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled, either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which I possess on earth,—mine own honour, and my beloved child, or to throw myself at the feet of your royal highness, the natural protector of both.

"I presume, sir, to represent to your royal highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the mother and the daughter, is equally injurious to my character and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of these. To see myself cut off from one of the very few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my child—involves me in such misery, as I well know your royal highness could never inflict upon me if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview weekly seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a mother's affections.—That, however, was reduced to our meeting once a fortnight; and I now learn that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced.

"But, while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a mother upon your royal highness's notice, I must be allowed to say, that, in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a daughter from her mother will only admit of one construction—a construction fatal to the mother's reputation. Your royal highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment.—He who dares advise your royal highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced, or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear, betrays his duty to you, sir, to your daughter, and to your people, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed; without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an inquiry that led to my ample vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborn'd traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a mother who may not enjoy the society of her only child.

"The feelings, sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your royal highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself. But I will not disguise from your royal highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself, that the serious, and it soon may be, the irreparable injury which my daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your royal highness, than any sufferings of my own could accomplish: and if for her sake I presume to call away your royal highness's attention from the other cares of your exalted situation, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

"The powers with which the constitution of these realms vests your royal highness in the regulation of the royal family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly

hope that your own paternal feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved child.

"Is it possible, sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your royal highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us? That her love for me, with whom, by his majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know, and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence. But let me implore your royal highness to reflect how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

"The plan of excluding my daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She, who is destined to be the sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she may be called upon to exercise the powers of the crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition so singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much; but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake as well as her country's, that your royal highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, sir, to delay so long the period of my daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journies to town, which she is to take, unless she be excluded from all intercourse, even with your royal highness and the rest of the royal family. To the same unfortunate councils I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing both to my parental and religious feelings, that my daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the royal family have partaken of that solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our child.

"The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your royal highness is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit it. They are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your royal highness, my beloved child, and the country, which I devoutly pray she may be preserved to govern, and to show by a new example the liberal affection of a free and generous people to a virtuous and constitutional monarch.

"I am, sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter,
Your royal highness's most devoted,
and most affectionate consort,
cousin, and subject,
(Signed) Caroline Louisa."
"*Montague House*, 14*th January*, 1813."

It is impossible to approve of the utter and silent contempt with which this letter was received. It was sent again and again, by the hands of lady Charlotte Campbell, and always returned unopened. At length, after a long series of letters and messages, it was announced to her royal highness that an open copy accompanying it had been read to the prince, and that he "had not been pleased to signify his pleasure thereon." Every step now widened the breach. A few days after its transmission, a copy of the letter appeared in the Morning Chronicle: in consequence

of which, the prince and his advisers put a stop to a visit long delayed, which was to have been paid by her daughter on the following day. This determination was intimated in a letter from lord Liverpool, to which the following answer was immediately returned.

"*Montague House, Blackheath, Feb.* 15, 1813.

"Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded by her royal highness the princess of Wales, to represent to lord Liverpool that the insidious insinuation, respecting the publication of the letter addressed by the princess of Wales, on the 14th of January, to the prince regent, conveyed in his lordship's reply to her royal highness, is as void of foundation and as false as all the former accusations of the traducers of her royal highness's honour in the year 1806.

"Lady A. Hamilton is further commanded to say, that dignified silence would have been the line of conduct the princess would have preserved upon such insinuation (more than unbecoming lord Liverpool,) did not the effect arising from it, operate to deprive her royal highness of the sole real happiness she can possess in this world—that of seeing her only child. And the confidential servants of the prince regent ought to feel ashamed of their conduct towards the princess, in avowing to her royal highness their advice to the prince regent, that upon unauthorized and unfounded suppositions, a mother and daughter should be prevented from meeting—a prohibition positively against the law of nature.—Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded further to desire lord Liverpool to lay this paper before the prince regent, that his royal highness may be aware into what errors his confidential servants are leading him, and will involve him, by signifying and counselling such commands."

The appearance of this correspondence had caused the deepest sensation throughout the country; and a strong disposition was felt to sympathize with a mother of illustrious rank so peculiarly situated. The cabinet was thrown into considerable agitation: various meetings were held; and it was at length determined that some public proceeding should take place, in order to counteract the impression which had been made. With this view, as lenient measures were uncongenial to the court, it was determined to open anew the enquiry which it was supposed had been finally closed; to derive from thence a justification of the steps taken against the princess, and to inflict such a measure of mortification as might deter her hereafter from any presumptuous and offensive interference. In order to give the greater solemnity to this procedure, the cabinet ministers were associated with the heads of the church and of the law—the two archbishops and the bishop of London, and the presidents of the different courts of justice. The minutes of the former investigation, which had been sealed up and deposited in the office of the secretary of state, were opened and submitted to the perusal of those venerable persons, and they were required to state their opinion, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it were fit and proper that the intercourse between the princess of Wales and her daughter the princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions." Several days were spent in examining the documents, and the consultation, and on the 25th of February, a report was produced precisely of the tenor most desirable to those by whom the enquiry was instituted.

Report to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

The following members of his majesty's most honourable privy council, viz.

His grace the archbishop of Canterbury,
The right honourable the lord high chancellor,
His grace the archbishop of York,
His grace the lord primate of Ireland,
The lord president of the council,
The lord privy seal,
The earl of Buckinghamshire,
The earl Bathurst,
The earl of Liverpool,
The earl of Mulgrave,
The viscount Melville,
The viscount Sidmouth,
The viscount Castlereagh,
The right honourable the lord bishop of London,
The right honourable lord Ellenborough, lord chief justice of the court of king's Bench,

The right honourable the speaker of the house of commons,
The right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer,
The right honourable the chancellor of the duchy,
His honour the master of the rolls,
The right honourable the lord chief justice of the court of common pleas,
The right honourable the lord chief baron of the court of exchequer,
The right honourable the judge of the high court of admiralty,
The right honourable the dean of the arches;

Having been summoned by command of your royal highness, on the 19th of February, to meet at the office of viscount Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home department, a communication was made by his lordship to the lords then present, in the following terms:—

"My Lords,—I have it in command from his royal highness the prince regent, to acquaint your lordships, that a copy of a letter from the princess of Wales to the prince regent having appeared in a public paper, which letter refers to the proceedings that took place in an inquiry instituted by command of his majesty, in the year 1806, and contains among other matters, certain animadversions upon the manner in which the prince regent has exercised his undoubted right of regulating the conduct and education of his daughter the princess Charlotte; and his royal highness having taken into his consideration the said letter so published, and adverting to the directions heretofore given by his majesty, that the documents relating to the said inquiry should be sealed up, and deposited in the office of his majesty's principal secretary of state, in order that his majesty's government should possess the means of resorting to them if necessary; his royal highness has been pleased to direct, that the said letter of the princess of Wales, and the whole of the said documents, together with the copies of other letters and papers, of which a schedule is annexed, should be referred to your lordships, being members of his majesty's most honourable privy council, for your consideration; and that you should report to his royal highness your opinion whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper that the intercourse between the princess of Wales and her daughter the princess Charlotte should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions."

The remainder of the report contained a decided approval of the restraint imposed upon the intercourse between the princess and her daughter, and care was taken in this very courtly document to acquit the prince regent of every shadow of blame or suspicion in prosecuting the enquiry. So unexpected a report excited the just indignation of the people. It was drawn up by the very men who in a former investigation had pronounced a formal sentence of unqualified acquittal. The princess was condemned without hearing, without warning, without knowing, unless by common report, that any proceeding had been instituted. The composition of the court was clearly exceptionable. A majority consisted of the cabinet ministers themselves who had advised the measures on which they were now sitting as judges. They were parties, and on the received principles of equity ought to have been excluded. The princess immediately determined to appeal from the decision of so interested and improper a tribunal to the two houses of parliament. In pursuance of this resolution, she wrote a letter of which she transmitted two copies, one to the speaker of the house of commons, the other to the lord chancellor. She mentions in this document the report of which she had received a copy. She states it to contain aspersions on her character, vague indeed, but totally unjust, deprecates the irregular manner in which it had been drawn up, and demands from parliament, a deliberate and solemn investigation of her whole conduct.

The dignified personages to whom this letter was addressed were certainly placed in an embarrassing situation. The chancellor declined to communicate the letter to the house of lords, but on the 2nd of March the speaker rose, and stated to the house that he had received on the preceding day, when seated in the chair of that house, a letter purporting to come from her royal highness the princess of Wales, which she desired to have communicated to the house. He did not

however, think that it came in a sufficiently authenticated form for such communication; but, having since received a letter from the princess, acknowledging that yesterday's letter was sent by her, he would, with the permission of the house, now read it.

A PAUSE ensued after the speaker had read the letter, when at length *Mr. Whitbread* rose, and said that he apprehended it was impossible that such a communication from so high a quarter could be passed over in silence. He had therefore waited till the noble lord opposite, a cabinet minister, (lord Castlereagh,) had, by taking his place, given an intimation that it was not his intention to make any proposition on the subject, And seeing no other member disposed to proceed in the business, he wished to ask the noble lord whether it was his design to call the further attention of the house to her royal highness's letter.

LORD Castlereagh replied, that no person was more sensible than himself of the importance and delicacy of the subject; but that, observing a notice for a motion to be made two days hence relative to the princess of Wales, he did not think it necessary at present to enter on a consideration of the transaction alluded to.

Mr. Whitbread then enquired if the honourable member who had given the notice was in the house; and, finding that he was not, he observed, that it might be expedient when he came, to enquire of him whether his motion was founded on any understanding with her royal highness. If it were not, it would be for the house to decide on the propriety of taking her royal highness's communication into their most serious consideration. Here the conversation ended.

ON March 4th, the avenues of the house of commons were crowded with a vast number of persons anxious to hear the debates on this interesting subject, and the gallery was instantly filled on opening the door. Many persons were also waiting below the bar as auditors. A motion, however, was unexpectedly made by *Mr. Lygon*, member for Worcestershire, for excluding strangers, which of course was carried into effect. *Mr. Bennet* thereupon moved an adjournment, which was negatived. *Mr. Cochrane Johnstone* then rose and said, that as the honorable gentleman opposite had thought proper to clear the gallery, he should not bring forward his motion that night, but should reserve to himself the right of renewing it on any future occasion. *Mr. Lygon* declared, that whenever the honourable gentleman did renew his motion, he should also again move for clearing the gallery.

A CONVERSATION then ensued, in which *Mr. Whitbread* urged *Lord Castlereagh* for information respecting the report of the privy counsellors alluded to in her royal highness's letter, which his lordship refused to give, as there was no motion before the house. *Mr. Whitbread* then read the report as published from a newspaper, and observed, that the public were ignorant of all the circumstances which had induced the council to make such a report; and said, that if no other member would submit a motion to the house on her royal highness's petition, he would do so. *Mr. C. Johnstone*, having then given notice of his intention to bring on his motion on the following day, the house adjourned.

ON March 5th, the gallery being first cleared, *Mr. Cochrane Johnstone* rose, and declared in the first instance, that for the motion he was about to submit, he had no authority from the princess of Wales, and no communication with any persons whatever, but that the proceeding had originated exclusively from himself. He then stated, that a commission had been granted by the king in 1806, to lords Spencer, Grenville, Erskine, and Ellenborough, to examine into certain allegations that had been preferred against the princess of Wales, whose report, (which he read,) contains the most unqualified opinion, that the charge produced by sir John and lady Douglas, relative to her having borne a child in 1802, was utterly destitute of foundation; but concluded with some strictures made by the commissioners in the levity of manners displayed by the princess on certain occasions. He next read a paper, which he was ready to prove to have been dictated by lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and sir Thomas Plumer, though signed by the princess of Wales; being a protest addressed to the king against the report just mentioned, strongly asserting her innocence, and calling the charges of her accusers a foul conspiracy, made *ex parte*, and affording no appeal. Upon this paper the honourable member observed,

that he fully concurred in its sentiments on the subject of the commission, and insisted that the charge against the princess before that tribunal was nothing short of treason; and that, if the commissioners had power to acquit her of the crime charged, they had equal power to convict her. He thought, however, they had no authority to give a judgment on the occasion. As a question of law, they left the matter as they found it. He understood that sir John and lady Douglas persisted in their story; but if it were notoriously false, why were they not prosecuted? He went on to remark, that he was informed no proceedings of the late privy council, except the report, had been transmitted to the princess; but he submitted, that copies of all the examinations should be given to her. The honorable member concluded with moving two resolutions; the first of these, consisting of several paragraphs, contained in substance a relation of the commission of 1806, and a declaration against its legal power to pronounce a judgment in the case; whence it was inferred, that no legal decision had yet been made against the truth of the fact sworn to, of her royal highness's being delivered of a male child in 1802; and that, in consequence, the house was called upon by a regard to the security of the throne and the tranquillity of the state, to institute, while the witnesses are living on both sides, an ample and impartial investigation into all the facts appertaining to this subject. The second resolution was for an address to the prince regent, to order a copy of the above report to be laid before the house, with copies of a number of written documents particularly specified.

The motion was seconded by *Mr. John Wharton*.

Lord *Castlereagh* then rose, and first remarked on the singularity of the honorable mover's proceeding, whose second resolution called for those very papers as matters of information, on which his first resolution was founded. He said that the only object of the information called for, seemed to be to persuade the house that such serious doubts existed as to the succession to the throne as required the interference of parliament. But if the commissioners were not competent to decide upon the charge of her royal highness's pregnancy in 1802, the house of commons was certainly not the proper tribunal for such a decision. It was equally improper to bring before it for discussion the minor charges against the princess, or any unfortunate differences which might exist between any branches of the royal family. The only solid practical ground on which parliament could proceed, would therefore be, that doubts attached to the succession of the crown. But in the present case, not the smallest doubt was entertained on that subject. The commissioners of 1806, did not make a comparative enquiry into the weight of lady Douglas's testimony, compared with that of other witnesses; but they asserted, that they had traced the whole history of the child in question, and fully established that it was the child of another woman. Their report was also solemnly confirmed by a subsequent cabinet. No prosecution had been instituted against lady Douglas, because, the case being laid before the crown lawyers, although they were satisfied as to the perjury, they saw difficulties in the way of establishing it by legal evidence. On the whole, he thought that calling for further information would only be to make the parliament an instrument for gratifying that taste for calumny which was so much the rage at the present time.

Sir Samuel Romilly rose to give an account of the proceedings of the commissioners of 1806, as far as he was concerned with them. He stated that the measure was adopted, as he believed, on the suggestion of lord Thurlow; and he testified as to the impartiality with which the examinations at which he was present, was conducted. He gave some arguments in favor of the legality of such a commission, and replied to the assertion, that if they could acquit, they must have an equal right to condemn, by instancing the case of Margaret Nicholson, whose insanity being ascertained before a committee of the privy council, she was never brought to trial for her attempt on his majesty's life.

Mr. Whitbread said, that he did not rise to support the first resolution, concurring in much that had fallen from the noble lord; but he thought, if the house dismissed the subject without further explanations or proceedings, her royal highness would be grossly injured. When the noble lord talked of the appetite for calumny, was he ignorant of the

many newspaper paragraphs, the tendency of which was to libel the princess? It appears, (he said,) that her royal highness, finding that the intercourse between her and the princess her daughter, was more and more restricted, addressed a letter to the prince regent, which was thrice returned unopened. At length it was read to him, and the cold answer returned was, that ministers had received no commands on the subject. That letter at length found its way to the public prints, and then his royal highness, as prince regent, summoned a privy council to consult what to do, and their advice was, not to refer to the present conduct of the princess of Wales, but the evidence of 1806. In the proceedings of that year, the witnesses against her are declared infamous, and their evidence unworthy of credit, as applied to the principal charge, yet the same is considered as good when applied to levity of manners. It was considered as insufficient to deprive her of the honours of her rank, and of access to the king, and society with the princesses, yet is now raked up to remove her from her child. *Mr. Whitbread* then read the minute of council of 1807, signed by lords Eldon and Castlereagh, which doubted the legality of the commission of 1806; yet, (said he,) these noble lords go back to the same proceedings of 1806 as their guide. He next read that part of the minute of 1807, which not only acquits the princess of every charge of criminality brought against her by the Douglasses, but exculpates her from every hint of unguarded levity attributed to her by the commissioners of 1806. Do then, (said he,) lord Castlereagh or lord Eldon mean to escape from their words? The princess of Wales threatened a publication of her case, drawn up by Mr. Perceval, lord Eldon, and sir Thomas Plumer, if she was not received at court; this they advised her to do, with what other feelings than that she was innocent—immaculate? and is it to be endured, that this evidence is to be raked up in order to condemn, defame, and punish? Mr. Whitbread concluded a speech of extraordinary energy, with moving as an amendment to the motion, that an address be presented to the prince regent, praying that a copy of the report to which her royal highness had referred, be laid before the house.

Lord Castlereagh said, he would not enter into details which it was inconsistent with his duty to explain; but he confidently denied the charge of inconsistency that had been made against himself and his colleagues. He then made some severe remarks on the princess's letter, calling it an inflamed statement of all the topics of grievance that could be ranked together with a view of effecting the object of her royal highness's advisers. There were no additional transactions imposed at this period that could have warranted this letter. It was not by any means just to infer that any criminality was imputed to the princess; for the separation alone was sufficient to justify the restraint, which should be considered only as matters of regulation arising out of that unfortunate circumstance.

Sir Thomas Plumer made a few observations in justification of himself, but declined making any communication of the advice he had given to her royal highness.

Mr. Stuart Wortley said, he felt warmly on the occasion as a man of honour and a gentleman, but could not vote either for the original motion or the amendment. It was not, however, the speech of the noble lord which had induced him to come to this determination, for that he had left the most material points without any answer. The honourable gentleman made some remark on the reports of 1806 and 1807; the last of which, he said, was a complete acquittal as to every point, and he much disapproved of going back to the evidence of 1806, to form a report upon the regulations necessary to govern the intercourse between the princess and her daughter. He concluded in the following remarkable manner. "He had as high notions of royalty as any man; but he must say that all such proceedings contributed to pull it down. He was very sorry we had a royal family who did not take warning from what was said and thought concerning them. They seemed to be the only persons in the country who were wholly regardless of their own welfare and respectability. He would not have the prince regent lay the flattering unction to his soul, and think his conduct would bear him harmless through all the transactions. He said this with no disrespect to him or his family; no man was more attached to the house of Brunswick than he was; but had he a sister in the same situation with her royal highness the princess of

Wales, he would say that she was exceedingly ill treated."

Mr. Ponsonby spoke chiefly to contradict the insinuation of the noble lord, that the members of opposition were concerned in the publication of the princess's letter, or the other proceedings in this transaction.

Mr. Whitbread, considering the princess's reputation as now, by the confession of all parties, placed beyond imputation or reproach, said he should not press his motion to a division.

Mr. Yorke requested Mr. C. Johnstone to withdraw his motion, which the latter refused to do; and the question being put, it was negatived without a division.

It might now have been hoped and supposed that the discussion of this unpleasant subject was terminated, but the circumstances which had appeared took strong hold on the public mind; party, as usual, interfered in the business, and the newspapers were made the vehicle of new attacks and recriminations.

On March 15th, *Mr. Whitbread* rose in the house of commons, and after alluding to various documents on the subject which had appeared in newspapers notoriously under the influence of government, desired to ask of the noble lord (Castlereagh) or of any other member, whether instructions had been issued by the prince regent to the law officers of the crown to prosecute lady Douglas for perjury; and whether, in the interval between February 12th, and March 5th, lady Douglas had been examined as a credible witness by the solicitor of the treasury and a magistrate, in the presence of sir J. Douglas; and whether that examination, or any other relative to the princess of Wales still continues?

Lord Castlereagh declining to answer these questions till he should be informed of the proceeding which it was the honourable gentleman's intention to recommend to the house in consequence, Mr. W. declared that it was, either that the princess of Wales should be brought to trial, or that lady Douglas should be prosecuted for perjury. Lord C. then said, that he did not consider himself bound in duty to answer the questions until the subject should be brought regularly before the parliament. A warm conversation then ensued, which was terminated by the speaker, and the house proceeded to the business of the day.

On March 17, *Mr. Whitbread* presented a petition of sir John Douglas in behalf of himself and his wife, stating, that understanding that the depositions they made respecting the princess of Wales in 1806, were not made in such a manner as would support a prosecution for perjury against them, if false, they were ready and desirous to reswear the same before any tribunal competent to administer an oath which would subject them, if false, to the penalties of perjury. This petition, upon motion, being laid upon the tables, Mr. W. rose to address the house.

He began with taking notice of lord Castlereagh's correction of his assertion, that the cabinet of 1807 had acquitted her royal highness from all imputations of criminality, his lordship, as he had since been informed, having prefixed the word *legal*, to imputation. He also admitted that the house, correctly speaking, had not passed a verdict of acquittal, because it was not at a tribunal competent to decide upon the question; but he contended, that the noble lord himself, and the cabinet, had pronounced such an acquittal. He next affirmed, from the authority of sir John Douglas himself, that lady Douglas, from the 13th of February to the period of the last debate, had undergone various examinations by the solicitor to the treasury, before Mr. Conant, on the subject, with the knowledge of the lord chancellor. He said he had also heard that from the 15th of the present month examinations had been going on, and emissaries had been despatched to pry into every circumstance of the life and demeanour of the princess of Wales, since her arrival in this country. Did the noble lord know of this? Did the lord chancellor know of this? If not, who are the secret advisers of the prince regent; Mr. Whitbread then desired to call the attention of the house to another circumstance. In the Morning Post and Morning Herald of last Saturday were published the depositions of lady Douglas. In the latter of these papers, edited by a reverend gentleman who had lately been distinguished by honours and church preferments, after these depositions followed a train of disgusting and atrocious documents, the falsehood of which are known and acknowledged, and which have been put into the shape of a volume bearing the name of the late Mr. Perceval, by whom the press

has been said to have been corrected. That right honourable gentleman thought, that for the sake of the princess's justification it was necessary to submit these details to the public, and consequently prepared a comment to expose the falsehood of the story and the villainy of those by whom it had been raised; but now that he is dead, and her royal highness has been declared innocent by two cabinets, these indecent statements are given to the public eye. After some further observations on the hardships to which the princess was subjected, Mr. Whitbread proceeded to say, that having been informed that a prosecution for perjury would not be, or that it would be impossible to produce such legal proof as would amount to a conviction, he should forego his intended motion for prosecuting sir John and lady Douglas; but he would state to the house reasons to shew that some steps must be adopted to bring the matter to issue. Of the remainder of the honourable gentleman's speech it is impossible to give an intelligent abridgement in our allotted compass, we shall therefore only notice some of the most remarkable circumstances of the debate, and its final results. Mr. Whitbread was led, in the course of discussion, to take a view of the evidence against the princess of Wales, as it had been published, and also as it appeared in a paper which had been put into his hands that morning, professing to contain an authentic copy of the examination of Mrs. Lisle, a respectable lady who had been long about the princess's person. On this he made several free strictures, tending to show, that if the questions put to her had appeared, the answers would have borne a different aspect. In fine, after solemnly calling upon that house, the representatives of the people of England, to become the protectors of an innocent, traduced, and defenceless stranger, he moved the following resolution:

"That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, expressive of the deep concern and indignation with which this house has seen publications so insulting to the honour and dignity of his majesty's royal family, so offensive to decency and good morals, and so painful to the feelings of his majesty's loyal subjects; and that this house humbly requests that his royal highness will give directions that proper measures may be taken to discover and bring to justice the persons concerned in committing or procuring to be committed so high an offence, and for preventing the repetition or continuance of such publications."

Lord Castlereagh, in the beginning of his reply, having said that the honourable gentleman, under the mask of defending the princess of Wales, had indulged himself in a most personal, improper, illiberal, unfair, and unparliamentary attack on the prince regent, his words were taken down, and an altercation ensued, which was terminated by an explanation. His lordship then proceeded to make remarks on the motion and speech of the mover, and repeated his reasons for not giving answers to the questions put to him, and for thinking that the house was not called upon to interfere in this matter.

After several other members had spoken in the debate, Mr. Tierney moved as an amendment to Mr. Whitbread's motion, (with his acquiescence,) "That the printer and publisher of the Morning Post, and of the Morning Herald, do attend at the bar of this house to-morrow, to answer by whose authority they had published the depositions before the privy council, and from whom they had received them."

Mr. Canning made a speech, which, by its moderate tone, and his declaration, that as far as he was concerned, the minutes of the council in 1807 were a perfect acquittal of her royal highness, seemed to give general satisfaction.

Mr. Whitbread concluded the debate by his reply; and the question being put, the motion was negatived without a division.

The remarks which had been made by Mr. Whitbread in consequence of reading the professed authentic copy of Mrs. Lisle's examination, occasioned a remarkable conversation in the house of lords on March 22nd, in which house nothing had hitherto passed relative to the subject of the princess of Wales.

Lord Ellenborough rose, and after an introduction of great solemnity, said, that in the case alluded to, the persons intrusted with the commission were charged with having fabricated an unauthorised document, purporting to relate what was not given in evidence, and to suppress what was given.

"This accusation (said his lordship,) is

as false as hell in every part." He then proceeded to give an account of the mode in which every thing had been taken down from the mouth of the witness, and afterwards read over to, and subscribed by her. He spoke of the folly and ignorance of supposing that the testimony of witnesses should be recorded in the way of question and answer; and concluded a speech of great energy, by again positively denying the truth of the imputations thrown upon the commissioners.

He was followed by the other noble lords who composed this commission, Erskine, Spencer, and Grenville, each of whom, in strong terms, asserted the fairness and correctness with which the evidence had been taken and recorded, and disclaimed every partial feeling on the occasion.

Lord Moira afterwards rose to exculpate himself from the charge of unfairness in the examination of a female servant of the princess, whose evidence was contradicted by one of the medical attendants.

Mr. Whitbread, on the evening of the same day, took notice of the attack which had been made upon him in the other house, and declared his intention of sending the paper alluded to, to Mrs. Lisle, in order to obtain her avowal or disavowal of its authenticity. On the following day, he produced to the house the answer he had received from that lady; which was an explicit acknowledgment that the paper was a correct copy of one she had written from her recollection, immediately after she had been examined, and of which she had transmitted a copy to the princess of Wales at her command. Mr. Whitbread now considered himself as entirely cleared from the imputation of having been imposed upon by the paper in question; and he said, that if the same thing presented itself to him at the present moment, he would follow the very same course he had done, and throw himself on the justice and candour of the public.

On March 31st, *Mr. Whitbread* rose in the house to call its attention to a letter which had appeared in the public papers from lord Moira to a member of the grand lodge of free masons, in which were some observations on the evidence of one Kenny, since dead, ending with the remark, that her royal highness's advisers had long preserved an absolute silence concerning it, "a forbearance only to be solved by their being too cautious to touch on the point while Kenny was alive." In another passage of the letter it was stated, that Partridge, lord Eardley's porter, was known to be entirely devoted to the princess. As lord Moira was about to leave England, *Mr. Whitbread* thought that he ought to be called upon for an explicit declaration of his meaning in these passages; and he therefore moved, "That a message be sent to the lords, requesting their lordships to grant permission to the earl of Moira to attend at the bar of this house, for the purpose of being examined as to his knowledge of certain circumstances connected with the conduct of her royal highness the princess of Wales."

The speaker expressed his doubts concerning the parliamentary usage with respect to such a motion, there being no matter then pending before the house on which the evidence of a noble lord was required; and he thought that their lordships would undoubtedly reject the application.

The same being the opinion of other members, and there appearing a general disinclination in the house to renew the discussions on this subject, Mr. Whitbread would not press a division, and the question for the order of the day was read and carried.

In the course of these deliberations, THE BOOK, that is, the whole evidence taken before the privy council in 1806, was multiplied and circulated in a thousand forms, and was perused by the public with inconceivable avidity. It would be obviously inconsistent with the limits of an historical work, to enter into the minute details of a mass so voluminous and in many parts so little attractive; nor would decency permit me to record the accusations of the unprincipled and infuriated lady Douglas. Her declaration betrays throughout, the total absence of purity, delicacy, and feeling. Many of the other witnesses had been servants to the prince; some of their conclusions are founded on surmises too ludicrous to be formed but under the influence of prejudice; on many important points of testimony their assertions are disproved; and the utmost malice of the enemies of the princess, even admitting the veracity of the witnesses, can only extend to convict her of levity and indiscretion. Thus Cole says, that he heard Bidgood's wife say, that she heard Fanny Lloyd say, that she

heard Mary Wilson say, that she, (Mary Wilson,) had one morning seen the princess and sir Sidney Smith in such a position as occasioned her immediately to faint away. By a strange omission, the commissioners did not examine Mary Wilson, the original beholder and sufferer by this strange spectacle. Fanny Lloyd, however, the next link in the chain, was examined, and she merely stated that Mary Wilson had mentioned that she saw sir Sidney and the princess in a public apartment, called the blue room, but said nothing of the position in which they appeared, or of any disastrous effects which the spectacle had produced upon herself. The only evidence that approaches to crimination is that of Bidgood, who witnessed "in a mirror," the embrace of captain Manby and the princess; a mode of observation equally improbable and fallacious.

It cannot be disputed, however, even by the most enthusiastic friends of the princess, that her conduct was frequently marked by flagrant indiscretion. Sir Sidney Smith, captain Manby, Mr. Lawrence, the painter, and many other individuals, were admitted to a degree of familiarity inconsistent with her station, and frequently at unseasonable hours. Having indeed no direct power and no very ample fortune, her only means of influence consisted in the flattering distinction conferred by admission into her society, and she was naturally tempted to avail herself of this advantage to some extent. One, and the principal use which she made of her leisure, was extremely laudable. She took poor boys under her charge, and bred them to the naval service. Sir Sidney and the other commanders received these boys on board their vessels, and superintended their conduct. Among these was William Austin, the son of a labourer in the dock-yards at Woolwich, who was adopted by her royal highness when an infant, and treated with all the tenderness of a mother. The affection displayed for the young protegé supplied the enemies of the princess with a plausible accusation of adulterous pregnancy, and lady Douglas strenuously supported the charge by the boldness and minuteness of her details.

The levity and indiscretion of the princess may be excused by the circumstances of her peculiar situation. She came from a country and had moved in a sphere where the familiarity of ranks and sexes, if innocent, was not the object of censure to the same degree as in English society. Left in a situation so trying, without an English protector or adviser, she had a right to claim that her conduct should not be subjected to the same severe scrutiny as that of persons placed in happier circumstances.

If any arguments were required to evince the futility of the evidence adduced in crimination, they would be found in the defence of the princess, compiled by Mr. Perceval in the name of her royal highness. It is addressed to the king, and refers to the report of 1806. This important document was succeeded by an appeal from the princess to the justice and generosity of his majesty, stating in forcible and pathetic terms, the wrongs she had endured from the machinations of the enemies. The subjoined extracts will evince the spirit in which these appeals are composed.

The commissioners, therefore, your majesty observes, going, they must permit me to say, a little out of their way, begin their report, by expressing a clear and decided opinion, that his royal highness was properly advised (for your majesty will undoubtedly conclude, that, upon a subject of this importance, his royal highness could not but have acted by the advice of others,) in referring this complaint to your majesty, for the purpose of its undergoing the investigation which has followed. And, unquestionably, if the charge referred to, in this report, as made by sir John and lady Douglas, had been presented under circumstances, in which any reasonable degree of credit could be given to them, or even if they had not been presented in such a manner, as to impeach the credit of the informers, and to bear internal evidence of their own incredibility, I should be the last person, who would be disposed to dispute the wisdom of the advice which led to make them the subject of the gravest and most anxious inquiry. And your majesty, acting upon a mere abstract of the declarations, which was all, that by the recital of the warrant, appears to have been laid before your majesty, undoubtedly could not but direct an inquiry concerning my conduct. For though I have not been furnished with that abstract, yet I must presume that it described the criminatory contents of these

declarations, much in the same manner, as they are stated in the report. And the criminatory parts of these declarations, if viewed without reference to those traces of malice and resentment, with which the declarations of sir John and lady Douglas abound; if abstracted from all these circumstances, which shew the extreme improbability of the story, the length of time which my accusers had kept my alleged guilt concealed, the contradictions observable in the declarations of the other witnesses, all which I submit to your majesty, are to an extent to cast the greatest discredit upon the truth of these declarations;—abstracted, I say, from these circumstances, the criminatory parts of them were unquestionably such, as to have placed your majesty under the necessity of directing some inquiry concerning them. But that those, who had the opportunity of reading the long and malevolent narration of sir John and lady Douglas, should not have hesitated before they gave any credit to it, is matter of the greatest astonishment to me.

The improbability of the story, would of itself, I should have imagined (unless they believed me to be as insane as lady Douglas insinuates,) have been sufficient to have staggered the belief of any unprejudiced mind. For to believe that story, they were to begin with believing that a person guilty of so foul a crime, so highly penal, so fatal to her honour, her station, and her life, should gratuitously, and uselessly, have confessed it. Such a person under the necessity of concealing her pregnancy, might have been indispensably obliged to confide her secret with those, to whom she was to look for assistance in concealing its consequences. But lady Douglas, by her own account, was informed by me of this fact, for no purpose whatever. She makes me, as those who read her declarations cannot fail to have observed, state to her, that she should, on no account, be entrusted with any part of the management by which the birth was to be concealed. They were to believe also, that, anxious as I must have been to have concealed the birth of any such child, I had determined to bring it up in my own house; and what would exceed, as I should imagine, the extent of all human credulity, that I had determined to suckle it myself: that I had laid my plan, if discovered, to have imposed it upon his royal highness as his child. Nay, they were to believe, that I had stated, and that lady Douglas had believed the statement to be true, that I had in fact attempted to suckle it, and only gave up that part of my plan, because it made me nervous, and was too much for my health. And, after all this, they were then to believe, that having made lady Douglas, thus unnecessarily, the confidante of this most important and dangerous secret; having thus put my character, and my life in her hands, I sought an occasion, wantonly, and without provocation, from the mere fickleness, and wilfulness of my own mind, to quarrel with her, to insult her openly and violently in my own house, to endeavour to ruin her reputation; to expose her infamous and indecent drawings enclosed in letters to her husband. The letters indeed are represented to have been anonymous, but, though anonymous, they are stated to have been written with my own hand, so undisguised in penmanship and style, that every one who had the least acquaintance with either, could not fail to discover them, and, (as if it were through fear, lest it should not be sufficiently plain, from whom they came,) that I had sealed them with a seal, which I had shortly before used, on an occasion of writing to her husband. All this they were to believe upon the declaration of a person, who with all that loyalty and attachment which she expresses to your majesty, and his royal highness the prince of Wales, with all her obligation to the whole royal family, (to whom she expresses herself to be bound by ties of respectful regard and attachment which nothing can ever break;) with all her dread of the mischievous consequences to the country, which might arise, from the disputed succession to the crown, on the pretensions of an illegitimate child of mine, nevertheless continued, after this supposed avowal of my infamy, and my crime, after my supposed acknowledgment of the birth of this child, which was to occasion all this mischief, to preserve, for near a twelvemonth, her intimacy and apparent friendship with me.

Defence.

There may be circumstances disclosed, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity in my behaviour and conduct,

which in the opinions of many, may be considered as not sufficiently guarded, dignified, and reserved. Circumstances however which my foreign education, and foreign habits, misled me to think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was my fate to live, and where I had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise me, were wholly free from offence. But when they have been dragged forward, from the scenes of private life, in a grave proceeding on a charge of high treason and adultery, they seem to derive a colour and character, from the nature of the charge, which they are brought forward to support. And I cannot but believe, that they have been used for no other purpose than to afford a cover, to screen from view the injustice of that charge; that they have been taken advantage of, to let down my accusers more gently; and to deprive me of that full acquittal on the report of the four lords, which my innocence of all offence most justly entitled me to receive.

Whatever opinion however may be formed upon any part of my conduct, it must in justice be formed, with reference to the situation in which I was placed; if I am judged of as princess of Wales, with reference to the high rank of that station, I must be judged as princess of Wales, banished from the prince, unprotected by the support and the countenance, which belong to that station; and if I am judged of in my private character, as a married woman, I must be judged of as a wife banished from her husband, and living in a widowed seclusion from him, and retirement from the world. This last consideration leads me to recur to an expression of Mrs. Lisle's examination, which describes my conduct, in the frequency and manner of my receiving the visits of captain Manby, though always in the presence of my ladies, as unbecoming a married woman. Upon the extreme injustice of setting up the *opinion* of one woman, as it were, in judgment upon the conduct of another; as well as of estimating the conduct of a person in my unfortunate situation, by reference to that, which might in general be expected from a married woman, living happily with her husband, I have before generally remarked: but beyond these general remarks in forming any estimate of my conduct, your majesty will never forget the very peculiar circumstances and misfortunes of my situation. Your majesty will remember that I had not been much above a year in this country, when I received the following letter from his royal highness the prince of Wales.

" *Windsor Castle,*
April 30, 1796.

" Madam,

" As lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head, with as much clearness, and with as much propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required, through lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction by proposing at any period, a connection of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.

" I am, Madam,
" With great truth,
" Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) " GEORGE P."

Answer.

The avowal of your conversation with lord Cholmondeley, neither surprises, nor offends me. It merely confirmed what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelve-month. But after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.

I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful, whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me, and you are aware that the credit of it belongs to you alone.

The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the king, as to my sovereign and my father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the king. I apprize you of it; that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but his majesty, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject, and if my conduct meets his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as princess of Wales, enabled by your means, to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart, I mean charity.

It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.

Do me the justice to believe that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be

Your much devoted
CAROLINE.

6th of May, 1796.

The date of his royal highness's letter is the 30th of April, 1796. The date of our marriage, your majesty will recollect, is the 8th day of April, in the year 1795, and that of the birth of our only child the 7th of January, 1796.

On the letter of his royal highness I offer no comment. I only entreat your majesty not to understand me to introduce it, as affording any supposed justification or excuse, for the least departure from the strictest line of virtue, or the slightest deviation from the most refined delicacy. The crime, which has been insinuated against me, would be equally criminal and detestable; the indelicacy imputed to me would be equally odious and abominable, whatever renunciation of conjugal authority and affection, the above letter of his royal highness might in any construction of it be supposed to have conveyed. Such crimes, and faults, derive not their guilt from the consideration of the conjugal virtues of the individual, who may be the most injured by them, however much such virtues may aggravate their enormity. No such letter, therefore, in any construction of it, no renunciation of conjugal affection or duties, could ever palliate them. But whether conduct free from all crime, free from all indelicacy, (which I maintain to be the character of the conduct to which Mrs. Lisle's observations apply,) yet possibly not so measured, as a cautious wife, careful to avoid the slightest appearance, of not preferring her husband to all the world, might be studious to observe. Whether conduct of such description, and possibly, in such sense, not becoming a married woman, could be justly deemed, in my situation, an offence in me, I must leave to your majesty to determine.

In making that determination, however, it will not escape your majesty to consider, that the conduct which does or does not become a married woman materially depends upon what is, or is not known by her to be agreeable to her husband. His pleasure and happiness ought unquestionably to be her law; and his approbation the most favourite object of her pursuit. Different characters of men require different modes of conduct in their wives, but when a wife can no longer be capable of perceiving from time to time, what is agreeable or offensive to her husband, when her conduct can no longer contribute to his happiness, no longer hope to be rewarded by his approbation, surely to examine that conduct by the standard of what ought, in general, to be the conduct of a married woman, is altogether unreasonable and unjust.

What then is my case? Your majesty will do the justice to remark, that, in the above letter of the prince of Wales, there is not the most distant surmise, that crime, that vice, that indelicacy of any description, gave occasion to his determination; and all the tales of infamy and discredit, which the inventive malice of my enemies has brought forward on these charges, have their date, years, and years, after the period to which I am now alluding. What then, let me repeat the question, is my case? After the receipt of the above letter, and in about two years from my arrival in this country, I had the misfortune entirely to lose the support, the countenance, the protection of my husband—I was banished, as it were, into a sort of humble retirement, at a distance from him, and almost estranged from the whole of the royal family. I had no means of having recourse, either for society or advice, to those, from whom my inexperience could have best received the advantages of the one, and with whom I

could, most becomingly, have enjoyed the comforts of the other; and if in this retired, unassisted, unprotected state, without the check of a husband's authority, without the benefit of his advice, without the comfort and support of the society of his family, a stranger to the habits and fashions of this country, I should, in any instance, under the influence of foreign habits, and foreign education, have observed a conduct, in any degree deviating from the reserve and severity of British manners, and partaking of a condescension and familiarity which that reserve and severity would, perhaps, deem beneath the dignity of my exalted rank, I feel confident, (since such deviation will be seen to have been ever consistent with perfect innocence,) that not only your majesty's candour and indulgence, which, notwithstanding the reserve and severity of British manners, always belong to the British public, will never visit it with severity or censure.

Your majesty has seen what detriment my character has, for a time, sustained, by the false and malicious statement of lady Douglas, and by the depositions of the witnesses who were examined in support of her statement. Your majesty has seen how many enemies I have, and how little their malice has been restrained by any regard to truth in the pursuit of my ruin. Few, as it may be hoped, may be the instances of such determined, and unprovoked malignity, yet, I cannot flatter myself, that the world does not produce other persons, who may be swayed by similar motives to similar wickedness. Whether the statement, to be prepared by the prince of Wales, is to be confined to the old charges, or is intended to bring forward new circumstances, I cannot tell; but if any fresh attempts of the same nature shall be made by my accusers, instructed as they will have been, by their miscarriage in this instance, I can hardly hope that they will not renew their charge, with an improved artifice, more skilfully directed, and with a malice inflamed rather than abated, by their previous disappointment. I therefore can only appeal to your majesty's justice, in which I confidently trust, that whether these charges are to be renewed against me either on the old or on fresh evidence; or whether new accusations, as well as new witnesses, are to be brought forward, your majesty, after the experience of these proceedings, will not suffer your royal mind to be prejudiced by *ex parte*, secret examinations, nor my character to be whispered away by insinuations, or suggestions, which I have no opportunity of meeting. If any charge, which the law will recognize, should be brought against me in an open and a legal manner, I should have no right to complain, nor any apprehension to meet it. But till I may have a full opportunity of meeting it, I trust your majesty will not suffer it to excite even a suspicion to my prejudice. I must claim the benefit of the presumption of innocence till I am proved to be guilty, for, without that presumption, against the effects of secret insinuation and *ex parte* examinations, the purest innocence can make no defence, and can have no security.

Surrounded, as it is now proved, that I have been, for years, by domestic spies, your majesty must, I trust, feel convinced, that if I had been guilty, there could not have been wanting evidence to have proved my guilt. And, that these spies have been obliged to have resort to their own invention for the support of the charge, is the strongest demonstration that the truth, undisguised, and correctly represented, could furnish them with no handle against me. And when I consider the nature and malignity of that conspiracy, which, I feel confident I have completely detected and exposed, I cannot but think of that detection, with the liveliest gratitude, as the special blessing of providence, who, by confounding the machinations of my enemies, has enabled me to find, in the very excess and extravagance of their malice, in the very weapons, which they fabricated and sharpened for my destruction, the sufficient guard to my innocence, and the effectual means of my justification and defence.

I trust therefore, sire, that I may now close this long letter, in confidence that many days will not elapse before I shall receive from your majesty, that assurance that my just requests may be so completely granted, as may render it possible for me (which nothing else can) to avoid the painful disclosure to the world of all the circumstances of that injustice, and of those unmerited sufferings, which these proceedings, in the manner in which they have been conducted, have brought upon me.—*Letter to the king.*

It was impossible that disclosures of this kind could be made without materially affecting the popularity of the prince regent. The rigorous proceedings adopted by his command excited general reprobation, and his cause was feebly supported even by the most zealous of his elected servants. It was generally asserted and believed, that the prince himself was the secret mover of the late investigations; that the most culpable means had been employed for accomplishing his purposes, and that lady Douglas was only a suborned instrument in more powerful hands. On examining the documents, however, no evidence of this accusation could be found, and the presumption tends to its positive contradiction. The deposition of lady Douglas contains within itself the proofs of infuriated personal resentment; and, had the charges which she advanced been the result of a studied conspiracy with the exalted personage to whom they were addressed, it may be presumed that their malignity would have been studiously concealed beneath the veil of more courtly language.

CHAPTER LXIII.

GEORGE III.

[1813.]

Imposing attitude of the Allies—Revolution in Holland—Rupture of the Armistice—Insurrection in the Tyrol—Battle of Dresden—Death of Moreau—The Allies assemble round Leipsic—Napoleon is nearly surrounded—BATTLE OF LEIPSIC—Disastrous retreat of the French Army—Triumphant conclusion of the Campaign on the part of the Confederates.

NEVER, perhaps in all the records of history, had there occurred a moment so pregnant with mighty events as that which marked the conclusion of the armistice. The great conqueror of the age could not but perceive that his last game was to be played for the empire of the world. It was now to be determined whether Europe, whether all those regions on which chiefly depended the civilization and improvement of the human race, were to be restored to their native energies, or be sunk in hopeless bondage. The nations were now to make their last struggle for their privileges as citizens, and their birthright as men. And if such were the interests to be decided, the actors were not less conspicuous. The sovereigns of Europe, in suspense whether they should continue to sit on their thrones, her great captains and veteran armies formed by a warfare of twenty years, the flower of her youth drawn from the remotest extremities, all assembled to act their part on this terrible theatre of war. All that was most illustrious in Europe hastened thither to witness and to share this grand and final decision of the destiny of the world.

The disastrous and disgraceful return of Napoleon, pursued to the borders of his empire by powerful armies united for his destruction, could not fail to produce a strong sensation in the minds of the French people;

who, though studiously kept in ignorance of every unfavorable event, were no longer to be deluded with regard to circumstances brought directly in their view. The tone therefore now to be taken was an apparent frankness in stating the situation of the country, joined with confidence in its remaining resources, and an appeal to those patriotic sentiments which operate upon the subjects even of despotic governments, when elevated by ideas of past grandeur and success, or roused by the imminent hazard of what remains most dear to them. On November 14th, Napoleon seated on his throne, and surrounded by all the dignitaries and great officers, received the senate in full ceremony, the president, count Lacepede, made a short address, touching upon the defection of the allies of France, and their refusal to enter into negotiations for peace, and concluded with protestations of loyalty. His majesty the emperor replied in the following terms. "Senators, I accept the sentiments which you express towards me. All Europe was with us a year ago; all Europe is now against us; it is, because the opinion of the world is directed by France or England. We should, therefore, have every thing to dread, but for the energy and power of the nation. Posterity will say, that if great and critical circumstances presented themselves, they were not superior to France and me." To meet the exigencies of the time, an imperial decree was issued, imposing 30 additional centimes, additional to the duty for the current year on doors, windows, and patents, a double personal contribution on property tax, and an additional tax on salt. And a decree of the senate passed for the levy of 300,000 conscripts, with the preamble, "Considering that the enemy has invaded the frontiers of the empire on the side of the Pyrenees and the north, and that those of the Rhine, and beyond the Alps are threatened." By the other decrees of the senate, the powers of the deputies of the legislative body, of the fourth series, were prolonged during the whole of the approaching session; and the direct nomination of the president of that body was invested in the emperor, who before only chose one of five candidates presented to him, manifest proofs of the apprehensions he began to entertain of any thing like an appeal to the people.

An event more ominous to the French domination in Europe, and more auspicious to the cause of political freedom, than any which had hitherto occurred, was the *Revolution in Holland*, declared about this time. Nothing could be more repugnant to the manners and sentiments of the people of the United Provinces, or more fatal to their interests as a trading nation, than their annexation to the French empire; and though inability to resist had awed them into submission, it cannot be doubted that a rooted abhorrence of the yoke imposed upon them was the prevalent sentiment of the Batavian community. In the month of February a conspiracy had been discovered at Amsterdam for the purpose of subverting the existing government, in which a few obscure persons attached to the house of Orange were engaged; but the punishment of the conspirators had suppressed the project in its infancy. At length, apparently from no previous concert, but as the sudden burst of public feeling, roused to action by the arrival of the allied troops on the Dutch frontier, on the 15th of November, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, and with the old cry of *Orange Boven*, universally put up the Orange colours, and proclaimed the sovereignty of that illustrious house. The populace displayed their hatred of the French by burning the watchhouses of the custom house officers, and three of their vessels; and one of the officers was killed in the scuffle, but this was the only life lost on the occasion. The example of Amsterdam was followed by the other principal towns of the provinces of Holland and Utrecht. The French authorities were dismissed without injury, 1813.
and a temporary government was proclaimed in the name of the prince of Orange, composed of the most respectable members of the old government, especially of those who were not employed by the French. On the 16th an administration was organized for Amsterdam under the direction of the armed burghers, and many of the leading citizens took upon themselves the care of preserving good order. Similar measures were adopted at the Hague, Rotterdam, and other places. The intelligence of these events was brought over on the 21st to London, by the baron Perponcher and Mr. James Fayel, deputed by the provisional government, to inform the

prince regent and the prince of Orange of the revolution which had taken place. They waited on the latter at his house in Harley Street, and invited him in the name of his countrymen to come and put himself at their head; a call which he readily obeyed. A cabinet council was immediately summoned, at which his highness was present, and the unanimous resolution was taken of affording instant aid to the Dutch patriots with all the force that the country could furnish; and never was a political measure adopted in which the English nation more heartily or universally concurred. On November 25th the prince of Orange embarked at Deal for Holland, on board his majesty's ship Warrior 74 guns, accompanied by the earl of Clancarty. So unpremeditated had been the revolutionary movement of the Dutch, that no regular military force was at hand to support the hazardous enterprise of abolishing an organized domination; and although the French troops in the country were upon a low establishment, there was nothing but an half armed populace to oppose them. Their commanders seem however to have been struck with a panic by the suddenness of the change. General Bouvet marched out of the Hague at the head of 300 soldiers, mostly Germans, who, when they had proceeded about twelve miles, hoisted the orange cockade, severely beat their commander, and joined the patriots. It was, indeed, impossible in the present state of the European public to see how far defection from the French usurped authority might proceed. The evacuation of Amsterdam and Rotterdam was equally precipitate; and the armed douaniers, who seem to have formed the chief military force, were glad to escape in safety from places where they were peculiar objects of detestation. The first foreign aid that arrived to give confidence to the revolutionists was a body of 300 cossacks which presented itself before Amsterdam on the 23rd of November, and was admitted into the city on the following day. The remaining French, shut up in the old town house, thereupon surrendered; and the cossacks, with a party of burghers, took possession of the fort between Amsterdam and Haarlem, which surrendered by capitulation. These cossacks were the forerunners of the Russian army under general Winzingerode, who, on entering the Dutch territory, issued a proclamation calling upon the people to rise in support of the good cause, and marching along the Yssel, Zwoll, Zutphen, and Daventer, reached Amersfort on the 23rd, whence he dispatched his cossacks. On the 24th, the French, whose main force was posted at Gorcum, having recovered their spirits, made a general advance upon Amsterdam, Woerden, and Dordrecht. The attack upon Amsterdam was repulsed, the assailants losing five pieces of cannon. The body which advanced on Dordrecht, being opposed by the armed burghers and the gun boats, was driven back with considerable loss. At Woerden they succeeded so far as to gain temporary possession of the place, in which all the outrages were committed that brutality and revenge could inspire. The prince of Orange landed on the 30th at Schweling amidst the acclamations of a great concourse of people, and immediately proceeded to the Hague, where he was received by the constituted authorities of that seat of government. It is a remarkable circumstance, and which may be productive of important future consequences, that his serene highness was invited, on the commencement of this revolution, to take the reins of government, not under the ancient title of stadtholder, but the new and indefinite one of sovereign. Whence this alteration originated has not been made public; but we may learn from the past history of Holland, that the jealous friends of the house of Orange have always been vigilant to take occasion of the dangers and necessities of the state, to enhance an authority perhaps too limited for the exertion of the powers requisite for the executive head of the commonwealth. The post of the Brille on the day of the prince's arrival declared in his favour; and no internal resistance to the revolutionary movement was manifested except from admiral Verheul, commander of the Texel fleet. Notwithstanding the desertion of great part of the Dutch sailors, he took possession with the French mariners of the strong fort of the Helder, and declared his resolution of maintaining the authority which had placed him in his command. The Prussian general, Bulow, on November 30th, took Arnheim by storm, the garrison of which was put to the sword. Amsterdam being now considered as in a state of security, the prince of Orange

made his solemn entry on December 1st, amidst all the demonstrations of public joy, usual on the reception of a sovereign; now probably much more sincere than when they were lavished on the ruler of France. On this event, the general commissaries of the national government issued an address to the inhabitants, in which they announced the change in the supreme authority in the following terms. "It is not William VI. whom the people of the Netherlands have recalled, without knowing what they might have to hope or expect from him. It is William I. who, as sovereign prince by the wish of the Netherlanders, appears as sovereign among that people, which once before has been delivered by another William I. from the slavery of a foreign despotism. Your civil liberty shall be secured by laws, by a constitution giving a basis to your freedom, and be better founded than ever." The prince himself, on the following day, put forth a proclamation to the same purpose, alluding to that *higher relation* towards the Netherlanders in which he is placed in consequence of their desire; and in accepting which, "he sacrifices his own opinion to their wishes. He adverted to the "still somewhat critical circumstances" in which they were placed, and trusted in their co-operation to effect the complete deliverance of their country from a foreign yoke. The English guards now arrived on the coast; a Prussian and Russian general at the Hague concerted operations for the total expulsion of the enemy; and henceforth the progress of the Dutch revolution is inseparably connected with that of the allied arms.

We now revert to the movements of the crown prince of Sweden, which were of such essential importance to the liberation of the north of Germany and the United Provinces. After the battles of Leipsic, it had been his first intention to march on Cassel; but various considerations induced him to direct his course more towards the north, one of which, doubtless not the least efficacious, was the immediate restoration of the electoral dominions to the crown of England. He left his head-quarters at Muhlhausen on October 29th, and on the 31st arrived at Gottingen, where his presence caused unbounded joy to the people, as the signal of their deliverance from an odious tyranny, and their return to the mild and paternal rule of their legitimate sovereign. On November 6th, he moved his head-quarters to Hanover. His entry was preceded by a proclamation to the Hanoverians, in the name of the privy counsellors of the king of Great Britain, appointed to the electoral ministry of Brunswick-Luneburg, for the state and cabinet. Its purpose was to announce their resumption of the government of the electoral dominions, and to confirm the provisional commissions of government appointed by the military authority. At the same time the people were exhorted not to lay aside their arms, or relax in their exertions till the liberation of Germany should be completed and fully secured. The crown prince proceeded to Bremen, which city he entered on the 17th. He then received information of the advance of the Russian troops under Winzingerode to the Yssel, and of the march of Bulow's army upon Arnheim, the results of which have been already mentioned. It appears at this time to have been his intention to proceed in person to Holland, and take the command of the Russian and Prussian troops employed in the recovery of that country.

In this progress of restoration, which appeared to be the general order of the day, it could not be thought extraordinary that the Tyrolese, who had been transferred against their will from Austria to Bavaria, should exhibit symptoms of a wish to return to their former master. Some manifestations of this kind undoubtedly were the cause of an address "to the inhabitants of the Italian and Illyrian quarter of the Tyrol," issued at Botzen on October 24th, and signed Roschmanny, privy counsellor of his imperial majesty. After adverting to the treaty of alliance and amity signed between his imperial and apostolic majesty and the king of Bavaria, and the consequent cessation of all hostility between the two powers, the subscriber declares that the emperor of Austria will consider every violation of the Bavarian territory, or resistance to the authorities established by his ally, as an act of hostility against himself. He promises peace to the inhabitants of Tyrol, and hopes that every one will wait in tranquillity the particular indemnifications to which he may have claims. He concludes: "The fixing of the boundaries of each state will not in future depend on the pleasure of a single sovereign, or on the right of conquest,

but on the consent of other powers. Such is the wish of my master—the object of this war—the spirit of the peace which must be conquered, and which shall restore their rights to every people in Europe."

Whilst Germany was the principal field of the operations of the allied arms, the court of Austria was not inattentive to the liberation of the north of Italy; and in addition to the efforts making on the side of Venice, and on the Adriatic, it sent a powerful army across the Alps in the direction of Trent. The baron Von Hiller, with the title of commander-in-chief of the imperial and royal army of the Tyrol and of Italy, published a proclamation to the people of Italy, dated at Trent, October 26th, in which he announces that he has passed the Alps with an army of 60,000 men, that he has turned at their sources the Isonzo, the Tagliamento, the Piave, and the Brenta; and that the deliverance of Verona, Mantua, and Milan, may shortly be expected. In energetic language, he calls upon the Italians to join in the general deliverance of Europe from tyranny, and holds out the prospect of fresh armies coming to their succour.

The city of Frankfort was now to be honoured with such an assemblage of sovereigns as have seldom been united in person in maintaining a common cause. On November 5th, the emperor Alexander made his entrance on horse-back at the head of the Russian and Prussian guards, commanded by the grand duke Constantine. He was soon followed by the Austrian emperor, accompanied by a numerous and splendid attendance, and several foreign ministers. They were afterwards joined by the kings of Prussia and Bavaria, and by several of the sovereign princes of Germany. A treaty was about this time concluded at Fulda between the emperor of Austria and the king of Wurtemberg, by virtue of which the latter renounced the confederation of the Rhine, and agreed to join his troops with those of the allies. Well might Napoleon say, when thus deserted by kings of his own creation, "all the world is now against us."

Previously to these latter transactions, various operations had been carrying on in Carniola and Istria, between the forces of the viceroy Eugene Beauharnois and general Nugent. The former had his principal force at Laybach; and, finding himself much incommoded by the position of Nugent, he attacked it with a very superior force, but failed in his object; and the Austrians gained possession of Istria, guarding the ridge of mountains which run from Trieste to Fiume. Various movements ensued in consequence of the viceroy's attempt to keep up a communication with Trieste, which was threatened by Nugent, in concert with admiral Freemantle, the British commander in the Adriatic. At length the French, after considerable losses, were obliged to retire across the Lisonzo into Italy, leaving Gorizia in the hands of the Austrians. On October 12th, the town of Trieste was occupied by the Austrian troops, and the siege of its castle was commenced, the guns for the purpose being landed from the fleet with a body of marines. Detachments from various corps in British pay were also landed from Lissa to assist in the enterprize. The operations being pushed with great vigour, the garrison capitulated about the end of the month, and thus possession was obtained of the Dalmatian coast to the upper end of the Adriatic. This success was announced by a public notification from the prince regent on December 11th, that the blockade between Trieste and the southern end of Dalmatian, was discontinued. On the same day the blockade was taken off from all the ports of the United Provinces, except such as were still in the power of the French. The strong fortresses of Zara, in Dalmatia, capitulated to the combined Austrian and British forces on December 6th, after a cannonade of thirteen days, the garrison remaining prisoners of war.

The crown prince did not himself march for Holland, as he appears at first to have intended; but with the main body of his army, about the end of November, crossed the Elbe, with the view of forcing Davoust from the line of the Stecknitz. The relief of the suffering city of Hamburg was another object, which, however, was not yet to be accomplished; and the separation of Denmark from its alliance with France, was a more remote purpose, which the Swedish prince could not fail to keep in view.

In Holland, the cause of national independence proceeded with all the success that could be expected from the unanimity of the

people, and the zealous efforts of the allies for its support. Succours from England were continually arriving, and that able general, sir Thomas Graham, was nominated to the chief command of the British forces. A proclamation of the prince of Orange from the Hague, on December 6th, enters more explicitly into the subject of the change of constitution, than had hitherto been done. After mentioning the necessity of delaying for some time, his solemn installation in the sovereignty to which he had been invited, his highness expresses his hope in the course of a few weeks, he shall be able to announce to the nation, and also to submit to his fellow countrymen, a constitution which, under a monarchial form, which they themselves have chosen, may secure to them their morals, their personal rights and privileges, in one word, their antient freedom. In the mean time he declares that he has taken the reins of government into his own hands, and dissolves the subsisting government of the United Netherlands. By another proclamation, dated December 9th, the prince earnestly calls upon the Netherlanders to promote, by voluntary contributions, a general arming for the complete liberation of their country from the French. The town of Helvoetsluys being evacuated by the French garrison on the night of the 5th, afforded a desirable landing place from England, which had before been wanting. The flotilla stationed there sailed to Williamstadt, which fortress also was deserted by the French on the 10th, the garrison retiring towards Bergen-op-Zoom, after ineffectually attempting to destroy the flotilla. The important town of Breda, the capital of Dutch Flanders, was about this time taken possession of by 300 of Benkendorff's cossacks, who appeared before it.

During the armistice, Napoleon took up his residence chiefly at Dresden, where he employed himself in reviewing the reinforcements of troops that were frequently arriving from France, and in occasional visits to the fortified places in the vicinity, which were diligently strengthened, and put in the best possible state of defence. Negotiations proceeded but slowly, and a convention was signed at Newmarkt for the prolongation of the armistice to the 10th of August. The members of the proposed congress assembled at Prague; who were, on the part of the French emperor, the count de Narbonne and Caulincourt; on that of the emperor of Russia, the privy counsellor D'Anstett; of the king of Prussia, baron Humbolt; of the emperor of Austria, the count Metternich. Meantime all Germany resounded with preparations for the renewal of war. The king of Prussia published a decree for a levy en-masse in his dominions, for its internal defence, whilst its regular army should be employed in concert with that of the other allies. But it was to Austria that the public attention was chiefly directed, where the great augmentation of the forces, and the warlike measures of different kinds, announced designs of higher purpose than merely maintaining a posture of neutrality. Towards the end of July, the troops of the line quitted Vienna, and the burgher guard performed duty in the city and suburbs. Levies were carried on through all the hereditary dominions; the arsenals were filled with artillery and ammunition; an extensive enrolment or insurrection was organized in Hungary. On the other side, Bavaria took the alarm, and levied additional forces, besides placing its fortresses in the best condition.

At length the armistice terminated without having produced the effect of opening a road to peace; and Barclay de Tolly, now commander-in-chief of the allied army, announced from his head-quarters at Reichenbach, to the French general, the prince of Neufchatel, the recommencement of hostilities on August 17th. On the 11th, count Metternich delivered to the count de Narbonne, at Prague, a declaration of war by Austria, against France. This important document, styled a manifesto, began with adverting to the part which Austria had been compelled to take in the wars that for twenty years past had desolated Europe, during which his imperial majesty's only object had been self-preservation, and the maintenance of the social system, without any views of conquest or aggrandizement. He then took notice of the cession of his provinces on the Adriatic, which was the result of the war of 1809, and which would have been a still more sensible blow, had not at the same time the whole continent been closed by a general destructive system prohibiting all commercial intercourse. Convinced of the impossibility, in the existing

state, of Europe of any improvement in its political condition from the exertions of individual powers, and that a peace of some continuance was necessary for the restoration of his own and the neighbouring states, he made a sacrifice of what was dearest to his heart, and "exalted above all common scruples," consented to an alliance which might incline the stronger victorious party to a course of moderation and justice; an effect which he had the more reason to expect, as at the time the emperor Napoleon had attained the point at which the preservation of his conquests was a more natural object than a struggle after new possessions. In 1810, however, he resolved to unite a considerable portion of the north of Germany, with the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, to the mass of the French empire, without any other pretext than that the war with England required it. The manifesto proceeds to make a number of observations on the effects of this usurpation, particularly on the alarm it might justly excite in Prussia and Russia, and considers it decisive of a future rupture between Russia and France. It then touches, in the way of apology, upon the part Austria had been obliged to take in the war with Russia, and on the events of that war. Its result was a confederacy which presented a point of union to the neighbouring states; and in all parts of Germany the desires of the people anticipated the proceedings of their governments. The Austrian cabinet, as far back as December, took steps to dispose the French emperor to peaceful policy; but to all its advances the answer was, that he would listen to no proposals of peace that should violate the integrity of the French empire, in the French sense of the word. This was the more mortifying to Austria, as it placed her invitations to peace, made with the consent of France, to other courts, in a false and disadvantageous light; and when a minister was sent to London to invite England to share in a negotiation for peace, the British minister replied, "that they could not believe that Austria still entertained hopes of peace, when the emperor Napoleon at the same time expressed sentiments which could only tend to the perpetuation of war." It now became evident that either by negotiation or by force of arms a new state of things must be effected. Austria made preparations for war, which even Napoleon acknowledged to be necessary. The actions which brought on the retreat of the allies and the armistice, rendered it still more impossible for the emperor of Austria to remain an inactive spectator. The state of the Prussian monarchy, in particular, attracted his attention; its restoration being the first step towards that of the political system of Europe. As early as the month of April, Napoleon had suggested to the Austrian cabinet that he regarded the dissolution of that monarchy as a natural consequence of its defection from France, and that it now only depended on Austria to add the most flourishing of its provinces to her own state; a sufficient indication that no means were to be neglected to save that power either by negotiation or arms.

The manifesto then takes notice of the congress of Prague, which, when first proposed by Napoleon, was perfectly unknown to the Austrian cabinet, which became acquainted with it only by the medium of the public papers. It states the reasons for the emperor's concurrence in this project, and his acceptance of the office of mediator, with the protraction of the armistice. Another attempt for including the British government in the negotiation is then mentioned, to which Napoleon at first gave his approbation; but, after various delays, finally refused to grant passports to the persons who were to proceed from France to England for the purpose. Other circumstances are then mentioned to shew that France was disinclined to any serious step to facilitate a treaty. At length, "the congress was at an end, and the resolution which Austria had to form was previously determined, by the progress of the negotiation, by the actual conviction of the impossibility of peace, by the no longer doubtful point of view in which his majesty examined the great question in dispute, by the principles and intentions of the allies, wherein the emperor recognized his own, and finally, by the former positive declarations, which left no room for misconception."

Such was the general substance of this state paper, in which, though ably drawn up, may be discerned the difficulty of conciliating the past measures of a temporary policy with the principles of justice, and regard to the public good, which are represented as having dictated so important a charge. It is mani-

fest, however, that, as in the case of Prussia, the new prospects open of freeing the European continent from an overwhelming power, wielded by insatiable ambition, were the real motives which induced Austria to desert her connection with France, and join the allies; and if an apology were necessary for this conduct, the same which applied to Prussia would serve for her. The circumstance itself was decisive of the future contest, for such a weight thrown into a scale nearly upon the balance, could not fail to make it preponderate. The following treaty of alliance between Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain, was the concomitant of this declaration.

"In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity, his majesty the emperor of Austria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, being animated with the same desire of putting a stop to the sufferings of Europe, and to restore its future tranquillity, by a restoration of a just balance of power among nations, have determined on continuing the war in which they are engaged for that salutary purpose, with the whole of the force with which Providence has endowed them. As they, at the same time, wish to extend the effects of so beneficial a mutual understanding, to such time when, after the intent of the present war being fully attained, their mutual interests will naturally require the support of the order of affairs, which will be restored by the happy results of it; they have, therefore, nominated and appointed the following persons for fixing the articles of a treaty of amity and mutual defence, and furnished them with their instructions, viz. his majesty the emperor of Austria, &c. &c. has nominated M. Clemens Wenzel Lothar, count of Metternich-Winnebourg-Ochsinhausen, knight of the order of the golden fleece, &c. &c. &c. and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias M. Charles Robert, count of Nesselrode, privy counsellor, &c. &c. &c. who, after having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and proper form, have agreed on the following articles:—

"Art. 1—A sincere and perpetual amity and unity shall take place between his majesty the emperor of Austria, &c. &c. and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, their heirs and descendants. The high contracting powers will therefore use their utmost endeavours for the preservation of the friendship and good understanding mutually subsisting between them, and for avoiding every thing which might tend to destroy the harmony and good understanding so happily subsisting between them.

"Art. 2—His majesty the emperor of Austria guarantees to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias the possession of all his states, provinces, and domains.

"His majesty the emperor of Russia, on the other hand, guarantees to his majesty the emperor of Austria, the possession of the states, provinces, and domains appertaining to the crown of his imperial and apostolic majesty.

"Art. 3.—In consequence of this mutual guarantee the high contracting powers will act in continual unanimity in such measures as shall appear to them most proper and conducive to the peace of Europe, and in case of the states of the one or other of the said powers being threatened with an invasion, to interfere in the most active manner for its protection.

"Art. 4.—But as that promised interference might not have the wished-for effect, their imperial majesties engaged themselves, from this moment forwards, in case of one or the other being attacked, mutually to assist each other with a corps of 60,000 men.

"Art. 5.—This army shall consist of 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, and be provided with a corps of field artillery, ammunition, and all other necessaries, in proportion to the number of troops above stipulated. The auxiliary army shall arrive on the borders of the territories of the power attacked or menaced with an invasion of its states, within two months after such requests shall have been made.

"Art. 6.—The auxiliary corps shall be under the immediate command of the commander-in-chief of the requiring power; it shall be commanded by its own general, and in all military operations regulated by the rules of war. The pay of the auxiliary army shall be made by the requiring power, the rations and portions of provisions, forage, &c. supplied, as well as its quarters, and as soon as the auxiliary army has passed the borders,

and this in the same proportion as its own troops is or shall be supplied, both in the field and in their quarters.

"ART. 7.—The military operations and the economy of the internal management of these troops shall depend entirely and solely upon their own commander. They may not be separated. Such trophies of victory and booty as may be taken from the enemy shall belong to those troops who have taken them.

"ART. 8—In case of the stipulated assistance not being sufficient for that of the high contracting powers, which may be attacked, his majesty the emperor of Austria and his majesty the emperor of Russia agree to consult each other concerning the furnishing of a more considerable assistance, according as circumstances may require, and without loss of time.

"ART. 9.—The contracting parties mutually promise to each other, that in case one or the other of them shall be obliged to take up arms, not to make any peace or armistice without its ally, that the latter may not be attacked in hatred for the assistance given.

"ART. 10.—The envoys and ambassadors of the high contracting parties, at foreign courts, shall receive orders to assist each other by mutual interferences, and on all occasions, wherein the interests of their masters are concerned to act in perfect concert.

"ART. 11.—The high contracting powers have no other view in concluding this purely defensive treaty of amity and alliance, than that of guaranteeing their respective possessions and to preserve the general peace, as far as lies in their power; they do not mean to make the least encroachment on their earlier and particular engagements which they have entered into with their respective allies; but on the contrary, they each reserve to themselves the liberty of making, in future, treaties with such powers, whose alliance, far from causing any detriment to this treaty, might give it still more force and activity. They, nevertheless, promise not to enter into any engagements contrary to this present treaty, but rather will, by their mutual understanding, invite and admit other courts, who entertain the same sentiments, to a participation of it.

"ART. 12.—The present treaty shall be ratified by his imperial and apostolic majesty, and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and the ratifications exchanged within fourteen days, to be reckoned from the day of its being signed, or sooner if possible. In testimony whereof we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have by virtue of our full powers, signed this present treaty of amity and defensive alliance, and caused our seals to be thereunto affixed.

"DONE at Töplitz on the 9th of September, (28th August) in the year 1813.

"CLEM. WINZ. LOTHUR,
Count of Metternich-Winnebourg-Ochsinhausen.

"CARL ROBERT,
Count of Nesselrode."

ADDRESS TO THE SAXON SOLDIERS ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE ELBE.

"SOLDIERS!—You who since the occurrence of the 6th September, have been separated from your parties, would not return to them, because that you would no longer be made the implements of the tyranny under which your country suffers; feel, likewise, that it is unworthy of you to wander about in the woods, and become burthensome to the farmer, to whose safety and protection you do not contribute, by making demands on him which he cannot satisfy. Have you fully determined (and who can blame you for it?) not to return to the army, which is in alliance with the French, and do you believe that the time is near approaching when the yoke of tyranny will be broken, and the neck of our country be freed from the foot of its oppressors; when your parents, brethren, relations and friends will no longer be tributary with their sweat and blood to those foreigners. Take then courage and will to seize the advantage of this period, and fight in the cause of liberty and of your fellow-citizens which is your own; with the armies of the noble nations, who are shedding their blood in, and for Germany.

"ALREADY have a number of your allies and comrades of the troops of the confederation of the Rhine, entered the ranks of those who defend our common cause, who are fighting for the liberation of Germany; and according to accounts received, the Bavarian and Wurtemberg army, may, perhaps, at

this moment, have shaken off the French alliance, and on the 23rd of this month, the Saxon battalion of Koenig, whose commander is the under-signed, had already separated itself from the corps of Regnier, and joined the Swedish army.

"HERE under the protection and command of the illustrious crown prince of Sweden, who was known and adored by you in the Austrian campaign, as the prince of Ponte Corvo, and as your commander, to whom you were bound by the ties of the most lively attachment and gratitude, who praised your valiant exertions on the days of the 5th and 6th of June, 1809, and who will now shew you a nobler point of view, and give you more suitable employment, the battalion of Koenig forms here the first battalion of a Saxon legion, which we expect will be joined to the Saxon troops.

"RETURN then here, to us, to your comrades! assemble here, where you will again find the greater part of your captive brethren in arms to carry them against the enemies of German liberty; and the gratitude of your countrymen, the blessings of your parents, and the happiness of your families, will reward you.

"OFFICERS who read this address, and who had earlier quitted the service, or who possibly were led by accident into those parts, even to them does the sacred cause of humanity appeal, and to them likewise is the road now opened for following their noble desire.

"THE commander of the 1st battalion of the royal Saxon legion of the former battalion of Koenig.

(Signed) "Major VON BUNOU,

"IN the name of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the said battalion.

"*Zerbst*, 28*th September* 1813."

THE prince royal of Sweden, with the title of generalissimo of the combined army of the north of Germany, addressed a proclamation to his troops from Cranienburg, on August 15th, in which he called upon their exertions for restoring the liberty of Europe. He was at Potsdam on the following day, and on the 18th removed his head-quarters to Charlottenburg. As advice had been received that the enemy were assembling in force at Bareuth, with the intention of making a push on Berlin, he concentrated his army between that capital and Spandau, to the number of nearly 90,000 men. Napoleon was at this time actively employed, sometimes on the banks of the Bober, sometimes upon the debouches from Bohemia, and sometimes on the Elbe; and various military operations took place, the results of which were stated in the French papers as favorable to his arms. The two allied emperors and the king of Prussia had an interview in the middle of this month, at Prague, at which capital several detachments of the Austrian guard arrived. Their conferences terminated in a plan of offensive measures, of which the relation probably most to be depended upon, is contained in different despatches from sir Charles Stewart. From these it appears that the first object of the allies was to attack the enemy in front and rear, if he should still maintain his forward positions in Lusatia, and on the right bank of the Elbe. For this purpose, while the main Russian army under Barclay de Tolly, and the Prussian corps of Kleist, with the whole Austrian army, were to act from Bohemia, under the chief command of prince Schwartzenberg. Blucher's corps d'armeé, composed of a division of Prussians, and two Russian divisions, was to move from Silesia, and threaten the enemy in front. Blucher accordingly advanced; and the enemy abandoning Buntzlau after destroying their works, he arrived on the Bober. He was there attacked by the French in great force on August 21st, Napoleon himself being said to have commanded in person; and, after a severe contest, Blucher retired with loss. The grand armies on the Bohemian side passed the frontiers on the 20th and 21st, and were met by the enemy on the frontiers; and although the latter contested every inch of ground, they were driven back towards Dresden from all their positions. The principal action was between the right corps of the allies under Witgenstein, which had pushed before the rest, and the French under Gouvion St. Cyr, which terminated in the retreat of the latter. The allies continued to move forward, till, on the 26th, their respective advanced-guards encamped on the heights above Dresden. On the following day the

enemy abandoned their ground before that city, and withdrew into the suburbs and into different works.

It had been the business of several months, during the occupation of Dresden by the French, to strengthen it with fortifications, on which all the art of the engineer had been bestowed, and Napoleon was within its walls with a force estimated at 130,000 men. The determination of the allied generals to make an assault upon it cannot therefore but be regarded as of extraordinary boldness. An attack upon the Grossen Garten, or gardens in front on the town, on the morning of the 27th by the light troops of Witgenstein and Kleist, was attended with some loss. At four in the evening of that day the allied army in different columns moved to the grand assault under a tremendous cannonade. The Austrians took an advanced redoubt not 60 yards from the main wall, and the troops on all sides, with the most undaunted courage, approached close to the town. But the enemy retired from their outworks only to take shelter behind new defences, and the thick wall of the town resisted the impression of the artillery. At the approach of night a sortie was made by the French guards, amounting to 30,000 men, with the intention to separate the allied troops, and to take one wing in front and rear. This was frustrated by a skilful disposition, but no hope now remained of carrying the place. The loss in this assault is estimated at 4000 men, which chiefly fell upon the Austrians.

On the following day the French became the assailants. Napoleon, supported by an immense artillery, moved to the attack of the allies, who occupied a very extended position on the heights surrounding Dresden. The battle was chiefly carried on by cannonade, though charges were made in different parts by the allied cavalry, which had to contend with bad roads and incessant rain. The main bodies of infantry on each side did not come into contact. Among the disasters of the day was the mortal wound received by the celebrated general Moreau, who had left his retreat in America to visit his old fellow soldier, the crown prince of Sweden, and had engaged in that party which he regarded as the true cause of liberty and mankind. As he was conversing with the emperor of Russia, a cannon-shot which passed through his horse carried off one of his legs and shattered the other; and after suffering two amputations with great fortitude, he died in the severest agony. The result of the day was that the allies retreated in the evening with an acknowledged loss of 6000 or 7000 men. The French accounts of the two actions swell the losses to an exorbitant amount. That the check was severe appeared from the retrograde movements of the allies which were directed upon Bohemia, across the range of mountains which separate that kingdom from Saxony. It was not to be expected that they should retreat unmolested from such an enemy as they had to contend with. A large division of the French army, under generals Vandamme and Bertrand, crossing the Elbe at Pirna and Konigstein, pre-occupied the pass in the mountains at Osterwalde, through which the Russian column under count Osterman was to proceed on the road to Toplitz; and it became necessary for the Russians to force their way with the bayonet. The reserves of the Russian guards were sent to their support, and during the greatest part of the day on the 30th they remained in action with the enemy. The king of Prussia, who was at Toplitz, made very able dispositions to reinforce Osterman, and the result of the day was the loss of 3000 killed and wounded of the Russians, and a much greater of the French. The following day proved decisive respecting this division of the enemy, whose rapid advance rendered an attack upon them necessary in order to give time for the retiring columns of the allies to fall back, and to extricate general Kleist, who was still engaged in the mountains. The French had taken a strong position at Kulm three German miles from Toplitz, when an united force of Prussians and Austrians, under Miloradovitch and Coloredo, commenced their attack. In the midst of it Kleist was seen descending the mountains on the rear of the enemy, who, thus assailed on all sides, was completely put to the rout, the immediate fruits of the victory being the capture of Vandamme and six other general officers, all his baggage, 60 pieces of artillery, and about 10,000 prisoners.

In the meantime the arms of the allies were crowned with success in another

quarter. General Blucher having been again attacked on August 22nd, near Goldberg, after a sanguinary conflict retired upon Jauer. On the 25th, marshal Macdonald, who occupied a very strong position near that place, advanced with the expectation of carrying it; but he was himself attacked by Blucher on the 26th, and after a severe action, terminated only by the night, the French were driven back upon the Katsbach. That river being swoln by rains, and its bridges being broken afforded no passage for artillery, so that on the following and succeeding day, the combat being renewed, the French incurred a loss estimated at 18,000 prisoners, including a general of division, and two generals of brigade, 103 pieces of cannon, a great quantity of ammunition and provision, two eagles, and other trophies of victory. The allies continued to advance till, on September 2nd, Blucher, encamped near Gorlitz in Lusatia, was able to congratulate his troops on the deliverance of Silesia from the enemy.

The crown prince of Sweden, whom we left posted in advance of Berlin for the defence of that capital, had his head quarters on August 30th at Belitz, to the south of Potsdam. Parties from his army had been successful against the French, and were in possession of several places further southward. The prince, on September 4th, being on his march, with an intention of crossing the Elbe, and proceeding towards Leipsic, was informed that the enemy, after making a demonstration of passing to the left side of that river, had suddenly returned to their entrenchments in advance of Wittenberg. Conjecturing their intention to be either to attack the combined army as it was crossing the Elbe, or to push for Berlin, he made a halt, and soon learned that the enemy was marching upon Zahne, where a corps belonging to count Tauentzem's division was posted. They attacked that post in the evening of the 4th, but without success. On the 5th the attack was renewed with a force so superior, that the post, and another at Seyda were carried. On the 6th, the crown prince having collected the Swedish and Russian armies upon the heights of Lobessen, was informed that the enemy's whole army, consisting of 70,000 men, and composed of the corps d'armeé of the marshal duke of Reggio, of the generals Bertrand and Regnier, of the duke of Padua, and a body of Polish horse; the whole under the command of marshal prince of Moskwa, Ney, was in full march upon Juterbock. He immediately directed general Bulow, with the Prussians, to attack the flank and rear of the enemy, before Tauentzein, who defended the approaches of the town, should be overwhelmed by numbers. The action soon commenced between the enemy and the Prussians, who sustained with great firmness the force of superior numbers, whilst the Swedes and Russians, after a long march, were getting into order of battle. Part of their cavalry arriving at full speed checked the effort of the enemy, and as soon as the columns began to appear, the day was decided, and the French beat a retreat. They were vigorously pursued; and the result, on the 8th, was a return of the enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at from 16,000 to 18,000 men, with more than 50 pieces of cannon, and 400 ammunition waggons. The loss of the allies fell almost solely upon the Prussians, who had from 4000 to 5000 killed and wounded. This battle was fought near the village of Dennewitz, whose name it bears. The French retired upon Torgau, still pursued by the light troops of the combined army, who made 800 prisoners close to the tête-de-pont of that town. Whilst these events were passing in this quarter, the prince of Eckmuhl (Davoust) in the night between the 2nd and 3rd of September, evacuated Schwerin in Mecklenburg, and retreating in two columns to Ratzeburg, the division of general Loison at the same time retiring from Wirmur to Schoneburg. At this place the Danes separated from the French, and marched to Lubeck, where they left a garrison. The whole French corps afterwards fell back behind the Stecknitz, where they entrenched themselves, having suffered considerable loss in their precipitate retreat.

These important successes to the allied arms more than compensated their failure before Dresden, and on the 4th and 5th of September the combined army in Bohemia made a forward movement, the effect of which was to recal Napoleon from a meditated attack upon Blucher, who had fallen back before the superior forces brought against him. The Russians and Prussians, under Barclay de Tolly and Witgenstein, re-entered Saxony by Peterswalde and Marienberg, and

pushed the advanced posts within sight of Dresden; while prince Schwartzenberg, with a large part of the Austrian army, marched by Aussig and Leutmeritz, and threw a great force on the enemy's right in Lusatia. On the 8th, Witgenstein's corps, and a part of Kleist's, under the command of general Ziethen, which had advanced to the Elbe, above Dresden, were attacked by a strong body of the enemy, which obliged Witgenstein to evacuate the village of Dohna, and retreat towards Peterswalde, Pirna being still occupied by Zeithen. The enemy continued to advance on the 9th, while the allies fell back, disputing every inch of ground. The Austrians, who had advanced to Leutmeritz and Aussig, were now ordered to counter-march: and the allies began to collect all their forces near Toplitz, in order to resist the numerous forces of the enemy, with Napoleon in person, who seemed to purpose a general attack. By the 12th, they had advanced close to Culm; but at this time above half the Austrian corps had rejoined the army, and had taken a position with it. After a reconnoissance, therefore, the French emperor thought proper to commence a retreat.

On the 15th, prince Schwartzenberg caused a general charge to be made on the enemy wherever an advantageous opportunity could be found, and several vigorous attacks were the result. Count Pahlen was opposed by a French advanced corps under general Bonnet, which made a good stand, but was at length obliged to retire. On the 16th, the French occupied the mountain and heights in front of Nollendorff in considerable force, and on the 17th, Napoleon made an attempt to turn the flanks of the allies, and at the same time to force their centre, in which he seems to have had some partial success; but a timely and skilful movement of count Coloredo defeated the plan, by attacking the enemy's column which had gained the right, and which was obliged to retreat with the loss of 2000 or 3000 prisoners. The French still retained possession of Nollendorff and the heights, from which, however, they withdrew on the 20th, falling back towards Dresden. At length the whole measured back their steps to the Elbe, in wretched condition, and having suffered severe losses among the mountains, as well from want and fatigue as from the enemy. By this expedition, nothing more was effected than giving a tempory check to the allies in their efforts to regain the command of the Elbe, and expel the French from Saxony.

Blucher at this time was posted at Bautzen, where he maintained a communication with the grand allied army. The crown prince had his head-quarters at Zerbst, and held advanced posts on the Elbe, some detachments of his cavalry acting on the left bank of that river. Count Walmoden, commanding a body of allies on the Lower Elbe, having been informed that Davoust had detached the general of Division, Pecheux, with his corps, to the left bank of the Elbe, in order to clear it and advance to Magdeburg, crossed that river on September 14th, near Domitz, and marched to meet him. On the 10th, he brought the enemy to action, whom he entirely defeated and dispersed, with a loss of from 1500 to 2000 men in killed and wounded, and 1500 prisoners, with eight pieces of artillery.

The allies now began to put in execution a grand plan of co-operation, which was to be decisive of the result of the campaign. A large force, composed of Russians and Prussians, with the entire Austrian army of Bohemia, debouched from the passes through Erzegebrig, and marched by Chemnitz and Freyberg towards Leipsic. The intelligence of the movement determined the crown prince to attempt the passage of the Elbe.

As he was making his preparations, he received information from general Blucher, of his intention to move his army to the Elbe, and cross that river at Elster. This he effected on October 3rd, and was immediately after engaged with the 4th French corps under general Bertrand, which was entrenched at a neighbouring village. A sanguinary conflict ensued, which terminated in the rout of the French with great loss. Blucher afterwards fixed his head-quarters at Kremberg, and pushed his cavalry to Duben, within 20 miles of Leipsic. The crown prince, in the mean time, whose advanced guard, after taking possession of Dessau, had been obliged to relinquish it, caused a bridge to be thrown over the Elbe, lower down at Acken; and learning the success of Blucher, he passed his whole army on the 4th, partly at that place and partly at Rosslau. The French, under Ney, now retreated from Dessau, lest

they should be placed between two fires, and the crown prince took up his quarters there. The situation of the French was rendered more critical by the parties of the allies which were spreading in his rear, and impeding all communication between them and France. Platoff covered the country on the Saale and Mulda, and between them and the Elbe, with detachments of his cossacks. The Russian general Czernicheff, after three successful actions, pushed on to Cassel, which he entered by capitulation on the 30th of September, the petty king Jerome having only two hours before taken his flight towards Frankfort. It was not long, however, before he was replaced in his capital. In the north of Germany, the allied arms obtained the same superiority; and general Tettenborne, on October 14th, entered Bremen by composition, the garrison being allowed to depart on condition of not serving against the allies for a year.

Leipsic being the point to which the great efforts of the allies were directed, the possession of which was of the highest importance to each party, Napoleon found it necessary, on October 7th, to quit Dresden in company with the king of Saxony, and take post at Rochlitz, about 40 miles to the west of that city, and 25 to the south of Leipsic. He there assembled his forces to the supposed number of 180,000 men, exclusively of his garrisons, which might amount to 30,000 more. They were chiefly stationed on the right bank of the Mulda, on a line parallel to that of the Elbe. Leipsic is placed nearly midway between the Mulda and the Saale; the passage of the latter river, therefore, by the army of the crown prince, would enable him to advance upon Leipsic from the north west, along its left bank, whilst the army from Bohemia was making its approach by Chemnitz and Altenburg from the south. This movement it was determined to execute, notwithstanding the demonstration made by the enemy on the Elbe towards Torgau and Wittenberg, and which gave an alarm to Berlin. On the 10th, the armies of the crown prince and Blucher joined at Zorbig, when the passage of the Saale was concluded upon. This was effected by Blucher at Halle; and at this time information was received that Platoff, with his cossacks, was at Pegau, and that Kleist and Wittgenstein, ith the van-guard of the Bohemian army, was approaching Altenburg. At this momentous period an important accession was made to the cause of Germany by a treaty of alliance and concert between Austria and Bavaria, signed on the 8th by prince Reuss and general Wrede, in virtue of which the latter, with 55,000 Bavarian troops, was to act with the Austrians. When the antient enmity between these powers, and the particular favours conferred on the latter by the French ruler, are considered, a more convincing proof of the prevalent disposition throughout Germany to unite in freeing the country from the yoke imposed upon it by the ambition of Napoleon, could not be given.

It was impossible that the numerous troops collected round Leipsic could long remain without coming to action; indeed, the allies, full of hope and spirit, had concentrated their force with the resolution of becoming assailants the moment their dispositions should be completed. It was the glorious lot of that brave and able commander, general Blucher, to lead the way to victory. Advancing from his position at Halle, on October 14th, to Gross Kagel, he pushed his van on the great road to Leipsic, occupying the villages on each side of it. The crown prince gave orders to march to Halle on that night; but when his troops were in march, he took up his head-quarters at Sylbitz. Blucher found the French forces under marshals Marmont and Ney, and general Bertrand occupying a line in an open country, comprehending several villages. The enemy, after the first onset, gave up the advanced villages, and retired to some distance, but obstinately held some of the more defensible. At one of these, named Mockern, a very bloody contest took place, it being taken and retaken five times. The corps of D'York was engaged at this spot, and suffered great loss. At length this position was forced, and the enemy were driven beyond the Partha. The villages in the woody ground on the right were also the scene of sharp action, in which the Russians under Langeron fought against the corps of Ney. They were, however, finally successful, and night put an end to the battle. The loss of the allies was severe, amounting to 7000 killed and wounded, including many commanders. The fruits of victory were 12,000 killed, wounded, and

prisoners, an eagle, and forty pieces of cannon.

The artillery thundered at intervals towards Liebertwolkwitz. In the forenoon, wounded French, chiefly cavalry, kept coming in singly. There was no end to the marching of horse and foot, and the rolling of carriages. At every ten paces you met with corps de garde, by whom every non-military person without distinction, was ordered back. Napoleon arrived about noon, on the road from Berlin, passed hastily through the city, and out at the furthest Grimma gate, attended by some battalions and squadrons of his guards. A camp chair and a table were brought in all haste, and a great watch-fire kindled in the open field not far from the gallows. The emperor took possession of the head-quarters prepared for him, which were any thing but magnificent, being surrounded only by the relics of the stalks and leaves of cabbages consumed by his soldiers, and other objects still more offensive. The table was instantly covered with maps, which the emperor attentively examined for a considerable time. The spectators were allowed to approach unobstructed, within twenty paces, but Napoleon did not appear to take the smallest notice of those who surrounded him. A long train of carriages from the Wurzen road, the cracking of the whips of the postillions, and the approach of a great number of horse-soldiers and tall grenadiers, announced the arrival of another distinguished personage. It was the king of Saxony with his guards and retinue. He alighted, and a kind salutation ensued between him and his august ally. The king soon afterwards mounted a horse, and thus proceeded into the city. Napoleon, meanwhile, remained where he was. He sometimes rose from his seat, went up to the watch-fire, held his hands over it, rubbed them, and then placed them behind him, while with his foot he pushed the wood, consisting of dry boards and rafters, to make it burn more fiercely. At the same time he very frequently took snuff, and poured upon his hand the small quantity left in his gold box. It was about four in the afternoon when one of his aid-de-camps came at full speed from the city and made a report. The emperor immediately mounted his horse, and at the head of his guards, which at this moment arrived, he proceeded to the Kohlgarten, a suburb of Leipsic, where, insensible to the important and destructive operations by which he was surrounded, he quietly passed the night.

On the 16th, the grand army made a general attack to the south of Leipsic, towards Wacher and Liebertwolkwitz. The country being particularly adapted for cavalry, they were chiefly employed in this engagement, with a tremendous artillery of 600 pieces on both sides. Two solitary buildings in the centre of the enemy's position were occupied by several battalions of infantry; and, after repeated attacks by the Russian infantry, were carried with great carnage. Murat then brought forward the whole of the French cavalry, and made a desperate push at the centre of the allies, which for a time was forced; but a charge of six regiments of Austrian cuirassiers, which nothing could withstand, restored the position, and, after much slaughter, the two armies remained nearly on the ground on which the combat commenced.

The 17th chiefly passed in preparation for a renewal of the contest. The crown prince moved from his head-quarters at Landsberg to Brittenfield. Winzingerode's cavalry and artillery had moved forward in the night near the heights of Taucha. The enemy shewed himself in great force in a good position on the left of the Partha, upon a ridge parallel to that river. Some Mecklenburg hussars pushed into the suburbs of Leipsic, and took three pieces of cannon and a few prisoners. On the morning of the 18th, the different armies advanced from the villages round Leipsic for their grand attack on that city. The first operation of the crown prince's army was to force the enemy's right, and obtain possession of the heights of Tauchas. This was effected, and general Winzingerode took about 3000 prisoners and some cannon, at Taucha. The enemy's infantry soon after abandoned the line of the Partha, and retired over the plain towards Leipsic, occupying in strength some villages to cover their retreat. In forcing of these, considerable resistance was experienced by the corps of Langeron and Bulow, but at length they were all carried. A retiring solid square of French infantry was thrown into such consternation by the rocket brigade under captain Bogue, that it surrendered after the first fire. During the action in this part, 22 guns of Saxon artillery joined

the allies, and were instantly turned against the enemy; and two Westphalian regiments of hussars, with two battalions of Saxons, also came over, and readily accepted the offer of the crown prince to lead them against their former ally. On the southern side, whence the grand allied army made its attacks, the enemy resisted with great obstinacy at various points, but were finally driven from their posts, and a communication was established between the two armies. The result of this important day was a loss to the enemy of 40,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, among the latter of whom were many generals, 65 pieces of artillery, and the desertion of 17 German battalions, which joined the victors with their generals and staff. The conquering armies remained during the night on the ground they had won. On the morning of the 19th, the king of Saxony sent a flag of truce to the emperor Alexander, requesting him to spare the town of Leipsic; but that sovereign, considering it as a feint to gain time, ordered an immediate assault. Leipsic was taken after a short resistance, the allies entering at eleven, two hours after Napoleon had made his escape. There were captured with it the king of Saxony with all his court, the garrison and rear-guard of the French army, amounting to 30,000, all the sick and wounded, computed at 22,000; the magazines, artillery, and stores. Nothing could be more complete than this success. The emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and the crown prince of Sweden, each at the head of their respective troops, made their entry from different points, and met in the great square, amidst the universal acclamations of the people, which were doubtless sincere, since that unfortunate town had been a dreadful sufferer from being made the great hospital of the French army; and the Saxons had long manifested an impatience to be delivered from that thraldom to which their sovereign's engagements with the French had consigned them. General Blucher's great services were rewarded by the rank of field marshal; and marshal prince Schwartzenberg was decorated with orders by the emperors of Austria and Russia, and the king of Prussia.

The retreat of the French army was full of confusion and disorder, and the pursuers were daily making prisoners, and capturing cannon and other accompaniments of an army. It was conducted across the Saale by Weissenfels, thence to Erfurt, Gotha, and Eisenbach; general D'Yorck closely attending their march, and taking every opportunity of harassing them. The following particulars are copied from a report of the operations of the Silesian army in pursuit.

"An advanced corps of marshal Blucher's came up with the rear of the enemy at the entrance of the defiles in the mountains, within about a German mile of Eisenbach; the blowing up of several ammunition-waggons, the destruction or abandonment of baggage, and the capture of several stragglers, was the immediate consequence; but the enemy had penetrated far into the defiles, where the ground was not favorable for the advance of cavalry, and it was only by following his march for the three subsequent days, that the precipitancy and disasters of his flight became obvious. For an extent of nearly fifty English miles, from Eisenbach to Fulda, carcases of dead and dying horses, without number; dead bodies of men, who had been either killed or perished through hunger, sickness, or fatigue, lying on the roads or in the ditches; parties of prisoners and stragglers brought in by the cossacks; blown up or destroyed ammunition and baggage-waggons, in such numbers as absolutely to obstruct the road, sufficiently attested the sufferings of the enemy; whilst pillaged and burning towns and villages marked, at the same time, the ferocity with which he had conducted himself. The number of dead bodies on the road had been considerably augmented, from a resolution that had been taken to carry off all the sick and wounded, not resulting surely from any principle of humanity, but probably as matter of boast, in the relations that might be given to the world of the event, as several of these men were found abandoned on the road, in the last gasp of hunger and disease, the dead and the dying frequently mixed together, lying in groups of six or eight, by half extinguished fires on the road sides. Several of these men must have been compelled to move on foot, as their bodies were found on the road with the sticks which they had endeavoured to support their march, lying by their sides. The number of dead bodies might have been counted by hundreds; and in the space from Eisenbach

to Fulda, could, be little less than a thousand. The enemy continued to be closely pursued during the three day's march from Eisenbach to Vach Hunfeld and Fulda, and frequent cannonading ensued at the head of the advanced guard; but the nature of the country not permitting the cavalry to act, the enemy escaped with only such losses as have been enumerated."

The complicated movements and vicissitudes of so important a conflict, are best described in the language of actual observers. The despatches of sir Charles Stewart are not less remarkable for their candour and perspicuity, than the bulletin of Napoleon for its unequivocal confession of the disasters he had sustained; and the merits of both, as guides to the future historian, demand their preservation.

Leipsic, October 19th, 1813.

My lord,

Europe at length approaches her deliverance, and England may triumphantly look forward to reap, in conjunction with her allies, that glory her unexampled and steady efforts in the common cause so justly entitle her to receive.

I wish it had fallen to the lot of an abler pen to detail to your lordship the splendid events of these two last days, but in endeavouring to relate the main facts, to send them off without a moment's delay, I shall best do my duty, postponing more detailed accounts until a fresh opportunity.

The victory of general Blucher, upon the 16th, has been followed, on the 18th, by that of the whole of the combined forces over the army of Buonaparte, in the neighbourhood of Leipsic.

The collective loss of above 100 pieces of cannon, 60,000 men, an immense number of prisoners, the desertion of the whole of the Saxon army, also the Bavarian and Wurtemberg troops, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, many generals, among whom are Regnier, Vallery, Brune, Bertrand, and Lauriston, are some of the first fruits of this glorious day. The capture, by assault, of the town of Leipsic this morning, the magazines, artillery, stores of the place, with the king of Saxony, all his court, the garrison, and rear-guard of the French army, all the enemy's wounded, (the number of which exceed 30,000,) the narrow escape of Buonaparte, who fled from Leipsic at nine o'clock, the allies entering at eleven; the complete deroute of the French army, who are endeavouring to escape in all directions, and who are still surrounded, are the next objects of exultation.

The further result your lordship can best arrive at from an account of our military position.

It will be my endeavour to give you as succinct and clear an account as I am able, first, of the general and combined operations determined upon by the grand army; and, secondly, to describe what immediately came under my own observations, namely, the movements of the prince royal, and general Blucher.

My despatches up to the 17th, have detailed the position of the allied armies up to that date. It being announced by prince Schwartzenberg that it was the intention of their majesties, the allied sovereigns, to renew the attack on the 18th, and the armies of the north and Silesia being directed to cooperate, the following general disposition was made:

I must here observe, that the attack on the 16th, by the grand army, occurred in the neighbourhood of Libert Wolkowitz. The country being particularly adapted for cavalry, a very sanguinary and hard combat ensued with this arm, and an artillery, exceeding in number 600 pieces, between the opposed armies. Two solitary buildings, which the enemy had occupied with several battalions of infantry, and which formed nearly the centre of the enemy's position, were attacked by the Russian infantry, and after several repulses, carried with amazing carnage.

The whole of the enemy's cavalry under Murat, were then brought forward: they made a very desperate push at the centre of the allied position, which for a short period they succeeded in forcing.

To oppose this powerful cavalry, six regiments of Austrian cuirassiers charged in columns. Nothing could surpass either the skill or the desperate bravery of this movement: they overthrew all before them; destroying, I am told, whole regiments, and returned to their ground with many prisoners, having left 700 dragoons within the enemy's line.

Many officers were killed and wounded. General Latour Maubourg, who commanded

the enemy's cavalry, under Murat, lost his leg. Both armies remained nearly on the ground on which the contest commenced.

While the grand army was to commence their attack on the morning of the 18th, from their different points of assembly, on the principal villages situated on the great roads leading to Leipsic, the armies of the north and Silesia were jointly to attack from the line of the Saale, and upon the enemy's position along the Partha river. General Blucher gave to the prince royal of Sweden 30,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, of his army; and with this formidable reinforcement, the northern army was to attack from the heights of Faucha, while general Blucher was to retain his position before Leipsic, and use his utmost efforts to gain possession of the place.

In the event of the whole of the enemy's forces being carried against either of the armies, they were reciprocally to support each other, and concert further movements: that part of the enemy's force which for some time had been opposed to the prince royal of Sweden and general Blucher, had taken up a very good position on the left bank of the Partha, having its right at the strong point of Faucha, and its left towards Leipsic.

To force the enemy's right, and obtain possession of the heights of Faucha, was the first operation of the prince royal's army. The corps of Russians under general Winzingerode, and the Prussians under general Bulow, were destined for this purpose, and the Swedish army were directed to force the passage of the river at Plosen and Mockau.

The passage was effected without much opposition, general Winzingerode took about 3000 prisoners at Faucha, and some guns.

General Blucher put his army in motion as soon as he found the grand army engaged very hotly in the neighbourhood of the villages of Stollintz and Probestheyda, and the infantry of the prince royal's army had not sufficient time to make their flank movement before the enemy's infantry had abandoned the line of the river, and retired over the plain in line and column towards Leipsic, occupying Somerfelt, Paunsdorff, and Schonfeldt, in strength, protecting their retreat.

A very heavy cannonade and some brilliant performances of general Winzingerode's cavalry marked chiefly here the events of the day, except towards the close, when general Langeron, who had crossed the river, attacked the village of Schonfeldt, met with considerable resistance, and at first was not able to force his way. He however took it, but was driven back, when the most positive orders were sent him by general Blucher, to re-occupy it at the point of the bayonet; which he accomplished before dark. Some Prussian battalions of general Bulow's corps were warmly engaged also at Paunsdorff, and the enemy were retiring from it, when the prince royal directed the rocket brigade under captain Bogue, to form on the left of a Prussian battery, and open upon the columns retiring. Congreve's formidable weapon had scarce accomplished the point of paralysing a solid square of infantry, which after one fire delivered themselves up (as if panic struck,) when that gallant and deserving officer, captain Bogue, alike an ornament to his profession, and a loss to his friends and country, received a shot in his head, which deprived the army of his services. Lieutenant Strangways, who succeeded in the command of the brigade, received the prince royal's thanks for the services they rendered.

During the action, 22 guns of Saxon artillery joined us from the enemy, and two Westphalian regiments of hussars and two battalions of Saxons; the former were opportunely made use of in the instant against the enemy, as our artillery and ammunition were not all forward; and the prince royal addressed the latter by an offer, that he would head them immediately against the enemy, which they to a man accepted.

The communication being now established between the grand attacks and that of these two armies, the grand duke Constantine, generals Platoff, Milaradovitch, and other officers of distinction, joined the prince royal, communicating the events carrying on in that direction.

It seems the most desperate resistance was made by the enemy at Probethede, St Lleritz, and Connevitz, but the different columns bearing on these points, as detailed in my former despatch, finally carried every thing before them. General Benningsen taking the villages upon the right bank of the Rentschove, having been joined by general Bubna from Dresden, general Tolstoy having come up and relieved the former in the blockade

of that city, and general Guilay manœuvring with 25,000 Austrians upon the left bank of the Elster, general Thielman and prince Maurice Lichtenstein's corps moved upon the same river, and the result of the day was, that the enemy lost above 40,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 65 pieces of artillery, and 17 battalions of German infantry, with all their staff and generals, which came over en masse during the action.

The armies remained upon the ground on which they had so bravely conquered, this night. The prince royal had his bivouac at Paunsdorff; general Blucher's remained at Witteritz, and the emperor's and the king's at Roda.

About the close of the day it was understood the enemy were retiring by Weissenfels and Naumburg; general Blucher received an order from the king of Prussia to detach in that direction. The movement of the prince royal's army completely excluded the retreat on Wittenberg, that upon Erfurt had long since been lost to them; the line of the Saale alone remains, and as their flanks and rear will be operated upon during their march, it is difficult to say with what portion of their army they may get to the Rhine.

This morning the town of Leipsic was attacked and carried, after a short resistance, by the armies of general Blucher, the prince royal, and general Bennigsen, and the grand army. Marshals Marmont and Macdonald commanded in the town; these, with marshals Augereau and Victor, narrowly escaped, with a small escort.

Their majesties the emperor of Russia, and the king of Prussia, and the crown prince of Sweden, each heading their respective troops, entered the town at different points, and met in the great square. The acclamations and rejoicings of the people are not to be described.

The multiplicity of brilliant achievements, the impossibility of doing justice to the firmness that has been displayed, the boldness of the conception of the commander-in-chief, field-marshal the prince Schwartzenberg, and of the other experienced leaders; together with the shortness of the time allowed me for making up this despatch, will plead, I hope, a sufficient excuse for my not sending a more accurate or perfect detail, which I hope however to do hereafter.

I send this despatch by my aid-de-camp, Mr. James, who has been distinguished for his services, since he has been with this army: he has also been with me in all the late events, and will be able to give your lordship all further particulars.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Charles Stewart,
Lieutenant-general.

To lord Liverpool.

P. S. On the field of battle this day an officer arrived from general Tettenborn, bringing the information of the surrender of Bremen to the corps under his orders, and the keys of the town, which were presented by the prince royal to the emperor of Russia.

C. S.

Napoleon's Bulletin from Erfurt.

"At six in the evening, the emperor ordered his dispositions for the following day. But, at seven o'clock, generals Sorbier and Dulauloy, commanding the artillery of the army and of the guards, came to his bivouac to inform him of the expenditure of the day; 95,000 cannon balls had been fired. They informed him that the ammunition in reserve was exhausted, and that there remained only 16,000 cannon balls; that this would scarcely suffice for a cannonade of two hours, after which no ammunition would remain for ulterior events; that the army had in five days fired upwards of 220,000 cannon balls, and that a further supply could only be furnished at Magdeburg or Erfurt. This state of things rendered necessary a prompt movement upon one of our two largest depôts. The emperor decided for that of Erfurt, for the same reason which induced him to come to Leipsic, to enable him to appreciate the defection of Bavaria.

"The emperor immediately gave orders that the baggage, the parks, and the artillery, should pass the defiles of Lindenau; he gave similar orders with respect to the cavalry and the different corps of the army, and then repaired to the Prussian hotel, in the suburbs of Leipsic, where he arrived at nine o'clock in the evening. This circumstance obliged the French army to renounce the fruits of the two victories in which they had, with so much glory, beaten troops greatly superior in numbers, and the armies of the whole continent

But this movement was not without difficulty. From Leipsic to Lindenau there is a defile of two leagues, with from five to six bridges on the road. It was proposed to place 6000 men and 60 pieces of cannon in Leipsic, which is a walled town; to occupy that town as a *tete de file*, to burn its vast suburbs in order to prevent the enemy from effecting a lodgment therein, and to give full scope of our artillery on the ramparts to play. However odious the treason of the Saxon army was, the emperor could not resolve to destroy one of the finest cities in Germany; to deliver it up to the disorders of every kind inseparable from such a defence, and that too under the eyes of the king, who had been pleased to accompany the emperor from Dresden, and who was so sensibly afflicted by the conduct of his army. The emperor chose rather to expose himself to the loss of a few hundred waggons, than to adopt this barbarous measure. At break of day, all the parks, the baggage, the whole of the artillery, the cavalry, the guards, and two thirds of the army, had already passed the defile. The duke of Tarentum and prince Poniatowski were charged to hold the suburbs, and to defend them long enough to allow the whole to debouche, and then to execute, themselves, the passage of the defile towards eleven o'clock. At six o'clock in the morning, the magistrates of Leipsic sent a deputation to the prince of Schwartzenberg, to beg that he would not make the city the scene of an action that would occasion its ruin. At nine o'clock the emperor mounted his horse, entered Leipsic, and paid a visit to the king. He left this prince at full liberty to do as he pleased, and not to quit his dominions, leaving them to be exposed to that seditious spirit which had been fomented amongst the soldiers. A Saxon battalion had been formed at Dresden, and joined the young guards. The emperor caused it to be drawn up at Leipsic, in front of the king's palace, to serve him as a guard, and protect him from the first movement of the enemy. Half an hour after, the emperor repaired to Lindenau, there to await the evacuation of Leipsic, and to see the last troops pass the bridges before putting himself in march. Meanwhile the enemy was speedily apprised that the greater part of the army had evacuated Leipsic, and that there remained there only a strong rear-guard. They briskly attacked the duke of Tarentum and prince Poniatowski; they were repeatedly repulsed, and in the act of defending the suburbs our rear-guard effected its retreat. But the Saxons that had remained in the city fired upon the troops from the ramparts, which obliged them to accelerate their retreat and occasioned some disorder.

"THE emperor had ordered the engineers to form fougades under the grand bridge which is between Leipsic and Lindenau, in order to blow it up at the latest moment, and thus to retard the march of the enemy, and give time for our baggage to file off. General Dulauloy had entrusted this operation to colonel Montfort. This colonel, instead of remaining on the spot to direct it, and to give the signal, ordered a corporal and four sappers to blow up the bridge the instant the enemy should appear. The corporal, an ignorant fellow, and but ill comprehending the nature of the duty with which he was charged, upon hearing the first shot discharged from the ramparts of the city, set fire to the fougades and blew up the bridge. A part of the army was still on the other side with a park of 80 pieces of artillery, and some hundreds of waggons. The advance of this part of the army, who were approaching the bridge, seeing it blow up, conceived it was in the power of the enemy. A cry of dismay spread from rank to rank—'The enemy are close upon our rear, and the bridges are destroyed! The unfortunate soldiers dispersed, and endeavoured to effect their escape as well as they could. The duke of Tarentum swam across the river; count Lauriston, less fortunate, was drowned;—prince Poniatowski, mounted on a spirited horse, darted into the water, and appeared no more. The emperor was not informed of this disaster until it was too late to remedy it. In fact, no remedy would have been possible. Colonel Montfort, and the corporal of sappers, have been handed over to a court martial.

"IT is impossible as yet to ascertain the losses occasioned by this unfortunate event, but they are estimated at 12,000 men, and several hundred waggons. The disorder which it has occasioned in the army has changed the state of affairs. *The French army, though victorious, is arriving at Erfurt, as a defeated army would have arrived there.*

It is impossible to describe the regret which the army feels for prince Poniatowski, count Lauriston, and all the brave men who perished in consequence of this fatal event. We have no accounts of general Regnier; it is not known whether he is taken or killed. The profound grief of the emperor may be easily conceived, who sees from inattention to his wide dispositions, the results of so many fatigues and labours completely vanishing!

"On the 19th the emperor slept at Markranstaedt; the duke of Reggio remained at Lindenau. On the 20th the emperor passed the Saale at Weissenfels. On the 21st the army passed the Unstrut at Freyburg; general Bertrand took a position upon the heights of Cosen. On the 22nd the emperor slept at the village of Ollendorf. On the 23rd he arrived at Erfurt. The enemy, who had been struck with consternation by the battles of the 16th and 18th, has, from the disaster of the 19th, resumed the courage and ascendency of victory. The French army, after such brilliant successes, has lost its victorious attitude. We have found at Erfurt provisions, ammunition, clothing, all that the army stood in need of. The staff will publish the reports of the different chiefs of the army, as to the officers who distinguished themselves in the grand battles of Wachau and Leipsic."

Such was the termination of this great and dreadful succession of combats, to which the annals of Europe, ensanguined as they are, had never yet produced a parallel. Never had the work of destruction proceeded on so vast and terrible a scale, nor had any field been so deluged with the blood of her sons. Famine and pestilence, which follow in the train of war, were there, and did their part in the work of death. In viewing this dreadful scene, the philanthropic mind could only console itself by reflecting that thus alone could the injured cause of humanity be avenged; and that through this bloody portal peace and freedom were to revisit the earth. This was indeed a splendid and immortal triumph, and never had so just a cause been crowned with a success more splendid and decisive.

The retreat of Buonaparte was such as might be expected with so powerful an enemy behind, and clouds of light troops far advanced before him. A daily loss of artillery, baggage, and prisoners, marked his course from the Saale to the Maine, and on approaching the last mentioned river a new obstacle was presented to his progress. With the fortunes of Napoleon the friendship of Bavaria had declined, and the recent successes of the allies determined the king of Saxony to commence hostilities. He commanded his general the celebrated Wrede, to march upon the Maine. After possessing himself of Wurtsburg that officer proceeded and took a position in advance of Hanau, by which it was necessary that the French army should pass. Buonaparte was placed by this movement in very imminent danger of destruction. Had Blucher followed by the same route which he had taken, this issue could scarcely have been averted. But the Prussian general, by an unfortunate though very natural calculation, had supposed that as the Bavarian army was on the Maine, Buonaparte would not retire by that route, but would cross the Rhine at Coblentz, upon which place he directed his march. Buonaparte, therefore, on approaching Hanau, could turn his whole remaining military force, amounting to 70,000 or 80,000 men, against the Bavarian army, which did not exceed 30,000. Wrede, however, with the most gallant determination resolved to stand the unequal contest, and for two days his army maintained it gloriously with severe loss indeed, but without any decisive defeat. Wrede himself received a wound which threatened to prove mortal, but from which he fortunately recovered. Meanwhile it was impossible with forces so inferior to intercept the march of Buonaparte to Frankfort. He did not stop in that city, but continued his march, and on the 7th of November crossed the Rhine with his whole army, leaving behind him all his conquests and all his towering hopes of universal dominion.

CHAPTER LXIV.

GEORGE III.

[1813.]

War in the Peninsula—Position of the opposing Armies—Preliminary Operations—Advance to Burgos and Vittoria—BATTLE OF VITTORIA, &c.—Investment of Tarragona by Sir J. Murray, and his disgraceful Retreat—Operations of the Spaniards—St. Sebastian taken by storm—Surrender of the Castle—LORD WELLINGTON ENTERS FRANCE—Jealous and envious Conduct of the Spanish Cortes.

FROM the period of the retreat of the allied troops into Portugal, in the close of 1812, to the commencement of the ensuing summer, the armies opposed to each other in the peninsula had remained in a state of almost total inaction. The French were not in a condition to act offensively; and while the war in the north continued, had nothing more in view than to maintain the ground which they still occupied. But on the part of the allies, this interval was spent in vigorous preparations for an active and decisive campaign. Disappointment and mortification indeed had marked the concluding scene of that which had just elapsed; yet a general view of its result proved the successes which had crowned it to have been by no means fruitless. A large district of Spain, abounding beyond all others in population and resources, had been finally liberated; and the opportunity had been afforded of raising and disciplining from it a very considerable army. The Spanish government still exhibited no eminent proofs of vigour or capacity; yet a series of bitter experience had forced upon it the conviction of those leading errors in their policy, from which such fatal consequences had arisen. They felt at last the necessity of uniting all their military force under one head; and they became sensible also, amid the mist of national prejudice, who that head ought to be. The nomination, which had taken place during the last campaign, of lord Wellington to be generalissimo of the Spanish armies, was adhered to, and enforced. Thus was the whole military strength of three nations united in one commander, who was undoubtedly best qualified to direct their operations. Independently of this advantage, the Spanish armies had become more efficient, in consequence of that sure though insensible process by which new levies are gradually converted into veterans. The tumultuary assemblages, which, at the commencement of the war, had fled at the first appearance of danger, could now contend on equal terms with the most highly disciplined troops in Europe. Spain therefore was at length able to join a large effective force to that which her allies were assembling for her deliverance. This latter, always formidable, was now raised considerably above what it had been at any former period. After the battle of Salamanca reinforcements were sent to the amount of upwards of 20,000 men, which, though they did not arrive in time to follow up that success, or to avert the final disaster of the campaign, were now in readiness to take the field. Discipline had been restored by strict regulations, enforced during a long period of repose. The troops at present disposable might be estimated at 80,000 British and Portuguese, with 40,000 or 50,000 Spanish regulars; while, as they advanced, a numerous guerilla force might be expected to co-operate. To these were to be added, on the other side of

the peninsula, an amount of 50,000 or 60,000 men, chiefly Spaniards indeed, but a great proportion of these trained under British officers.

The French force, on the other hand, was still by no means inconsiderable. In the utmost extremity of his affairs, Buonaparte had still clung to this guilty possession. Even after the flower of his armies were buried beneath the snows of Russia, and the legions of the north were pouring down in triumph on his subject states, he still did not withdraw troops to any considerable amount. Drafts were merely made for the purpose of supplying officers to the immense levies then raising; and their place was supplied from the new conscription. After the armistice of Breslau however, when there appeared room to apprehend the hostility of Austria, some sacrifice on this side appeared necessary; and considerable detachments were made for the purpose of reinforcing the grand army on the Elbe. Soult also, who had long had the chief direction of the war in Spain, and had conducted it with distinguished ability, was now called to another theatre; and, with the exception of Suchet, there no longer remained a French marshal in Spain. The force of the enemy was thus decidedly weakened, and it appeared possible to lord Wellington, at one grand sweep, to liberate the peninsula from its long thraldom, and drive all the French armies beyond the Ebro, and even the Pyrenees.

The allied forces were spread at this time over a very extensive line. Lord Wellington, with the main body of British and Portuguese, occupied wide cantonments along the northern frontier of Portugal. General Hill, with a part of the army, and with a Spanish force under Murillo, was posted in Estremadura. The second and third Spanish armies, commanded by the duke del Parque and general Elio, were stationed, the one in La Muncha, and the other on the frontier of Murcia and Valencia. The force newly levied in Andalusia, which was called the army of reserve, had set out from Seville under the command of general Henry O'Donnel, who from his exploits in Catalonia, had received the title of Conde de Abisbal. The conde, in consideration of his military services, had been raised to a place in the regency; but his proceedings in that capacity had not given equal satisfaction. He had unfortunately three brothers, all generals, but none of them endowed with the same talents for command as himself. To procure their appointment, was the result of a natural partiality; but their operations were attended with failures, the disgrace of which fell upon him. He lost in his new character the popularity gained in that which he had formerly exercised; and found it expedient to descend from a station which did not become him, to another in which farther glory might be earned. The nation, whose confidence he still retained in this capacity, hesitated not to place him at the head of the army of Andalusia.

To these different Spanish armies there is finally to be added the army of Gallicia, which was stationed on the frontier of that province. The chief command in this and the other northern provinces had been conferred upon Castanos. It was at the particular recommendation and wish of lord Wellington that he had received this appointment. He was not a man of very brilliant parts, but extremely upright, zealous, and patriotic, as well as attached to the English nation in so peculiar a degree, that to give him the command might be considered almost the same as giving it to lord Wellington. The whole force of the north of Spain, which, besides the regular troops, comprehended numerous bands of hardy guerillas, might therefore be considered as completely under the control of the British commander.

The positions of the allies formed thus a very wide semicircle round those which the enemy occupied in the centre of Spain. Upon this circumstance perhaps the latter founded their hopes of a successful resistance; conceiving that by the rapid movement of their concentrated forces, they might baffle attacks made from such a variety of different quarters. The plan of the campaign however, which lord Wellington had formed, was much more profound and judicious. General Hill indeed at first threatened Madrid; but as soon as the season for action arrived, he turned to the left, marched through the Puerto de Banos, and joined the main army which was assembled in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo. At the same time Abisbal was proceeding through Estremadura; and the whole force of the allied armies directed its march northwards upon the line of the

Douro. That river, the largest in Spain, had in the preceding campaign proved an important barrier; and the French, who possessed along its northern bank a series of fortified positions, doubtless hoped for a considerable time at least to dispute the passage. Lord Wellington, however, by a very able arrangement, completely provided against this obstacle. While the right wing of the army advanced through Salamanca along the country south of the Douro, the left, under sir Thomas Graham, crossed at Torre del Moncarvo, within the Portuguese frontier, and pursued their march along the northern bank. This manœuvre turned all the posts which had been established along that line. The successive dispositions now made, baffled at once all the provisions made by the enemy for arresting the victorious progress of the allies. Their detachments on both sides of the Douro, retreated precipitately; and lord Wellington advanced without any obstacle, besides those which nature presented. On the 24th of May, he broke up from Ciudad Rodrigo, and arrived on the 28th at Salamanca, near which place a small detachment of the French rear-guard, which had not retreated with sufficient promptitude, was cut off. On the 31st, the left wing, under general Graham, crossed the Esla, and, passing through Zamora, arrived on the 2nd at Toro. It had now formed a junction with the Gallician army, which composed its extreme left. During the 3rd, lord Wellington halted at Toro, in order that the rear, which had been detained by the difficulties of crossing the Esla, might have time to close in. On the same day, the right wing, which had proceeded along the opposite bank, crossed the Douro by the bridge of Toro; and on the 4th, the whole army marched upon Valladolid.

The French force on the Douro being thus insufficient to stop the rapid advance of the allies, that at Madrid was placed in a very critical situation. By remaining there, it would soon be cut off from the other armies, and from the high road leading to the French frontier. The determination was therefore formed to abandon the capital without a struggle. On the 27th, all the troops which were there and on the Tagus, begun their retreat, and on the 3rd, crossed the Douro. Although, however, all the French armies were thus united, they did not attempt to defend Valladolid or the passage of the Pisuerga, but continued their retreat without intermission till they arrived at Burgos. In front of that place, all those corps which were called the armies of the centre of Portugal and of the north, were assembled; and, as it formed the key of the north of Spain, and the last strong hold on this side of the Ebro, it seemed that here, if any where, a great stand was to be made. The movements of the army evidently shewed that they were sensible of its importance, and felt a disposition to defend it. Lord Wellington, after crossing the Pisuerga, allowed his army two days to repose from a march performed with almost unparalleled rapidity. He then pushed forward with the cavalry and light troops to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and to place them under the necessity of taking some decisive steps. They were found covering Burgos in a strong position, with their right at Hormaza, and their left on the heights of Estepar. The charge of British cavalry, however, soon turned both flanks, and obliged them to fall back behind the rivers Urbel and Arlanzan. If, however, they had any intention of receiving the allied army in this position, it was soon relinquished. In the course of the following night, they withdrew their whole force through the town of Burgos, having first destroyed the works of the castle as completely as the short interval allowed; and on the following day, all their troops were in full retreat towards the Ebro.

Lord Wellington did not pursue along the main road, where the enemy would have been prepared to dispute the passage of the river, and where his progress would have been obstructed by the strong fortress and defiles of Pancorbo. As soon as he saw Burgos abandoned, he caused the whole army to make a movement on its left, by less frequented roads, with the view of passing the Ebro near its source. The enemy, to whom this manœuvre seems to have been unexpected, had made no provision for guarding these passages. Lord Wellington therefore crossed without opposition at St. Martin's Rocamunde, and Puente Arenas. He had now not only overcome the barrier of the Ebro, but was in a condition to threaten the rear of the enemy and his communications with France.

The British general now directed his march

upon Vittoria, which the French had made their central depôt in the frontier provinces. To oppose his progress, they hastily collected at Ficas and Espejo such troops as were in the neighbourhood, or could be thrown across from Pancorbo. These advanced to meet the allies; but though for a moment superior in number, they were quickly repulsed. On the 19th, he arrived at Subijana on the Bayas, when he was only twelve or fifteen miles distant from Vittoria. The enemy had remained at Pancorbo, and seemed determined to maintain themselves if possible, in that strong position. Seeing, however, the allied army on the point of establishing itself on their rear, they broke up from thence on the night of the 18th, and hastened to take up a position in front of Vittoria, which they effected on the 19th.

Lord Wellington spent the 20th in collecting his divisions, which had been somewhat scattered by the rugged and difficult country through which they had hastily marched; and also in reconnoitring the position of the enemy, with the view to an attack on the following day. The whole front of the French army was covered by the river Tadara, which flowed in an irregular line from north-east to south-west, in front of Vittoria. The right wing occupied that city and its neighbourhood, and defended the passages over the river immediately leading to it. The centre and left extended downwards along the Zadora, terminating at a range of heights near the village of La Puebla. Upon these observations was founded the plan of attack for the following day.

The first operation of lord Wellington was to occupy, by means of Murillo's Spanish division, the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested. In permitting this to be effected with little resistance, they seem to have committed a capital error, of which they immediately became sensible; and they made vigorous efforts, and poured detachment after detachment, in order to regain possession of them. Lord Wellington, however, supported the troops posted there in such a manner, that they were still able to maintain their ground. Meantime, under cover of the possession of these heights, general Hill crossed the Zadora, and was immediately followed by three other divisions higher up. These troops composing the main force of the army, and nearly all the cavalry and artillery, made dispositions for attacking both flanks of the enemy's centre. The French were not prepared for this attack; they had weakened their centre for the purpose of making their fruitless attack against the heights on the left; and seeing that, when thus hard pressed, their efforts to maintain this position would be unavailing, they abandoned it, and the whole of their centre and left retreated upon Vittoria. Meanwhile general Graham, with the British left, was carrying on those operations which were to render victory decisive. The enemy had there a considerable force in advance of the Zadora, and occupying several strong fortified villages, by which the high roads to Bilboa and Bayonne were defended, general Graham, whose force consisted chiefly of Portuguese troops, supported by the Spaniards under Longa and Giron, succeeded in expelling the enemy from all these positions, and driving him across the Zadora. The bridges, however, being strongly guarded, he was himself unable to gain the other side, until it had been cleared by the victorious right and centre; the left then crossed also, and joined in the pursuit.

In consequence of general Graham's success, the French were cut off from the high road into France, the most advantageous, and that by which all their arrangements for retreating had been made. They were forced to retire by the more difficult and circuitous rout of Pampeluna, upon which they had made no provision of fortified positions to cover this movement. They had thus no means of making a stand at any one point for a length of time sufficient to enable them to carry away their artillery and equipments. Near Vittoria, therefore, the whole fell into the hands of the pursuers. Never was an army so completely stripped. Baggage, artillery, ammunition, camp-equipage, all was taken. Even vast quantities of treasure were thrown down the rocks, and collected by the pursuing troops. The allied army, in this most legitimate plunder, found some solid reward for the glorious toil through which they had passed. Of 153 pieces of cannon, the enemy carried with him one gun and one howitzer only. They passed by Pampeluna, but without stopping at that fortress, and pursued their retreat over the Pyrenees into France.

Having arrived at this point, I feel inclined to pause, and to take a general survey of that splendid career by which an army, setting out from the opposite extremity, effected in one month the liberation of Spain. Without admitting success as the infallible criterion of merit, it seems yet impossible not to allow, that this campaign was of the most brilliant character. The resistless progress of the allies was not effected by mere impetuosity, but was founded upon a plan of which all the parts had been previously combined and calculated. The most masterly judgment appears in the arrangement, by which the whole army, after threatening different points of the enemy's line, was suddenly collected in the north, to act upon their rear, and their communications with France. It appears equally in those by which the lines of the Douro and the Ebro were successively turned, and those powerful barriers rendered unavailing. The mere circumstance, that the French, after eight months of preparation, and with an army still so powerful, were unable at any one point to arrest, for a single day, the progress of the allies, seems clearly to indicate on which side lay the superiority of military skill. Arrived at Vittoria, the fate of Spain was almost decided ; yet it is impossible not to admire the skill employed in baffling the obstacles presented by a country of the greatest natural strength, of which the enemy had been long in possession. The promptitude with which the attack was made, compelled the enemy to engage before all their force was fully united ; for general Clausel was still with two divisions at Logrono, and general Fox with one division at Bilboa. The short sketch of the battle which I have given, sufficiently shews the ability of the manœuvres, by which the French left and centre were driven from the advantageous ground which they occupied. Lastly, the success of general Graham, evidently unforeseen, and unprovided against by the enemy, rendered the victory complete. We discover, in short, from beginning to end, a system of the most daring enterprise, so regulated by foresight and prudence, that in no one instance did its operations fail of the most brilliant success.

Lord Wellington, with the main body, followed the French force which was retreating by the rout of Pampeluna ; and on the 27th, that place was invested. So little had the enemy foreseen the rapid sweep by which the allied army was to be carried to the crest of the Pyrenees, that this almost impregnable fortress, and grand key of the peninsula, was left with provisions for only a very few months. Considering its strength, and the great loss that must have been incurred in reducing it by force, it appeared more adviseable to employ blockade, which, from its unprepared state, could not be protracted to a very long duration. After a short interval, the charge of maintaining this blockade was committed to the army of reserve of Andalusia, commanded by the Conde de Abisbal. The Conde had previously reduced the fortress of Pancorbo, which still interrupted the communication of the allies along the high road between Burgos and Vittoria ; the castle being of great strength, he compelled it to surrender by cutting off the supply of water, and the garrison, amounting to 700 men, became prisoners of war.

General Clausel, on the day of the battle, was with two divisions at Logrono, a considerable town upon the Ebro. The result of the action cut him off from the main body ; yet he still lingered till the 25th, in hopes perhaps of finding an opportunity to make his way through. Lord Wellington thus conceived the hope of cutting off his retreat upon Saragossa, and detached a large force to Tudela upon his rear, while another body of troops marched direct upon Logrono. Clausel, however, then proceeded with such expedition, that he reached Tudela before the allies, and had then the rout open before him to Saragossa. The British troops discontinued the pursuit, and Clausel was followed by Mina, with numerous detachments of Spanish light troops. The French general did not attempt to make a stand at Saragossa ; but, leaving a detachment under general Paris, he passed by a circuitous rout through Taca across the Pyrenees, to rejoin the main body. Paris, on the approach of Mina, retreated in the same manner, leaving merely a garrison in the castle, which was soon compelled to surrender. Thus was recovered almost without a struggle, this important city, so renowned for its immortal defence, which had cost two sieges and three armies to France ; and thus clearly was it proved, that its bulwarks had not been those

either of nature or art, but merely the invincible breasts of the men by whom it was defended.

While these events took place on the right of the army, general Graham, with the left wing, composed chiefly of Portugnese and Spaniards, advanced on the high road from Vittoria to Bayonne. The French now evacuated all their stations in Biscay, except Santona and St. Sebastian; and uniting their garrisons to the division of the army of the north, which was at Bilboa, they assembled a force somewhat more considerable than had at first been supposed. They made a pretty brisk stand in disputing the frontier positions. The first effort was at the junction of the road from Pampeluna with that from Bayonne; they posted themselves on a hill commanding these two roads, and seemed to determine to maintain. A vigorous attack however, by lieutenant-colonel Williams, quickly dislodged them. The enemy then retreated into Tolosa, a town slightly fortified, and by barricading the gates, and occupying convents and large buildings in the vicinity, they succeeded in rendering it a strong position. It was necessary to bring forward a nine-pounder, in order to burst open one of the gates. The allies entered, but it was already dark, and the troops of all the different nations were confusedly mixed, and could scarcely be distinguished. The perplexity thus occasioned, enabled the French to escape with smaller loss than they must otherwise have incurred. The enemy now made their last stand on the Bidassoa, which forms here the boundary between Spain and France. They were driven across it by a brigade of the army of Gallicia under the command of general Castanos, and they burnt the bridge over the river. Port Passages, a harbour of considerable importance at the month of the Bidassoa, was then taken by Longa, and its garrison of 150 men made prisoners. A Spanish division then invested St. Sebastian.

From this brilliant career of the allies in the north of Spain, we must now turn to the operations which took place on the eastern coast of the peninsula. In Catalonia and Valencia the French still maintained a very large force, and were in possession of numerous fortresses, some of which ranked with the strongest in Europe. The importance of this military force was greatly increased by the distinguished ability of Suchet, under whose command it was placed. This commander, though of a temper peculiarly adapted to offensive operations, had been compelled to intermit them by the deficiency of force and the urgency of his master's circumstances. He now occupied a position in front of Valencia, at St Felipe, on the line of the Xucar. The allies on the other hand had collected a very considerable force in and near Alicant. Several British and native regiments had been withdrawn from Sicily; a large force drawn from the population of the neighbouring provinces, had been organized in the Balearic islands under British officers, and was now commanded by general Roche and Whittingham. These could act in combination with the second Spanish army under general Elio, which was drawn up along the frontiers of Murcia. They remained however in a state of inaction till the middle of April, when the Anglo-Spanish army, under sir John Murray, came out of Alicant, and advanced to Castella. General Elio at the same time took post at Yesla and Villena. It appears however, that these different corps had not been in a state of sufficiently close combination. Suchet, ever enterprising, saw the advantage which might be derived from the oversight. Collecting his whole disposable force, he on the 11th of April attacked the corps of general Elio unsupported by the rest of the allies, drove it with some loss from Yesla, and having invested the castle of Villena, compelled it, with its garrison of 1000 men, to surrender next day at discretion. Having thus succeeded as to the Spanish army, he proceeded to the attack of the British position. On the 12th at noon he assailed the advanced posts at Biaor, under colonel Adam. The resistance was vigorous, and was maintained against a superior force for five hours; and colonel Adam at length fell back upon the main body only in compliance with the orders of general Murray. Suchet, however, not disheartened by this warm reception, proceeded, on the following day, to attack the main position at Castella. It was one of considerable strength. The right of the allied army was defended along the whole front by a deep ravine, while on the left, where the ravine terminated, it occupied a pretty extensive range of hills. Suchet began

by threatening the right with a strong body of cavalry. The allied force, however, remained secure in its strong position, and declined an encounter upon this ground. Suchet then, with all his columns united, made a desperate attack against the range of hills, upon which the left was posted. The allied force, consisting of colonel Adam and general Whittingham's divisions, repulsed the onset in the most gallant manner; the enemy were completely driven back, and forced to commence a hasty retreat. As his superiority in cavalry gave him great advantages for proceeding in the direct line, general Murray commenced a flank movement by Alcov, in hopes of reaching first the entrenched camp at Felipe. It is stated, however, that the French having reached Alcov only a quarter of an hour before the allies, this plan was frustrated. Sir John Murray then returned to his position.

In this action Suchet for the first time experienced the valour of British troops; and in contending with them was for the first time deserted by his wonted invincibility. The allied army however did not make any attempt to follow up its success. The advance from Alicant indeed appears to have been made less with a view of pushing forward in that direction, than of seconding the grand operation in the north of Spain, and of preventing Suchet from detaching any of his force in that direction. About the same time, however, that lord Wellington began to move from Salamanca, sir John Murray, under his direction, undertook a new plan of operations. On the 28th of May, he embarked at Alicant the whole force under his command, and sailed, on the 31st, for the coast of Catalonia. At the same time the duke del Parque, with the third Spanish army, united himself with general Elio, for the purpose of pressing upon Valencia and the army of Suchet.

The combined force landed on the 3rd of June at Salon Point, and immediately invested Tarragona. At the same time a detachment was sent against the fort of St Filipe, which commanded the principal road leading from Tortosa. This service was successfully accomplished by the exertions of colonel Prevost and captain Adam of the Invincible. Meantime sir John Murray continued for eight or ten days the siege of Tarragona, but the place still held out, and there appeared no prospect of reducing it, till after an interval of the same duration. Intelligence was then received that general Mathiew had set out from Barcelona with 9000 or 10,000 men, and had, on the evening of the 14th, passed through Villa Franca on his way to Vendrello, only twenty miles distant from Tarragona. It was also learned, that Suchet, with nearly the same force, had passed through Valencia, and was evidently on his way to operate a junction with Mathiew, and attack the allied army. On considering these circumstances, sir John Murray conceived it impossible to accomplish his object, and determined to re-embark his troops without delay. So urgent did the danger appear to him, that a considerable proportion of the cannon was left in the trenches, lest, by the delay of a day, the change of weather, or the arrival of the enemy, should render the re-embarkation impossible.

The public in general, so far as I know, were for the first time apprised of his existence by learning that he had received a command, second only to that of lord Wellington. Envious obscurity had covered the military exploits, if any, which he had hitherto achieved. Hereditary wealth, I have understood, gave him the control of five or six votes in parliament; and so long as commanders are chosen from such motives, similar results may be confidently expected. In this view of the case, I feel no great anxiety that sir John Murray's misconduct, however great it may be, should be visited on his own head. There is little doubt that he acted to the best of his weak judgment; and if his incapacity had remained a secret to others, it were quite too much to suppose, that the discovery should proceed from himself. The blame rested with those alone who, from such motives as I hinted at above, were induced to commit such great interests into the hands of one, of whose capacity to conduct them no experience had been afforded.

In considering the expedition more particularly, I would observe, that it seems scarcely possible to avoid the suspicion of some error either in the conception or execution of it. From the moment that the British landed so great a force at Tarragona, it became obvious to the plainest capacity, that both from Valencia and from Barcelona, all the French disposable troops would be instantly drawn

towards that point, that every other object would for the time be considered as secondary. What amount they could thus assemble, might, with any tolerable information, have been easily ascertained. If then that amount was such that the British force could not even think of facing it, this expedition was from the beginning quite hopeless; it could serve no purpose whatever to undertake it. At the same time I entertain doubts whether the disparity was so very extreme, as sir John Murray seems to have apprehended. A great part of his troops were indeed Spanish; but they were disciplined and commanded by British officers, and have shewn repeatedly that they were capable of successfully maintaining a contest with those of the enemy. The two armies besides, which were to be united against him, came from opposite and distant quarters; and the British were in possession of all the high roads by which they could communicate. An active commander might have seized the opportunity of striking a blow before the junction; and certainly the difficulty was such as must have interposed a considerable delay before it could be effected. With regard, above all, to the leaving of the cannon in the trenches, it surely behoves a commander to pause before he exposed the British arms to so signal a dishonour. No enemy was at hand; nor was there cause to dread that they would soon be able to bring forward any thing like a superior force. The whole danger was, lest the weather, at present favourable, should change, and become unfit for embarkation. Of this point, admiral Hallowell was the natural judge; and his opinion, it appears, was decidedly for remaining. He even engaged, provided sir John Murray could merely delay his departure till night, that he would bring off every cannon. But the general, "having taken his part," immediately put it in execution; a resolution in which, with the information possessed by the world, I can see no symptoms of any thing but the most frightful panic.

General Murray was succeeded in the command by lord William Bentinck, a decided improvement; for lord William was understood to possess abilities highly respectable. He had not, however, had any opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself; and I do not see why, in an occasion of such importance, a military man of the very first reputation, should not have been selected. As he acted separately from lord Wellington, seniority would here have been no bar. Such an one seemed now absolutely necessary to retrieve the condition of this mismanaged and unfortunate army.

Lord William Bentinck conveyed the troops back to Alicant. While Suchet marched towards Tarragona, the Spanish generals, the duke del Parque, Elio, and Villacanipa, advanced from different points upon Valencia. Suchet, on hearing of the re-embarkation of general Murray, immediately hurried back, in hopes of striking a blow against some one of these corps; but they all succeeded in making their retreat without any serious loss.

Lord William Bentinck did not attempt to renew the expedition against Tarragona, but joined himself to the Spanish armies, proceeded in concert with them, to attack the French force in Valencia. What resistance Suchet might have made in other circumstances, it is impossible to determine; but the triumphant passage of the Ebro by lord Wellington, left him now no choice but that of retreat. On the 5th of July, he evacuated Valencia, and retired towards the Ebro, leaving garrisons in Paniscola, Murviedro, and Denia. The allied army, however, were not detained by these barriers; but, leaving the fortresses invested, advanced, and crossed the Ebro at Vinaras. The French having then retired upon Barcelona, the allied army blockaded Tortosa, advanced to Villa Franca, and prepared to form the siege of Tarragona. Suchet, however, determined upon making a vigorous effort to relieve this place. Uniting to his army all the troops that could be spared from Barcelona and the neighbouring garrisons, he assembled a force of from 20,000 to 25,000 men: on the 14th he advanced to Altafulla, and on the 15th drove back the advanced posts of the British army. Lord William Bentinck was unable to derive any aid from general Elio, who was blockading Tortosa; his force was thus inferior to Suchet, at least in quality, and he had not been able to gain any advantageous position. He determined therefore to fall back, and allow Suchet to enter Tarragona. The French general did not, however, attempt to preserve the place, or to maintain this advanced position. Having destroyed the works, he with-

drew the garrison, and again retired towards Barcelona.

In the beginning of September, the allied army again undertook a forward movement. It was encouraged by the belief, that a very considerable part of the French force in the principality had been recently withdrawn. The rest remained at Barcelona, and along the Llobregat. Lord Bentinck therefore established his army at Villa Franca, and in the villages in its front, extending as far as the Llobregat mountains. The advance, under colonel Adam and general Sarsfield, was placed in the pass of Ordal, a post of very great strength, and which commanded the high road from Barcelona. Meantime intelligence arrived that Suchet was collecting his army, and that 12,000 men had been united at Molino del Rey. Lord Bentinck, however, placed such reliance on the strength of the position at Ordal, as to be under no apprehension on that side. He conceived the army assailable only by turning its left at Martorell; but, supposing the enemy to have succeeded in that attempt, the retreat could still have been effected without molestation. At midnight of the 12th, however, the enemy attacked the pass of Ordal with numbers so greatly superior, that the corps defending it was driven from its position, surrounded, and forced to save itself from total capture by dispersion among the mountains. A considerable number of prisoners, and four pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the enemy. The British army immediately broke up, and set out in full retreat towards Tarragona, and closely pressed by the enemy's cavalry. That in the rear of the British, however, though inferior in number, covered by its gallantry the retreat of the rest, and the army arrived, without further loss, in front of Tarragona.

The conduct of the commander, upon this occasion, does not seem to have been the subject of any very severe criticism: yet I cannot help remarking, that as the troops employed acted with distinguished gallantry, so signal a rout could have arisen only from their being placed in a position which they had not strength to maintain. There must have been some want, either of information or judgment; chiefly, it will appear, of the former, since the intelligence that the enemy had withdrawn a great part of their army into France, proved entirely erroneous; and the corps thus detached, was found not to have exceeded 3000 men.

Thus terminated these inglorious movements, in which the Anglo-Spanish army, even in advancing, had failed at every point; while Suchet, in yielding to inauspicious circumstances, raised the reputation which he had gained, during a period of prosperity. No further attempt was made by the allied army to advance. It being judged expedient that the grand effort against France should be made on the side of the western Pyrenees, the third Spanish army was detached in order to co-operate with lord Wellington. The remainder of the troops remained on the defensive.

It is time now to return to the operations of the grand army. The two fortresses of Pampeluna and St. Sebastian forming the keys of the principal entrance into Spain, were invested, as we noticed, at the same time; and their fall might be considered as in a great measure closing the Peninsula against French invasion. Pampeluna being imperfectly supplied with provisions, was subjected to a blockade, which, in the course of a few months must, if not relieved, infallibly reduce it. St. Sebastian was better prepared; and its maritime position rendered it almost impossible to prevent succours and supplies from being continually introduced. As it possessed no strength, therefore, which precluded the hope of speedily reducing it by force, that mode of siege appeared most advisable. Sir Thomas Graham, who conducted it, began his operations against the convent of San Bartholeme, which the French had occupied in great strength, and had converted into a formidable outwork. A battery was established on the 14th; yet, after it had played for two days, the defences appeared still so strong, that a new one was begun; but this not being ready on the morning of the 17th, general Graham determined, on that day, no longer to delay the assault. The valour of the British and Portuguese troops surmounted every obstacle: the place was stormed, the enemy driven down the hill on which it is situated, and forced, after burning the village of St. Martins to withdraw precipitately into the town of St. Sebastian. The allies suffered some loss by a too eager pursuit. The trenches were now immediately opened against the body of the place;

and there appeared a very fair prospect of its being compelled to a speedy surrender.

Buonaparte, while occupied with the great and final contest he was about to wage on the banks of the Elbe, had in some measure turned his attention from those operations, of which the peninsula was the theatre. He had recalled thence many of his most distinguished generals, and even Soult, who had long held the chief command. But now, when in one short month the whole of his grand army had been swept out of Spain, when the two grand frontier barriers were about to fall, and leave the finest provinces of France itself exposed to hostile incursion, alarm seized him, and he clearly saw that this was a war, which, even under the most urgent pressure of other wars, could not be overlooked. Of the immense levies which were at this time raising, part were directed to fill up the exhausted ranks of the army now stationed within the French frontier; and Soult, whose talents appeared alone equal to such an exigence, hastened from Germany to reassume the chief command. The crisis was urgent; and as soon as the organization of the army was in any degree established, it behoved him to make a grand effort for the relief of the two fortresses, the reduction of which would give a fatal blow to all the prospects of French dominion.

Lord Wellington possessed a force considerably superior, on the whole, to that opposed to him, yet was his situation beset with considerable difficulties. He had at once to maintain and to cover sieges of places at a considerable distance from each other. It was thus impossible to avoid the inconveniencies of an army divided into several portions. The Pyrenees afforded strong positions, yet were they unfavourable, in several respects, to the present arrangement of his force. They consisted of a number of long and deep valleys, separated from each other by lofty parallel chains. The troops which defended each of these valleys were thus in a great measure cut off from all communication with each other. The enemy could chuse the one by which they were to advance, could throw their whole force into it, and could push before them the division by which it was guarded, while the others, separated by almost inaccessible heights, could not arrive to their aid. Upon this position of the allies Soult founded his plan of operation. He hoped by attacking separately one of the covering armies to defeat and drive it before him, and then throw himself on the flank and rear of the other army. He thus flattered himself not only with relieving the blockaded fortresses, but with driving the whole of the allied armies in confusion behind the Ebro.

Of the two fortresses, St. Sebastian alone was in immediate danger; it seemed probable therefore that the first grand attack of the enemy would be against the force by which this siege was covered. Such seems to have been the expectation of lord Wellington, as he had established his head-quarters at Lesaca, at a small distance from St. Sebastian. The two roads leading to Pampeluna were meanwhile covered by divisions of the British army, one under general Hill in the Puerta de Maya, the other under general Byng, on the extreme right, at Ronsesvalles. On the 24th of July, Soult attacked in great force the position occupied by general Hill, who, though driven from it first by superior numbers, had recovered the most essential point of it, and would soon have regained the whole. But in the meantime an attack on a much greater scale, with between 30,000 and 40,000 men, was made upon general Byng's position at Ronsesvalles; and though reinforced by another division under sir Lowry Cole, the British force was at length overpowered, and compelled to give way. They took post at Zerbiri; and general Hill, whose rear was now threatened, fell back upon Trurita. These corps had thus lost their direct communication with the force under lord Wellington, and were left alone to defend the blockade of Pampeluna against the overwhelming force with which the enemy were pouring in to relieve it. Two British divisions, with a small part of the Spanish force covering the blockade, took a position immediately in front of the place.

On the 27th Soult arrived in sight of the walls of Pampeluna, and immediately began operations for its relief. Not having yet brought up all his troops, he contented himself with attacking a hill, which formed an important part of the British position. A Spanish and Portuguese regiment, however, with the 40th British, defended it against all his efforts. On the 28th, another British division arrived; and the enemy also reinforced, began a contest

of the most furious and sanguinary description. His main efforts were directed against the fourth division under general Picton; but they were every where frustrated, unless at one point, where a Portuguese battalion having been overpowered, the enemy were enabled to establish themselves on our line. By the united efforts of the neighbouring regiments however they were driven from the heights with immense loss, and were unable to make any farther efforts on this side. In the course of the 28th, generals Hill and Dalhousie arrived with their divisions, and placed themselves in line with the rest of the British force. On the 29th and 30th, these two great armies continued to view each other, neither daring to attack the formidable heights on which its antagonist was posted. But, in the course of these days, the enemy silently withdrew a considerable body of troops from their front, where the former actions had taken place, and conveyed it to their right, with a view of attacking the British left under sir Rowland Hill; trusting, from the natural strength of the original position, that the troops remaining would still be able to maintain it. On the 30th accordingly general Hill was attacked, and obliged to fall back from the range of hills which he occupied to the one immediately behind. But lord Wellington seeing the point weakened, instantly seized the opportunity; he detached lord Dalhousie and general Picton to drive the enemy from the formidable heights on which their right and left rested, which being effected, the centre advanced to join in the attack. These operations were crowned with the most brilliant success, and the enemy were quickly driven from one of the strongest positions which it was possible for troops to occupy. The French were now in full retreat towards their own frontier. In order to cover this operation they placed a strong rear-guard in the pass of Donna Maria, from which however they were driven by lord Dalhousie. This retreat now resembled a flight. Many prisoners were brought in, and a large convoy, with baggage, taken at the town of Eligondo. They endeavoured however to make a stand at the Puerto de Echala, immediately within the Spanish frontier. But two of their divisions were quickly driven from the heights by a single British division; and the respective armies were placed in the same position as before they had begun their formidable attack.

The generalship of Soult upon this occasion appears to have been very brilliant, both in chosing the point of attack where least expected, and in bringing nearly the whole of his force to bear at once against it. At first accordingly he carried every thing before him, and arrived in sight, as it were, of the object of his enterprise. Lord Wellington certainly allowed at first some advantages to be obtained over him. It does not follow, however, that he thus exposed himself to censure, when I consider the extent of the operations which he had undertaken, and which it was most important to carry on at the same time. On discovering the enemy's object, he employed his usual judgment and activity in counteracting it. At the same time, the circumstance perhaps which most claims our admiration, is the valour displayed by the British troops, and, almost equally, by the peninsula allies. I find, first, a very few divisions resisting impetuous attacks from the collected enemy; and I find them afterwards, when circumstances allowed them to become the assailants, carrying by storm, often with inferior numbers, positions that appeared almost impregnable. The loss on both sides was great, perhaps nearly equal; for in neither was there any route, or any detachments entirely cut off. It is estimated, on the part of the allies, in killed and wounded, at 7000.

Meantime the assault of St. Sebastian, to avert which had been the main object of Soult's daring enterprise, did not lead to the expected result. There is no department in which the military character of France has shone more conspicuously, nor any in which British troops have sustained so many failures, as in the defence and attack of fortresses. The general bravery and science of French officers have been aided by that profound scientific skill, which distinguishes the nation, and which has been diligently applied to the improvement of the art of engineering. The superior knowledge thus acquired, employed with the usual alertness and activity of Frenchmen, enabled them to employ not only all the established resources, but to call forth new and unexpected means of resistance. The British troops, when the critical moment came, found always, that instead of the bar-

riers overthrown, new and unexpected barriers had been raised. Thus it proved in the present instance. A breach having been effected, and the approach of the enemy rendering it expedient to lose no time, the assault took place on the morning of the 25th. Every thing was done which could be expected from the gallantry of British troops, and part of the column even forced its way into the town. But defences had been raised, which poured upon its flanks such a torrent of grape and musketry, as soon convinced general Graham that to persevere longer would be a vain sacrifice of troops which deserved a better fate. Immediately retreat was ordered. In this attack, the royals, who advanced to the attack 400 strong, lost nearly 300 in killed and wounded.

The breach having thus proved impracticable, all the operations of the siege were to begin anew. The repulse of the French army, however, left the assailants at full liberty to carry them on. The first object was to cut off the communication which the besieged carried on by sea with the coast of France. Sir George Collier, with a party of marines, stormed the island of Santa Clara, which lies at the mouth of the harbour, and took the garrison prisoners. Meantime new breaching batteries were raised, and carried forward with such vigour, that on the 31st of August, it was determined to make a new assault. The result of this, however, appeared in the first instance still more unpromising than the former. The enemy had employed the long interval now allowed them in preparing defences of every possible and conceivable kind; and the breach, which at a distance had appeared very ample, proved to be of such a nature, that it would admit the men only in single files. All the works and buildings in its vicinity were filled with troops, who, covered by entrenchments and traverses, could pour the most destructive fire on the assailants. If any succeeded in gaining the narrow ridge of the curtain, which formed the only accessible point, such a station proved instantly fatal. Matters seemed quite desperate, till the genius of the commander suggested a resource. This was, to direct the guns to be fired over the heads of his own troops against those works of the enemy from which so destructive a fire issued. With such ability and precision was this delicate action conducted, that the balls passed within a very few feet of the British troops, without the latter sustaining any injury. A powerful effect was soon produced; and, after a succession of vigorous efforts, the storming party was at length established within the town. Defences had been prepared in the streets and houses, but these were soon swept away by British impetuosity, and in an hour more, the garrison were driven out of the town, and forced, after a severe loss, to take refuge in the castle. On the 9th of September, the castle surrendered, and the whole of this important bulwark of Spain was transferred to its rightful possessors.

The fall of so important a fortress was not viewed with indifference by the French commander. A force, chiefly Spanish, was drawn up along the left bank of the Bidassoa, in a position which covered all the approaches to St. Sebastian. The enemy, in consequence of the heights overhanging the opposite bank which they had fortified with cannon, could command at any point the passage of the river. On the morning of the 31st, the very day of the storming of St. Sebastian, he crossed it in great force, and attacked the Spanish force posted on the hills at a little distance. The attack was repulsed at once in the most gallant manner, and repeated attempts met uniformly with the same result. In the afternoon, having still the command of the river, they passed over an additional body of troops, which, joined to the former, made a new and desperate attack on the Spanish position. They were instantly driven back in the same prompt and gallant manner as formerly; and the enemy, losing all hope, entirely withdrew their troops. Lord Wellington, who had not yet learned to place full confidence in the Spanish troops, posted a British division on each of their flanks; but their own valour was equal to the crisis, and no aid was necessary. This day, in short, may be considered as finally retrieving the tarnished reputation of the Spanish armies.

Nearly at the same time that the French made this attempt to penetrate by the high road to St. Sebastian, they crossed the Bidassoa higher up, with the view of gaining the place by a circuitous rout through Cyar-

zan. They attacked a Portuguese brigade, which was there stationed, and which, though reinforced by major-general Inglis, was unable to maintain the position which it occupied. General Inglis, however, fell back upon another, which equally covered St. Sebastian. The enemy finding all their attempts fruitless, withdrew behind the Bidassoa. The immediate fall of the fortress rendered it unnecessary to make any further efforts.

About this time some discussions of a very unpleasant nature had taken place between lord Wellington and the Spanish government. His lordship had advanced into Spain in the confidence, and with the understanding, that the army of that country should be placed under the command of officers on whose co-operation he could place reliance. He had particularly stipulated, that the chief command of the provinces through which he was to pass, and of the army levied from them, should be entrusted to Castanos, an officer not, as I already hinted, of no very shining abilities, but of great worth, integrity, and candour. The dignity of his character and his conciliatory manners, rendered him an admirable instrument for cementing together the ill-according elements of the two nations. It was in this capacity rather than in a military command, that lord Wellington wished to employ him While the Gallician army was ably led by general Giron, Castanos went through the provinces, maintaining order, and forwarding supplies. An administration unfriendly to him having come into power, took advantage of this military inactivity to remove him from the command which he held ; and other changes were made contrary, as lord Wellington conceived, to the engagements originally made with him, and without his advice and concurrence having ever been asked. Such conduct to so great a man, and to whom Spain was so deeply indebted, can certainly admit of no justification. It arose doubtless from a characteristic national pride, from a want of common sense in action which seems equally characteristic, and from a jealousy not wholly unnatural, of supreme power lodged in a foreign commander. The new officers, thus culpably appointed, appear to have been men of merit ; for among them was Freyre, who commanded in the action just related near St. Sebastian, and certainly distinguished himself there in the highest degree. In short, lord Wellington, though in the first instance he addressed to the regency a letter full of just indignation, had the magnanimity not to suffer these private wrongs to interfere with his exertions for the public cause, and continued to conquer for the nation who thus injured him.

Every thing now indicated the intention of the commander to cross the Pyrenees, and carry the war into France. This measure was delayed only until his rear should have been secured by the fall of Pampeluna. In the mean time it appeared expedient to lord Wellington to cross the Bidassoa, and drive the enemy from the posts which they were fortifying behind that river. On the 7th of October, sir Thomas Graham crossed and drove the enemy from all the positions which they occupied on that side. The Spanish troops again distinguished themselves in the most brilliant manner. At the same time the right of the army attacked the enemy's entrenchments on the Puerto de Vera, and the lofty mountain of La Rhune, which they had strongly fortified. This last enterprize proved the most formidable of any. It was conducted by general Giron, who now commanded the Andalusian army. These troops mounted till they came to the hermitage at the top, which they in vain attempted to carry. Lord Wellington, on reconnoitring the ground next day, determined to continue the attack of the hermitage, with that of the entrenched camp of Sarre behind it. Accordingly the positions which formed the strength of that camp having been carried, the enemy withdrew on the following night, both from it and from the hermitage. The object was now accomplished ; France was entered ; and that territory, which for twenty years had never been trodden by hostile foot, now saw a mighty invading army established within its frontier.

On the 31st of October, Pampeluna surrendered, after a blockade of four months. The garrison became prisoners of war, and all the artillery and stores were given up. It was satisfactory to find that the enemy had not attempted to prolong the defence by any violation of the laws of war, in regard to supplying the inhabitants with food, and

that none of the latter had been suffered to die of famine.

Nothing now detained lord Wellington from pushing his victorious career into France; and the French, who had so lately aimed at the entire subjugation of the peninsula, sought only to defend the approaches of their own territory. They formed two successive lines of defence, the one along the river Nivelle, the other immediately in front of Bayonne. These, ever since the battle of Vittoria, they had been diligently employed in fortifying; and till they were driven from them, the British could not advance into the interior of the kingdom. The better to provide for its defence, a decree had been recently passed, by which a new levy of 30,000 conscripts was to be drawn from the provinces immediately bordering on the Pyrenees; and the reinforcements thence derived were beginning to arrive.

Lord Wellington's advance was delayed for a few days by the heavy rains, and consequent state of the roads; but on the 10th the whole army was brought forward, and was enabled to commence its attack upon the French entrenched position along the Nivelle. Their right was on the Spanish side of the river, in front of St. Jean de Lux; while the centre and left extended along the opposite side, and occupied the villages and mountains situated upon its bank. The right had been fortified so strongly that an attack in front was judged impracticable, but it could be turned, if the centre were made to give way. Against the centre therefore the main attack was directed. It was conducted by three British and one Spanish division, under generals Cole, St. Cyr, Colville, and Giron; and after a desperate resistance, the enemy were driven from all the strong and fortified positions which they there occupied. At the same time generals Clinton and Hamilton drove them from those which they occupied on the left. All the heights on the Nivelle being thus carried, and the enemy's centre driven back, lord Wellington immediately directed troops to advance upon the rear of their right, but before this movement could be completely followed out, night intervened. The enemy took advantage of the darkness to quit their impregnable position, and retired upon Bidart, leaving the whole of the ground which they had occupied in possession of the allied army.

As the action of this day consisted wholly in the storming of entrenched positions, and lasted from daylight till dark, the loss was necessarily considerable. It consisted of 2500 British and Portuguese killed and wounded besides Spaniards, of whose loss no regular account has been given.

The enemy now retired into his last line of defence, which was formed by the entrenched camp in front of Bayonne. The left occupied the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Adour and the Nive, from whence it communicated with the army of Catalonia. The right and centre extended from the left bank of the Nive to the Adour below Bayonne; and the front was here defended by an impassable morass. Lord Wellington, on surveying a position thus defended by nature and art, judged it impregnable against any direct attack. The only means by which the enemy could be driven from it was by a movement to the right, to threaten his rear and his communications with France. Operations were again delayed by the condition of the roads; but on the 8th of December generals Hill and Beresford were directed to cross the Nive with two divisions. The passage was effected almost without opposition; the enemy lost their communication with St. Jean Pied de Port, and were driven towards Bayonne. A detachment, which endeavoured to maintain the town of Ville Franche, was expelled by the 8th Portuguese regiment, and general Hill placed his right upon the Adour.

Soult could not be insensible, that unless some vigorous measures were taken to arrest this movement, his positions would soon be no longer tenable. Not only would he lose his communication with France, but the navigation of the Adour, by which his supplies were transmitted, would be in the hands of the enemy. He determined instantly upon the most vigorous operations. His project was, with his whole force, to attack that part of the allied army which had not passed the Nive, and thus induce them to recal their advanced divisions. With this view he concentrated his troops, leaving merely a sufficient number to defend the works opposite to general Hill, and on the morning of the 10th, made a most desperate

attack upon the British left under general Hope. He was repulsed with loss; and, after the action, two German regiments went over to the allies. New attacks took place in the afternoon of the following day and the morning of the 12th, always with the same result. The enemy were uniformly repulsed, and general Hill continued to extend his line from the Nive to the Adour.

Soult having failed in this point of attack, resolved to direct his efforts now against that wing of the allied army which had crossed the Nive. With this view, he passed a large force through Bayonne to the other side of that river, and on the morning of the 13th made a desperate attack on the British right under general Hill. Lord Wellington, foreseeing this attempt, had sent two divisions, and part of a third, to reinforce that portion of the army; but, before their arrival, the contest was decided: general Hill alone had defeated the enemy, and driven him back upon Bayonne.

The British army being now completely established upon the Adour, Soult found it no longer advisable to maintain his position in front of Bayonne. He left his entrenched camp, therefore, marched up the river towards Dax, and established himself on the small river Gave, which falls into the Adour. Lord Wellington had thus attained the object proposed by these operations, the success of which seems merited by the depth with which they were planned, and the able and judicious manner in which all the movements were combined.

No further operations took place during the present year; and this campaign may therefore be considered as closed. Never, in the days of her former glory, had the British risen to so lofty a height. Two great kingdoms were at once delivered from slavery; and the power which lately threatened to overwhelm them and all Europe together, now saw her own frontier passed, defended as it was by the mightiest barriers of art and nature. Britain was not without co-operation on the part of those for whom she fought; yet was this co-operation such as to leave to her almost entire the glory of so splendid a triumph. The same power, whose standard had continued still unfurled, while all Europe bent beneath the tyrant, was now the first to inflict upon him this extreme and signal humiliation.

CHAPTER LXV.

GEORGE III.

[1813.]

Loss of his Majesty's Frigate the Java, to the American five gun-Ship the Constitution—Gallant but unfortunate exploit of Captain Irby—Vicissitudes of the Naval contest with America and France—Declaration against America—The Campaign in Canada and on Lake Erie—Domestic events—Sentence upon the Hunts for a Libel on the Prince Regent—Parliamentary proceedings—State of Parties.

THE first of the naval events of the present year was disastrous, but honourable to the British arms. His majesty's frigate Java, captain Lambert, bound to the East Indies, with lieutenant-general Heslop, and the officers of his staff on board, descried, on December 29th, 1812, off St. Salvador, on the coast of Brazil, a strange sail, to which she gave chace. The ship proved to be the American frigate Constitution, which, shortening sail about two o'clock in the afternoon, came into action. The American manœuvred for some time to avoid close combat, aiming by firing high, to disable the masts of his antagonists, in which he obtained some success, having shot away the head of the bowsprit with the jib-boom of the Java, and much injured the running rigging. Captain Lambert, finding the enemy's raking fire very heavy, ordered him to be laid on board ; but this was rendered impracticable by further damages to the masts and rigging, which left his ship quite unmanageable, with most of the starboard guns useless, from the wreck lying over them. At half past three, the captain received a dangerous wound, which obliged him to be carried below. From this time till a quarter past four, the Java could only fire two or three guns ; but her mizen mast then being shot away, she fell off, and many of her starboard guns were brought to bear. The two ships were now brought broadside to broadside, and both continued to fight for some time in this position. The Constitution then made sail ahead out of gun-shot, to repair her damages, leaving the Java a wreck, with only the main mast standing, and that tottering. Every attempt was however made to put her in a state for renewing the action, but the main mast fell over the side, and the star-board guns were nearly all covered. The enemy now standing forwards to make an attack, and preparing to take a raking position, Mr. Chuds, the first lieutenant, consulted his officers, whether, in their disabled condition, with great part of their crew killed or wounded, it would be justifiable to waste more lives in continuing a fruitless defence. The result was, that they agreed in the painful necessity of striking their colours ; and their victor, commodore Bainbridge, gave a testimony of the desperate state to which their ship was reduced, by ordering her to be set on fire as soon as the wounded were removed. The loss on board the Java was very severe in officers and men, and the gallant captain Lambert died in consequence of his wounds a few days after, and was interred with all military honours in fort St. Pedro. The loss on board the Constitution was also considerable. The respective force of the ships was ; Java, guns 46 ; weight of metal, 1034lb ; crew and supernumeries, 377 : Constitution, guns 55 ; weight of metal, 1490lb ; crew, 480. It scarcely needs be added, after this relation,

that the surving officers of the Java were most honourably acquitted of blame for the surrender of their ship.

An action in which a serious loss was sustained, with no other advantage than the gallant repulse of a superior foe, occurred in an engagement between his majesty's ship Amelia, the honourable captain Irby, and a French frigate, off the coast of Africa. Captain Irby, being about to quit Sierra Leone river at the close of January, was informed by lieutenant Pascoe, of the Daring gun-brig, that he had been obliged to run his vessel on shore, and blow her up, in consequence of being chased by a French frigate, which, with two consorts, he had left at anchor off the De Loss islands. Captain Irby despatched lieutenant Pascoe to reconnoitre, who brought intelligence that the force of the enemy was two frigates of the largest class, L'Aretheuse and Le Rubis, with a Portuguese ship, their prize. Captain Irby, thereupon, determined to cruize off those islands in order to fall in with any other English ships of war that might be coming down the coast, and protect the trade to Sierra Leone. One of the French frigates stood out to sea on February 6th; and on the next day the other stood towards the Amelia, which had been lying off the island of Tamara in the night. Captain Irby, with the hope of drawing her from her consort, continued standing to sea till sun-set, when, not perceiving the other ship from the mast head, he shortened sail, wore, and stood to her. At forty-five minutes past seven, p. m. the two antagonists began firing within pistol-shot, and the action continued till twenty-one minutes past eleven, when the French frigate bore away, leaving the Amelia in an ungovernable condition, with her sails and rigging cut to pieces, and her masts injured. During the action, the Amelia twice fell on board the enemy in attempting to thwart his hawse, when he made efforts to board, but was repulsed. "The superior force of the enemy, (says captain Irby,) the considerable quantity of gold dust we have on board, as well as the certainty of the other frigate coming up, would have prevented my seeking a renewal of the action, if it had not been totally impracticable." The slaughter on board the Amelia was too good a proof, together with the disabling of the ship, how well the enemy's guns were served. The return of killed and since dead, was 51; of wounded, 95. Among the former were three lieutenants, and lieutenant Pascoe, of the Daring. Captain Irby was severely wounded. He immediately proceeded homewards, and arrived at Spithead on March 22nd.

A brilliant service performed by the Sicilian flotilla under the command of captain Hall, aided by a part of the 75th regiment, was reported by sir Edward Pellew, the admiral in the Mediterranean, in the month of March. Captain Hall, in a letter to lord William Bentinck, relates, that the enemy, having thrown up new works at Pietra Nera, on the coast of Calabria, confided so much in their strength, that a convoy of 50 armed vessels assembled to transport timber and other government property to Naples. On receiving this intelligence, captain Hall, on the night of February 14th, proceeded with two divisions of the flotilla, and four companies of the 75th regiment, commanded by major Stuart, and arriving at daylight, landed about 150 of the soldiers, with an auxiliary party of seamen under the command of lieutenant Le Hunt. Major Stewart immediately led them to occupy a height defended by a whole battalion, with two troops of cavalry, and two pieces of artillery. A most determined attack was made, which was resisted till the enemy's commander and most of his officers were killed or made prisoners, and the height was covered with their dead. The flotilla, under captain Imbert, in the mean time, was cannonading the batteries, which held out till they were stormed by lieutenant Le Hunt with his seamen. Every thing now came into the possession of the assailants, who launched the most valuable of the vessels and timber, and set the rest on fire. Of the enemy, 150 were killed, and 163 wounded, and their guns were taken. The loss of the victors was comparatively trifling; but the gallant major Stewart was unfortunately killed by a musket-shot as he was pushing off from shore after the re-embarkation of the troops.

Another successful enterprize, in which the land and sea forces were conjointly engaged, was the capture of the isle of Ponza, off the gulf of Gaeta, on the Neapolitan coast. Captain Napier, of the Thames, having taken on board lieutenant-colonel Coffin, and the 2nd battalion of the 10th regiment, arrived off

Ponza, accompanied by the Furieuse, on February 23rd. The harbour of the island is about a quarter of a mile wide, with a mole at the extremity, defended by four batteries, mounting ten 24 and 18-pounders, and two mortars. It was agreed, as the shortest way of accomplishing their purpose, that the two ships should be run into the mole, and the place carried by assault. The weather was unfavourable till the morning of the 26th, when the ships bore up in close order with a fine breeze. The enemy were prepared, and opened their fire half an hour before the ship's guns could be brought to bear, but with little effect; and when the ships began to fire on both sides, the defenders soon retreated into a strong tower. Colonel Coffin then landed, and pushed his men for the tower; but the commandant, not waiting for the assault, hoisted a flag of truce, and capitulated, the garrison remaining prisoners of war. In this affair not a man was lost in either service.

To the disasters which the American war has brought on the British navy, must be added that of the destruction of the sloop of war, Peacock, of 18 guns. Captain Lawrence, of the American sloop of war, Hornet, relates that on cruizing from the coast of Surinam to that of Demarara, after making the latter, on the morning of February 24th, he discovered a vessel at anchor, apparently an English brig of war. In beating round a bank in order to get to her, he descried another sail on his weather quarter, and edging down to him. This proved to be the Peacock; and, after some manœuvring to get the weather-gage, in which the American succeeded, the action commenced about half past five, p. m. Captain Lawrence ran his antagonist close on board on the starboard quarter, and kept up so heavy a fire that in less than 15 minutes by his own account, but, that of some English who escaped, after an action of 45 minutes, she surrendered by hoisting a signal of distress. On sending a lieutenant on board the Peacock, it was found that her commander, captain Peake, was killed, and many other officers and men killed and wounded, and that the ship was sinking fast, having six feet water in her hold. Notwithstanding every endeavour to keep her afloat till the prisoners were removed, she went down, carrying with her thirteen of her crew, and three American sailors. Four of her men had previously taken her stern boat and got to land. The Peacock was considered as one of the finest vessels of her class, and appears to have entered into the action with confidence of success. The Hornet, however, was of somewhat superior force, and her fire, like that of all the American ships which have engaged the British, seems to have been truly formidable.

Captain Black, of the Weazle sloop of war, sent an account from Lissa, on the coast of Dalmatia, that on April 23rd he gave chase to an enemy's convoy, making for the ports of Trau and Spalatro. The greater part of them, with ten gun boats, bore up for the bay of Boscaline, where he attacked them under a fire of two guns, and 200 or 300 musketry. Six of the gun boats were taken, driven on shore, and sunk, when four more arrived and took part in the action, and running behind a point, kept a galling fire with grape upon the Weazle's people. After dark, boats were sent in which destroyed all the gun-boats, and eight sail of the convoy.

Admiral sir J. B. Warren, being of opinion that a flotilla of small vessels might be usefully employed in penetrating the rivers at the head of Chesapeake bay, detached, in April, rear-admiral Cockburn with a light squadron for that purpose. This officer reported, on the 29th, a successful attempt by the Fantome and Mohawk on French town, a considerable distance up the Elk river, where was a depôt of stores. A resistance was made by a six gun battery, but it was abandoned, and the town and stores left to their fate. The latter, consisting of flour and army necessaries, together with five vessels, were burnt. Admiral Cockburne's second report, on May 3rd, gives an account of an attack upon Havre de Grace, a place at the entrance of the Susquehanna, where the Americans had erected a battery. The attack was made by two divisions of seamen and marines, who drove the enemy from the battery and town, set fire to some houses of the latter, and then proceeded to a cannon foundry at some distance, which they entirely destroyed, with a number of guns, and also took 130 stand of arms. A third report from Sassafras river relates successful attacks upon George town and Frederick's town. A body of 400 militiamen by whom they were defended was soon dispersed, and the villages were destroyed,

with the exception of the houses of some peaceable inhabitants who took no part in the hostilities. Some other places in which there were no public stores or property, and no preparations made for resistance, were spared; and thus the expedition terminated.

The capture of his majesty's sloop of war, Vincejo, on the coast of Britany, by a French flotilla of 17 gun-brigs and luggers, on May 8th, after a vigorous, but unavailing, resistance against so disproportioned a force, was another of the smaller disasters of the British navy.

The time, however, now approached in which the British flag was to receive a larger share of its accustomed honors from that foe against whom its glory had suffered a temporary eclipse. Captain P. V. Broke, of his majesty's frigate Shannon, whose station was off the port of Boston, had been singularly assiduous in exercising his men at great and small arms, and bringing them into a state of the most perfect discipline. In that harbour lay the United States frigate, Chesapeake, captain Lawrence, a fine ship of 49 guns, 18 and 32-pounders, with a complement of 440 men. For this vessel captain Broke had long been watching, desirous only of contending with it on fair terms; and that the enemy might not be prevented from coming out by the apprehension of having more than one antagonist to deal with, on the 1st of June he stood close in with Boston light house, presenting himself as a challenger to single combat. He soon had the pleasure (to use his own expression) of seeing the Chesapeake stand out of the harbour for the purpose of accepting the proffered contest. Captain Broke took a position between cape Ann and cape Cod, and then hove to, that his antagonist might join him. The American came down in a very handsome manner, with three of his national colours flying, full of confidence, and, it is said, so certain of shortly returning victorious into port, that he had neglected to provide accommodations on board for the wounded, which was the cause of so much subsequent distress. The action began at half past five, p. m. both ships steering full under top sails. After the exchange of two or three broadsides, the Chesapeake fell on board the Shannon, and they were locked together. Captain Broke went forward to ascertain the enemy's position, and perceiving that the men were flinching from their guns, he gave orders for boarding, and (though he does not mention it) himself set the example of leaping into the adverse ship. In an instant the assailants appointed for the service rushed in upon the enemy's decks, driving all before them with irresistable fury. The Americans opposed a desperate but disorderly resistance; and after a sanguinary conflict of only two minutes they were beaten from every post. The American colours were hauled down, and "the proud old British union floated triumphant over it." In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter; and the whole action was completed in fifteen minutes from its commencement. So short had been the firing, and so much directed to immediate effect, that both ships came out from the engagement in beautiful order, their rigging undamaged, as if they had only been exchanging a salute.

Though nothing could be more entire and glorious than the success, captain Broke had to lament the loss of many gallant comrades. He himself received a severe wound in the head from a sabre. His first lieutenant, Mr. Watt, was unfortunately shot in the very act of hoisting the victorious colours. The whole loss was 23 killed, and 56 wounded, out of a crew of 330. The enemy had about 70 killed, and 100 wounded. Among the former were the four lieutenants, a lieutenant of the marines, the master, and many other officers. Captain Lawrence died of his wounds at Halifax, where he was honourably interred. The humiliating feelings of the numerous spectators on shore, who, instead of a new triumph, saw their gallant ship in so short a time led away captive, may easily be conceived. A supposed explosion in the Chesapeake at a critical moment, is mentioned by the Americans in excuse of their defeat; but of this no notice appears in the narrative of captain Broke, whose success was obviously owing to a superiority of courage and discipline.

Rear-admiral Cockburne having received directions from sir J. B. Warren to put an end to the commerce carried on by the Americans from the port of Ocracoke, in north Carolina, by means of inland navigation, and to destroy any vessels which might be in that harbour, anchored off the bar on July 11th, with a light squadron, having on board detach-

ments of troops under lieutenant-colonel Napier, and proceeded to put the design into execution. Three divisions of boats and small vessels, with seamen and soldiers, being equipped, were sent into the harbour on the morning of the 12th, when a fire was opened upon them by two armed vessels, the Anna-conda sloop of 18 guns, and a schooner. They were however soon silenced and taken possession of by the first division of boats; and the troops landing upon the islands of Ports-mouth and Ocracoke, became masters of them without opposition, and thus command was obtained of the channel between them and the coast, through which the inland navigation was conducted.

The adventurous spirit of British seamen and marines, when acting on shore, has seldom been more strikingly displayed than in the capture of Fiume in the gulf of Venice. Admiral Freemantle reports to sir Edward Pellew, that on July 2nd, with the squadron under his command, he anchored opposite Fiume, which was defended by four batte-ries, mounting 15 heavy guns. On the 3rd the ships weighed to attack the sea line of batteries, whilst a detachment of seamen and marines was to storm at the mole head. The wind permitted only one ship to get up, which silenced the second battery; when the signal being made to storm, captain Rowley, at the head of the marines, carried the fort, and captain Hoste took the first battery. Captain Rowley, without loss of time, dashed on through the town, disregarding the fire from the windows, and a field piece placed in the centre of the principal street; and the sea-men and marines drove the enemy before them with his field piece, till he came to the square, where he made another stand, taking post in a large house. From this he was at length expelled; and the different parties of assailants making a junction, the batteries, field pieces, stores, and shipping were taken possession of, the governor, officers, and sol-diers of the garrison having all fled from the town. This success was obtained with a very trifling loss; and it was highly to the credit of captains Rowley and Hoste, that although the town was stormed in every part, not an individual was plundered, nor was any thing taken away except what was afloat, and in the government stores. Of 90 vessels captured, more than half were re-stored to their owners, 43 were sent to Lissa, laden with oil, grain, powder, and merchan-dize. A number of guns were rendered use-less, and others were carried away, and 500 stand of arms, with powder and military stores, were destroyed. On the 5th, the ships moved to Porte Ré, the forts of which had been abandoned by the enemy. The destruc-tion of the guns, works, &c. being completed by the seamen, the squadron returned to its station.

An instance of similar enterprise was re-ported on August 18th by captain Usher, of the Undaunted, off Marseilles. An attack was made on the batteries of Casris, between that port and Toulon, protecting a bay in which were a number of small vessels covered by gun-boats. Light winds not permitting the Undaunted to take her intended anchor-age, the whole business was effected by a party of marines under captain Coghlan, who carried the citadel battery by escalade, and drove the French at the bayonet's point from all their defences to the heights above the place; after which the mole was entered by the ship's boats, and all the vessels within it were brought out or destroyed.

The capture of an American sloop of war in St. George's channel by an English vessel of the same force, gave another timely proof that the superiority of British seamanship was still no empty boast. Captain Maples, of the Pelican sloop of war, being directed by admiral Thornborough to cruize for the pro-tection of the trade, descried on the morning of August 14th, off St. David's head a vessel on fire, and a brig standing from her. He immediately made chase, and at half past five, p. m. came along side of the United States sloop, Argus, of 18 twenty-four pound carronades, and 2 long twelve pounders. After a warm action on both sides of forty three minutes, the Pelican was in the act of boarding, when the American struck her colours. Her loss in killed and wounded amounted to about 40, among whom was her commander. That of the victor was only 2 killed and 5 wounded; so that in this in-instance the superiority of fire was clearly on the side of the English ship, whose comple-ment of men was 116, whilst that of her anta-gonist was 127.

The gulf of Cataro was the scene of some spirited actions in October, in which the British

navy displayed its usual enterprise. Captain Hoste, in the Bacchante, joining the Saracen, captain Harper, and three gun boats, off Ragusa, on October 12th, having been informed of the state of the country about Cataro, and the insurrection of the Bocchese, or people of the Bocche (mouths) of the gulf, proceeded thither on the 13th, and forcing the passage between the Castel Nouva, and the fort of Rosa, anchored his squadron above Castel Nouva. In the evening he detached the boats of the two ships and two Sicilian gun-boats, under the command of captain Harper, to capture the enemy's naval force lying between St. George's island and the town of Cataro, in which he completely succeeded. He then attacked and carried the island of St. George, the commandant and garrison of which surrendered at discretion; and thus an important post was gained, commanding the narrow channel leading to Cataro itself. On the 16th, Castel Nicova and fort Espagnol surrendered to the British force, the garrison remaining prisoners of war. Several gun-boats, and a quantity of stores, were taken in this expedition, and the blockade of Cataro by sea and land was the result.

A success over a foe, little capable indeed of resistance, was reported in the same month by captain sir Christopher Cole, of the Rippon. The Frigate Le Wesser, of 44 guns and 340 men, lost her main and mizen masts in a hard gale on October 16th. On the 18th, she was fallen in with, sixty leagues to the West of Ushant, steering under jury masts for Brest, by his majesty's sloop Scylla, captain Macdonald, who kept her in view till the 20th, when he met with the sloop Royalist, captain Bremer, who volunteered to join him in an attack of the enemy. The two sloops bore up in close order, the Scylla on the quarter, and the royalist on the bow of the frigate, and commenced an action, which continued an hour and a half; when their sails and rigging being much cut, they drew off to repair damages. A man of war then appearing in sight, the Royalist was despatched to convey intelligence of the situation of affairs; and at day-light on the 31st, the Rippon took the advantage of a breeze to close with the enemy. The Le Wesser bore up to the Rippon and struck her colours, after having exchanged two broadsides with the Scylla. She was so much crippled, that sir C. Cole took on board the greater part of the prisoners, and towed her into port. No great loss of men was sustained on either side; and the principal credit of the action was given to captain Macdonald for his perseverance in attending on the enemy's motions.

A success of a similar kind was obtained in the same month by the capture of the frigate La Trave, of 28 French eighteen pounders and 10 eighteen pound carronades, with a crew of 321 men, nearly all Dutch. While sailing under jury masts, near the entrance of the English Channel, she was chased on October 23rd, by the Andromache, captain Tobin, upon which she opened a fire from her stern guns; but it was not returned till a position was taken by the Andromache in her weather quarter. She made a feeble resistance for about fifteen minutes, and then struck her colours; and her captor observes, that such was the disabled state of her masts previously to the encounter, that any further opposition would have been the extreme of rashness.

The part taken by the British squadron commanded by captain Farquhar of the Desirée, in reducing the French batteries near the mouth of the Elbe, is reported by that officer in a letter dated off Cuxhaven, December 1st. In co-operation with a body of Russian troops, a line of gun-boats cannonaded fort Napoleon on November 29th, and in the mean time the ships were employed in landing guns, and constructing a seaman's battery within 400 yards of the strong battery of Phare, or Cuxhaven. This was completed on the 30th, but before it began to fire, a flag of truce was hoisted by the enemy, and both batteries were surrendered, mounting 26 heavy guns and two mortars, with a block-house and a garrison of 310 men, who became prisoners of war. Within the last two days, (says captain Farquhar,) the small detachment of Russian troops, commanded by colonel Rodinger, assisted by his majesty's squadron, have reduced four strong batteries, consisting of 50 heavy guns, 4 mortars, and 800 men and officers, all made prisoners of war. This success was obtained without any loss on the part of the navy, and a trifling one on that of the Russians."

The events recorded in the preceding detail of naval operations, will demonstrate that

the boasts of American prowess on the ocean were transitory, and disproportionate to the occurrences on which they founded their exultation. Nor were the circumstances of the campaign on land more creditable to their valour or more propitious to their hopes. In the mean time the policy of England was justified in the eyes of Europe by the following important exposition from the pen of lord Liverpool.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE.
Saturday, January 9th, 1813.

DECLARATION.

THE earnest endeavours of the prince regent to preserve the relations of peace and amity with the United States of America having unfortunately failed, his royal highness, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, deems it proper publicly to declare the causes and origin of the war, in which the government of the United States has compelled him to engage.

No desire of conquest, or other ordinary motive of aggression has been, or can be with any colour of reason, in this case, imputed to Great Britain: that her commercial interests were on the side of peace, if war could have been avoided, without the sacrifice of her maritime rights, or without an injurious submission to France, is a truth which the American government will not deny.

HIS royal highness does not, however, mean to rest on the favourable presumption to which he is entitled. He is prepared by an exposition of the circumstances which have led to the present war, to show that Great Britain has throughout acted towards the United States of America, with a spirit of amity, forbearance, and conciliation; and to demonstrate the inadmissible nature of those pretensions, which have at length unhappily involved the two countries in war.

IT is well known to the world, that it has been the invariable object of the ruler of France, to destroy the power and independence of the British empire, as the chief obstacle to the accomplishment of his ambitions designs.

HE first contemplated the possibility of assembling such a naval force in the Channel as, combined with a numerous flotilla, should enable him to disembark in England an army sufficient, in his conception, to subjugate this country; and through the conquest of Great Britain he hoped to realize his project of universal empire.

BY the adoption of an enlarged and provident system of internal defence, and by the valour of his majesty's fleets and armies, this design was entirely frustrated; and the naval force of France, after the most signal defeats, was compelled to retire from the ocean.

AN attempt was then made to effectuate the same purpose by other means: a system was brought forward, by which the ruler of France hoped to annihilate the commerce of Great Britain, to shake her public credit, and to destroy her revenue; to render useless her maritime superiority, and so to avail himself of his continental ascendancy, as to constitute himself, in a great measure, the arbiter of the ocean, notwithstanding the destruction of his fleets.

WITH this view, by the decree of Berlin, followed by that of Milan, he declared the British territories to be in a state of blockade; and that all commerce, or even correspondence with Great Britain, was prohibited. He decreed that every vessel and cargo which had entered, or was found proceeding to a British port, or which, under any circumstances, had been visited by a British ship of war, should be lawful prize: he declared all British goods and produce, wherever found, and however acquired, whether coming from the mother country, or from her colonies, subject to confiscation: he further declared to be denationalized, the flag of all neutral ships that should be found offending against these his decrees: and he gave to this project of universal tyranny the name of the Continental System.

FOR these attempts to ruin the commerce of Great Britain, by means subversive of the clearest rights of neutral nations, France endeavoured in vain to rest her justification upon the previous conduct of his majesty's government.

UNDER circumstances of unparalleled provocation, his majesty had abstained from any measure, which the ordinary rules of the law of nations did not fully warrant. Never was the maritime superiority of a belligerent over his enemy, more complete and decided. Never was the opposite belligerent so formidably

dangerous in his power, and in his policy to the liberties of all other nations. France had already trampled so openly and systematically on the most sacred rights of neutral powers, as might well have justified the placing her out of the pale of civilized nations. Yet in this extreme case Great Britain had so used her naval ascendancy, that her enemy could find no just cause of complaint: and in order to give to these lawless decrees the appearance of retaliation, the ruler of France was obliged to advance principles of maritime law unsanctioned by any other authority than his own arbitrary will.

The pretext for these decrees were, first, that Great Britain had exercised the rights of war against private persons, their ships, and goods, as if the only object of legitimate hostility on the ocean were the public property of a state, or as if the edicts, and the courts of France itself, had not at all times enforced this right with peculiar rigour. Secondly, that the British orders of blockade instead of being confined to fortified towns, had, as France asserted, been unlawfully extended to commercial towns and ports, and to the mouths of rivers; and thirdly, that they had been applied to places, and to coasts, which neither were, nor could be actually blockaded. The last of these charges is not founded on fact, whilst the others, even by the admission of the American government, are utterly groundless in point of law.

Against these degrees, his majesty protested and appealed; he called upon the United States to assert their own rights, and to vindicate their independence, thus menaced and attacked; and as France had declared, that she would confiscate every vessel which should touch in Great Britain, or be visited by British ships of war, his majesty having previously issued the order of January 1807, as an act of mitigated retaliation, was at length compelled, by the persevering violence of the enemy, and the continued acquiescence of neutral powers, to revisit, upon France, in a more effectual manner, the measure of her own injustice; by declaring, in an order in council, bearing date the 11th of November, 1807, that no neutral vessel should proceed to France, or to any of the countries from which, in obedience to the dictates of France, British commerce was excluded, without first touching at a port in Great Britain, or her dependencies. At the same time his majesty intimated his readiness to repeal the orders in council, whenever France should rescind her decrees, and return to the accustomed principles of maritime warfare; and at a subsequent period, as a proof of his majesty's sincere desire to accommodate, as far as possible, his defensive measures to the convenience of neutral powers, the operation of the orders in council was, by an order issued in April 1809, limited to a blockade of France, and of the countries subjected to her immediate dominion.

Systems of violence, oppression, and tyranny, can never be suppressed, or even checked, if the power against which such injustice is exercised, be debarred from the right of full and adequate retaliation: or, if the measures of the retaliating power, are to be considered as matters of just offence to neutral nations, whilst the measures of original aggression and violence, are to be tolerated with indifference, submission, or complacency.

The government of the United States did not fail to remonstrate against the orders in council of Great Britain Although they knew that these orders would be revoked, if the decrees of France, which had occasioned them, were repealed, they resolved at the same moment to resist the conduct of both belligerents, instead of requiring France, in the first instance, to rescind her decrees. Applying most unjustly the same measure of resentment to the aggressor, and to the party aggrieved, they adopted measures of commercial resistance against both—a system of resistance which, however, varied in the successive acts of embargo, non-intercourse, or non-importation, was evidently unequal in its operation, and principally levelled against the superior commerce, and maritime power of Great Britain.

The same partiality towards France was observable, in their negotiations, as in their measures of alleged resistance.

Application was made to both belligerents for a revocation of their respective edicts; but the terms in which they were made were widely different.

Of France was required a revocation only of the Berlin and Milan decrees, although many other edicts, grossly violating the neutral commerce of the United States, had been

promulgated by that power. No security was demanded, that the Berlin and Milan decrees, even if revoked, should not under some other form be re-established: and a direct engagement was offered, that upon such revocation, the American government would take part in the war against Great Britain, if Great Britain did not immediately rescind her orders.—Whereas no corresponding engagement was offered to Great Britain, of whom it was required, not only that the orders in council should be repealed, but that no others of a similar nature should be issued, and that the blockade of May, 1806, should be also abandoned. This blockade, established and enforced according to accustomed practice, had not been objected to by the United States at the time it was issued. Its provisions were on the contrary represented by the American minister resident in London at the time, to have been so framed, as to afford, in his judgment, a proof of the friendly disposition of the British cabinet towards the United States.

GREAT Britain was thus called upon to abandon one of her most important maritime rights, by acknowleding the order of blockade in question, to be one of the edicts which violated the commerce of the United States, although it had never been so considered in the previous negotiations; and although the president of the United States had recently consented to abrogate the non-intercourse act, on the sole condition of the orders in council being revoked; thereby distinctly admitting these orders to be the only edicts which fell within the contemplation of the law, under which he acted.

A PROPOSITION so hostile to Great Britain could not but be proportionably encouraging to the pretensions of the enemy. As by thus alleging that the blockade of May 1806, was illegal, the American government virtually justified, so far as depended on them, the French decrees.

AFTER this proposition had been made, the French minister for foreign affairs, if not in concert with that government, at least in conformity with its views, in a dispatch, dated the 5th of August, 1810, and addressed to the American minister resident at Paris, stated that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, and that their operation would cease from the 1st of November following, provided his majesty would revoke his orders in council, and renounce the new principles of blockade; or that the United States would cause their rights to be respected; meaning thereby, that they would resist the retaliatory measures of Great Britain.

ALTHOUGH the repeal of the French decrees thus announced, was evidently contingent, either on concessions to be made by Great Britain, (concessions to which it was obvious Great Britain could not submit,) or on measures to be adopted by the United States of America; the American president at once considered the repeal as absolute. Under that pretence, the non-importation act was strictly enforced against Great Britain, whilst the ships of war, and merchant ships of the enemy were received into the harbours of America.

THE American government, assuming the repeal of the French decrees to be absolute, and effectual, most unjustly required Great Britain, in conformity to her declarations, to revoke her orders in council. The British government denied that the repeal, which was announced in the letter of the French minister for foreign affairs, was such as ought to satisfy Great Britain; and in order to ascertain the true character of the measures adopted by France, the government of the United States was called upon to produce the instrument, by which the alleged repeal of the French decrees had been effected. If these decrees were really revoked, such an instrument must exist, and no satisfactory reason could be given for withholding it.

AT length, on the 21st of May 1812, and not before, the American minister in London did produce a copy, or at least what purported to be a copy, of such an instrument.

IT professed to bear date the 28th of April 1811, long subsequent to the dispatch of the French minister of foreign affairs of the 5th of August 1810, or even the day named therein, viz. the first of November following, when the operation of the French decrees was to cease. This instrument expressly declared that these French decrees were repealed in consequence of the American legislature having, by their act of the 1st of March 1811, provided, that British ships and merchandise should be excluded from the ports and harbours of the United States.

By this instrument, the only document produced by America, as a repeal of the French decrees, it appears beyond a possibility of doubt or cavil, that the alleged repeal of the French decrees was conditional, as Great Britain had asserted; and not absolute or final, as had been maintained by America; that they were not repealed at the time they were stated to be repealed by the American government; that they were not repealed in conformity with a proposition simultaneously made to both belligerents, but that in consequence of a previous act on the part of the American government, they were repealed in favour of one belligerent, to the prejudice of the other; that the American government having adopted measures restrictive upon the commerce of both belligerents, in consequence of edicts issued by both, rescinded these measures, as they affected that power, which was the aggressor, whilst they put them in full operation against the party aggrieved; although the edicts of both powers continued in force; and lastly, that they excluded the ships of war, belonging to one belligerent, whilst they admitted into their ports and harbours the ships of war belonging to the other, in violation of one of the plainest and most essential duties of a neutral nation.

Although the instrument thus produced was by no means that general and unqualified revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, which Great Britain had continually demanded, and had a full right to claim; and although this instrument, under all the circumstances of its appearance at that moment, for the first time, was open to the strongest suspicions of its authenticity; yet, as the minister of the United States produced it, as purporting to be a copy of the instrument of revocation, the government of Great Britain, desirous of reverting, if possible, to the antient and accustomed principles of maritime war, determined upon revoking conditionally the orders in council. Accordingly in the month of June last, his royal highness the prince regent was pleased to declare in council, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, that the orders in council should be revoked, as far as respected the ships and property of the United States, from the 1st of August following. This revocation was to continue in force, provided the government of the United States should, within a time to be limited, repeal their restrictive laws against British commerce. His majesty's minister in America was expressly ordered to declare to the government of the United States, that "this measure had been adopted by the prince regent in the earnest wish and hope, either that the government of France, by further relaxations of its system, might render perseverance on the part of Great Britain in retaliatory measures unnecessary, or if this hope should prove delusive, that his majesty's government might be enabled, in the absence of all irritating and restrictive regulations on either side, to enter with the government of the United States into amicable explanations, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, if the necessity of retaliatory measures should unfortunately continue to operate, the particular measures to be acted upon by Great Britain, could be rendered more acceptable to the American government, than those hitherto pursued."

In order to provide for the contingency of a declaration of war on the part of the United States, previous to the arrival in America of the said order of revocation, instructions were sent to his majesty's minister plenipotentiary accredited to the United States (the execution of which instructions, in consequence of the discontinuance of Mr. Foster's functions, were at a subsequent period entrusted to admiral sir John Borlase Warren,) directing him to propose a cessation of hostilities, should they have commenced; and further to offer a simultaneous repeal of the orders in council on the one side, and of the restrictive laws on the British ships and commerce on the other.

They were also respectively empowered to acquaint the American government, in reply to any inquiries with respect to the blockade of May 1806, whilst the British government must continue to maintain its legality,—"That in point of fact this particular blockade had been discontinued for a length of time, having been merged in the general retaliatory blockade of the enemy's ports under the orders in council, and that his majesty' government had no intention of recurring to this, or to any other of the blockades of the enemy's ports, founded upon the ordinary and accustomed principles of maritime law, which were in force previous to the orders in council,

without a new notice to neutral powers in the usual form."

The American government, before they received intimation of the course adopted by the British government, had in fact proceeded to the extreme measure of declaring war, and issuing "letters of marque," notwithstanding they were previously in possession of the report of the French minister for foreign affairs, of the 12th of March, 1812, promulgating anew the Berlin and Milan decrees, as fundamental laws of the French empire, under the false and extravagant pretext, that the monstrous principles therein contained were to be found in the treaty of Utrecht, and were therefore binding upon all states. From the penalties of this code no nation was to be exempt, which did not accept it, not only as the rule of its own conduct, but as a law, the observance of which it was also required to enforce upon Great Britain.

In a manifesto, accompanying their declaration of hostilities, in addition to the former complaints against the orders in council, a long list of grievances was brought forward; some trivial in themselves, others which had been mutually adjusted, but none of them such as were ever before alleged by the American government to be grounds for war.

As if to throw additional obstacles in the way of peace, the American congress at the same time passed a law, prohibiting all intercourse with Great Britain, of such a tenor, as deprived the executive government, according to the president's own construction of that act, of all power of restoring the relations of friendly intercourse between the two states, so far at least as concerned their commercial intercourse, until congress should re-assemble.

The president of the United States has, it is true, since proposed to Great Britain an armistice; not, however, on the admission, that the cause of war hitherto relied on was removed; but on condition that Great Britain, as a preliminary step, should do away a cause of war, now brought forward as such for the first time; namely, that she should abandon the exercise of her undoubted right of search, to take from American merchant vessels British seamen, the natural-born subjects of his majesty; and this concession was required upon a mere assurance that laws would be enacted by the legislature of the United States, to prevent such seamen from entering into their service; but independent of the objection to an exclusive reliance on a foreign state, for the conservation of so vital an interest, no explanation was, or could be afforded by the agent who was charged with this overture, either as to the main principles upon which such laws were to be founded, or as to the provisions which it was proposed they should contain.

This proposition having been objected to, a second proposal was made, again offering an armistice, provided the British government would secretly stipulate to renounce the exercise of this right in a treaty of peace. An immediate and formal abandonment of its exercise, as a preliminary to a cessation of hostilities, was not demanded; but his royal highness the prince regent was required, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, secretly to abandon what the former overture had proposed to him publicly to concede.

This most offensive proposition was also rejected, being accompanied, as the former had been, by other demands of the most exceptionable nature, and especially of indemnity for all American vessels detained and condemned under the orders in council, or under what were termed illegal blockades —a compliance with which demands, exclusive of all other objections, would have amounted to an absolute surrender of the rights on which those orders and blockades were founded.

Had the American government been sincere in representing the orders in council, as the only subject of difference between Great Britain and the United States, calculated to lead to hostilities; it might have been expected, so soon as the revocation of those orders had been officially made known to them, that they would have spontaneously recalled their "letters of marque," and manifested a disposition immediately to restore the relations of peace and amity between the two powers.

But the conduct of the government of the United States by no means corresponded with such reasonable expectations.

The order in council of the 23rd of June, being officially communicated in America, the government of the United States, saw nothing in the repeal of the orders in council, which should of itself restore peace, unless

Great Britain were prepared, in the first instance, substantially to relinquish the right of impressing her own seamen when found on board American merchant ships.

The proposal of an armistice, and of a simultaneous repeal of the restrictive measures on both sides, subsequently made by the commanding officer of his majesty's naval forces on the American coast, were received in the same hostile spirit by the government of the United States. The suspension of the practice of impressment was insisted upon in the correspondence which passed on that occasion, as a necessary preliminary to a cessation of hostilities:—Negotiation, it was stated, might take place without any suspension of the exercise of this right, and also without any armistice being concluded; but Great Britain was required previously to agree, without any knowledge of the adequacy of the system which could be substituted, to negotiate upon the basis of accepting the legislative regulations of a foreign state, as the sole equivalent for the exercise of a right which she has felt to be essential to the support of her maritime power.

If America, by demanding this preliminary concession, intends to deny the validity of that right, in that denial Great Britain cannot acquiesce; nor will she give countenance to such a pretension, by acceding to its suspension, much less to its abandonment, as a basis on which to treat. If the American government has devised, or conceives it can devise, regulations which may safely be accepted by Great Britain, as a substitute for the exercise of the right in question, it is for them to bring forward such a plan for consideration. The British government has never attempted to exclude this question from amongst those on which the two states might have to negotiate: it has, on the contrary, uniformly professed its readiness to receive and discuss any proposition on this subject, coming from the American government: it has never asserted any exclusive right as to the impressment of British seamen from American vessels, which it was not prepared to acknowledge as appertaining equally to the government of the United States, with respect to American seamen when found on board British merchant ships:—But it cannot, by acceding to such a basis in the first instance, either assume, or admit that to be practicable, which, when attempted on former occasions, has always been found to be attended with great difficulties; such difficulties as the British commissioners in 1806, expressly declared, after an attentive consideration of the suggestions brought forward by the commissioners on the part of America, they were unable to surmount.

Whilst this proposition, transmitted through the British admiral, was pending in America, another communication on the subject of an armistice was unofficially made to the British government in this country. The agent, from whom this proposition was received, acknowledged that he did not consider that he had any authority himself to sign an agreement on the part of his government. It was obvious that any stipulations entered into, in consequence of this overture, would have been binding on the British government, whilst the government of the United States would have been free to refuse or accept them, according to the circumstances of the moment: this proposition was therefore necessarily declined.

After this exposition of the circumstances which preceded, and which have followed the declaration of war by the United States, his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, feels himself called upon to declare the leading principles by which the conduct of Great Britain has been regulated in the transactions connected with these discussions.

His royal highness can never acknowledge any blockade whatsoever to be illegal, which has been duly notified, and is supported by an adequate force, merely upon the ground of its extent, or because the ports, or coasts blockaded are not at the same time invested by land.

His royal highness can never admit that neutral trade with Great Britain can be constituted a public crime, the commission of which can expose the ships of any power whatever to be denationalized.

His royal highness can never admit that Great Britain can be debarred of its right of just and necessary retaliation, through the fear of eventually affecting the interests of a neutral.

His royal highness can never admit, that in the exercise of the undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching neutral mer-

chant vessels in time of war, the impressment of British seamen, when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag. Neither can he admit, that the taking such seamen from on board such vessel, can be considered by any neutral state as a hostile measure, or a justifiable cause of war.

There is no right more clearly established, than the right which a sovereign has to the allegiance of his subjects, more especially in time of war. Their allegiance is no optional duty, which they can decline, and resume at pleasure. It is a call which they are bound to obey; it began with their birth, and can only terminate with their existence.

If a similarity of language and manners may make the exercise of this right more liable to partial mistakes, and occasional abuse, when practised towards vessels of the United States, the same circumstances make it also a right, with the exercise of which, in regard to such vessels, it is more difficult to dispense.

But if, to the practice of the United States, to harbour British seamen, be added their assumed right to tranfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign, by acts of neutralization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own territory, as within it, it is obvious, that to abandon this antient right of Great Britain, and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States, would be to expose to danger the very foundation of our maritime strength.

Without entering minutely into the other topics, which have been brought forward by the government of the United States, it may be proper to remark, that whatever the declaration of the United States may have asserted, Great Britain never did demand that they should force British manufactures into France; and she formally declared her willingness entirely to forego, or modify, in concert with the United States, the system by which a commercial intercourse with the enemy had been allowed, under the protection of licences; provided the United States would act towards her, and towards France, with real impartiality.

The government of America, if the differences between states are not interminable, has as little right to notice the affair of the Chesapeake. The aggression in this instance, on the part of a British officer, was acknowledged, his conduct was disapproved, and a reparation was regularly tendered by Mr. Foster on the part of his majesty, and accepted by the government of the United States.

It is not less unwarranted in its allusion to the mission of Mr. Henry; a mission undertaken without the authority, or even knowledge of his majesty's government, and which Mr. Foster was authorized formally and officially to disavow.

The charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States, is equally void of foundation. Before the war began, a policy the most opposite had been uniformly pursued, and proof of this was tendered by Mr. Foster to the American government.

Such are the causes of war which have been put forward by the government of the United States. But the real origin of the present contest will be found in that spirit, which has long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States; their marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France; their systematic endeavours to inflame their people against the defensive measures of Great Britain; their ungenerous conduct towards Spain, the intimate ally of Great Britain; and their unworthy desertion of the cause of other neutral nations. It is through the prevalence of such councils that America has been associated in policy with France, and committed in war against Great Britain.

And under what conduct on the part of France has the government of the United States thus lent itself to the enemy? The contemptuous violation of the commercial treaty of the year 1800 between France and the United States; the treacherous seizure of all American vessels and cargoes in every harbour subject to the controul of the French arms; the tyrannical principles of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the confiscations under them; the subsequent condemnations under the Rambouillet decree, antedated or concealed to render it the more effectual; the French commercial regulations, which render the traffic of the United States with France almost illusory; the burning of their merchant ships at sea, long after the alleged

repeal of the French decrees—all these acts of violence on the part of France, produce from the government of the United States, only such complaints as end in acquiescence and submission, or are accompanied by suggestions for enabling France to give the semblance of a legal form to her usurpations, by converting them into municipal regulations.

THIS disposition of the government of the United States—this complete subserviency to the Ruler of France—this hostile temper towards Great Britain—are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government.

AGAINST this course of conduct, the real cause of the present war, the prince regent solemnly protests. Whilst contending against France, in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but of the world, his royal highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin—from their common interest—from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States were the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument, and abettor of French tyranny.

DISAPPOINTED in this his just expectation, the prince regent will still pursue the policy which the British government has so long, and invariably maintained, in repelling injustice, and in supporting the general rights of nations; and, under the favour of Providence, relying on the justice of his cause, and the tried loyalty and firmness of the British nation, his royal highness confidently looks forward to a successful issue to the contest, in which he has thus been compelled most reluctantly to engage.

Westminster, January 9th, 1813.

THE attempts of the American army against Canada produced nothing but disappointment and defeat. General Winchester, with a division of the American force, consisting of more than 1000 men, advanced in January to the attack of fort Detroit, and obtained possession of French town, twenty-six miles from that place. Intelligence of the circumstance being conveyed to colonel Proctor, he hastily assembled all the force within his reach, amounting to 500 regulars and militia, and 600 Indians, and attacked the enemy. They made a desperate resistance in their houses and inclosures; but at length 500 of them surrendered at discretion, and the remainder, attempting to retreat, were most of them cut off by the Indians. General Winchester himself was taken by Wyandot chief, who delivered him to the British commander. The loss of the king's troops was 24 killed, and 158 wounded. In a trivial affair, the Americans were still more unsuccessful against sir George Prevost, at Ogdenburgh, but these disasters were in some degree counterbalanced by the capture of York, the capital of Upper Canada, by general Dearborn. The British commander in York was general Sheaffe, whose force consisted of 700 regulars and militia, and 100 Indians. These he had stationed in the woods near the landing place, and a spirited resistance was kept up till the arrival of general Pike with 700 men, and the approach to the shore of the remainder of the assailants, induced the British to retreat to their works. When the Americans had advanced within 120 yards of the main work of the town, an explosion took place from a magazine, of which the effect was to injure or destroy 100 of the assailants and 40 of the defenders. General Pike lost his life on this occasion, and was deeply lamented by the Americans. Meantime commodore Chauncey entered the harbour with his flotilla, and opened a fire upon the British batteries. General Sheaffe, after the explosion, marched out of the place with the regulars, and left the commander of the militia to capitulate. All the officers and men, military and naval, remaining in the place, were made prisoners of war, and the public stores were delivered up to the victor

ABOUT the same time general Vincent, by a still greater superiority of force, was obliged to abandon fort St. George, which formed the main point of defence on the Niagara frontier. And to those disasters was added the failure of an attempt made by colonel Baynes to obtain possession of Sackett's harbour. The detachment was landed, and the enemy were driven with loss into their block-houses and batteries; but these were found so strong that it would have been an useless waste of men to attempt storming them. The British force, therefore, re-embarked.

THE temporary success of the Americans on the lakes, combined with the repulse of

colonel Proctor rendered them masters of Upper Canada. They were seized with that excess of exultation to which all popular governments are liable: they already considered the whole of Canada as their own, and publicly announced their intention of taking Montreal as their winter-quarters. The preparations by which these magnificent boasts were to be supported, appeared not altogether inadequate to their fulfilment. Three armies, each amounting to nearly 10,000 men, in the end of October marched from different points upon Lower Canada. While general Harrison proceeded along lake Erie, general Wilkinson embarked his division on lake Ontario, and general Hampton marched direct to Montreal. These troops, however, were formidable only in number, and possessed no qualities that could enable them to withstand the shock of troops under British discipline. Hampton's whole corps was arrested for a day by 300 Canadian militia, and additional forces coming up, he immediately fell back and evacuated the province. Wilkinson succeeded in effecting a landing near Kingston. But lieutenant-colonel Morrison, who was stationed at that place with a small detachment, immediately followed him, and an action took place near Crystler's farm, about twenty miles above Cornwall. The American army, six times superior in number, was totally defeated with the loss of 1000 men. It then precipitately crossed the St. Lawrence, and, abandoning its boats, retreated across a difficult country to Plattsburg.

The disaster did not stop here. On the 25th of December, a British and Indian force having surprised fort Niagara, destroyed or made prisoners the whole garrison. They then crossed the river, attacked general Hull, who had collected about 2000 men on the other side, and put him totally to the rout. In this manner the present year terminated with a prospect of future success, as brilliant as marked the close of the preceding.

The domestic events of the year were few and unimportant. Some sensation, however, had been excited in the political world, by the severe and unexpected sentence passed upon the printer and editor of the Examiner. It would be dangerous to comment on the violence exhibited by lord Ellenborough in the course of the trial, or on the disproportionate cruelty of the sentence. They were condemned to an imprisonment of two years in separate prisons, to a fine of £500 each, and to the production of securities for good behaviour during five years. The following is the obnoxious paragraph which excited the alarm of the attorney-general, and provoked the vengeance of the regent. "Who, at all acquainted with the true state of the case, would suppose that this glory of the people, (as he was termed by the Morning Post,) was the object of millions of shrugs and reproaches; that this protector of the arts, this Mæcenas of the age, passing by the artists of his own country, had appointed a foreigner to be his historical painter; that this breather of eloquence could not say a few words to his own regiment; that this conqueror of the arts was a disappointer of hopes; in short, that this delightful prince was a violater of his word; a libertine over head and ears in debt and disgrace; a despiser of domestic ties; a companion of gamblers and demireps; a man who has closed half a century without one claim on the gratitude of the country, or the respect of posterity."

The parliament re-assembled on the 4th of November, after its adjournment, and the prince regent delivered the following speech from the throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is with the deepest regret that I am again obliged to announce to you the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

The great and splendid success with which it has pleased Divine Providence to bless his majesty's arms, and those of his allies, in the course of the present campaign, has been productive of the most important consequences to Europe.

In Spain, the glorious and decisive victory obtained near Vittoria has been followed by the advance of the allied forces to the Pyrenees,—by the repulse of the enemy in every attempt to regain the ground he had been compelled to abandon,—by the reduction of the fortress of St. Sebastian,—and, finally, by the establishment of the allied army on the frontier of France.

In this series of brilliant operations, you will have observed, with the highest satisfaction, the consummate skill and ability of

the great commander, field-marshal the marquis of Wellington; and the steadiness and unconquerable spirit which have been equally displayed by the troops of the three nations, united under his command.

THE termination of the armistice in the north of Europe, and the declaration of war by the emperor of Austria against France, have been most happily accompanied by a system of cordial union and concert amongst the allied powers.

THE effects of this union have even surpassed those expectations which it was calculated to excite.

BY the signal victories obtained over the French armies in Silesia, at Culm, and at Denevitz, the efforts of the enemy to penetrate into the heart of the Austrian and Prussian territories, were completely frustrated.

THESE successes have been followed by a course of operations, combined with so much judgment, and executed with such consummate prudence, vigour, and ability, as to have led in their result, not only to the discomfiture of all those projects which the ruler of France had so presumptuously announced on the renewal of the contest, but to the capture and destruction of the greater part of the army under his immediate command.

THE annals of Europe afford no examples of victories more splendid and decisive than those which have been recently achieved in Saxony.

WHILST the perseverance and gallantry displayed by the allied forces of every description, engaged in this conflict, have exalted to the highest pitch of glory their military character, you will, I am persuaded, agree with me in rendering the full tribute of applause to those sovereigns and princes who, in this sacred cause of national independence, have so eminently distinguished themselves as the leaders of the armies of their respective nations.

WITH such a prospect before you, I am satisfied that I may rely, with the fullest confidence, on your disposition to enable me to afford the necessary assistance in support of a system of alliance, which, originating chiefly in the magnanimous and disinterested views of the emperor of Russia, and followed up as it has been with corresponding energy by the other allied powers, has produced a change the most momentous in the affairs of the continent.

I SHALL direct copies of the several conventions which I have concluded with the northern powers to be laid before you, as soon as the ratifications of them shall have been duly exchanged.

I HAVE further to acquaint you, that I have concluded a treaty of alliance and concert with the emperor of Austria, and that the powerful league already formed has received an important addition of force, by the declaration of Bavaria against France.

I AM confident you will view with particular satisfaction the renewal of the antient connection with the Austrian government; and that, justly appreciating all the value of that great power to the common cause, you will be prepared, as far as circumstances may permit, to enable me to support his imperial majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the contest.

THE war between this country and the United States of America still continues; but I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the measures adopted by the government of the United States, for the conquest of Canada, have been frustrated by the valour of his majesty's troops, and by the zeal and loyalty of his American subjects.

WHILST Great Britain, in conjunction with her allies, is exerting her utmost strength against the common enemy of independent nations, it must be matter of deep regret to find an additional enemy in the government of a country whose real interest in the issue of this great contest must be the same as our own.

IT is known to the world, that this country was not the aggressor in this war.

I HAVE not hitherto seen any disposition on the part of the government of the United States to close it, of which I could avail myself consistently with a due attention to the interests of his majesty's subjects.

I AM at all times ready to enter into discussion with that government, for a conciliatory adjustment of the differences between the two countries upon principles of perfect reciprocity not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law, and with the maritime rights of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I HAVE directed the estimates for the services of the ensuing year to be laid before you.

I REGRET the necessity of so large an expenditure, which I am confident, however, you will judge to be unavoidable, when the extent and nature of our military exertions are considered.

I ENTERTAIN no doubt of your readiness to furnish such supplies as the public service may require.

I CONGRATULATE you on the improved and flourishing state of our commerce; and I trust, that the abundant harvest which we have received from the bountiful hand of Providence during the present year, will afford material relief to his majesty's people, and produce a considerable augmentation in many branches of the revenue.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CONGRATULATE you, on the decided conviction which now so happily prevails throughout so large a portion of Europe; that the war in which the allied powers are engaged against the ruler of France is a war of necessity; and that his views of universal dominion can only be defeated by combined and determined resistance.

THE public spirit, and national enthusiasm, which have successively accomplished the deliverance of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, and the Russian empire, now equally animate the German people; and we may justly entertain the fullest confidence that the same perseverance on their part will ultimately lead to the same glorious result.

I CANNOT but deplore most deeply the continuance of this extended warfare, and of all those miseries which the insatiable ambition of the ruler of France has so long inflicted upon Europe.

No disposition to require from France sacrifices of any description inconsistent with her honour or just pretensions as a nation, will ever be on my part, or on that of his majesty's allies, an obstacle to peace.

THE restoration of that great blessing, upon principles of justice and equality, has never ceased to be my anxious wish; but I am fully convinced that it can only be obtained by a continuance of those efforts which have already delivered so large a part of Europe from the power of the enemy.

To the firmness and perseverance of this country these advantages may, in a great degree, be ascribed. Let this consideration animate us to new exertions, and we shall thus, I trust, be enabled to bring this long and arduous contest to a conclusion which will be consistent with the independence of all the nations engaged in it, and with the general security of Europe.

THE corresponding address was moved in the house of lords by EARL DIGBY, and seconded by the EARL OF CLARE, who was followed by MARQUIS WELLESLEY, and LORD GLENVILLE, both of whom declared their entire concurrence in the sentiments expressed in the speech. The latter nobleman touched upon the condition of Holland, and the obligation lying upon this country to promote, as far as it was within its power, the restoration of independence to a state which has fallen a victim to its alliance with Great Britain. The EARL of LIVERPOOL, after congratulating the house on its unanimity, and recapitulating the successes of the campaign, said, with respect to the desirable object of a general and permanent peace, that it would be the policy of England, not only to give full security to her friends, but to her enemies, and that he himself could not countenance any thing as demanded from his enemy, which, if in the situation of that enemy, he would not have been willing to part with.

THE address passed without opposition.

IN the house of commons the address was moved by LORD COMPTON, and seconded, in a speech of much studied eloquence, by MR. C. GRANT, junior. Both sides of the house concurred in approbation of the spirit displayed in the regent's speech, and the address was voted nem. con.

ON November 8th, there were laid on the table of the house of commons copies of conventions between his Britannic majesty and the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia. The first of these with the emperor of Russia, was signed at Reichenback on June 15th, 1813. By this first article, the emperor engages to employ in the present war 160,000 troops of all descriptions, exclusive of garrisons; in return for which the king of Great Britain engages to pay to Russia for the service of the current year £1,333,334 sterling,

by monthly payments, together with £500,000 for the maintenance of the Russian navy now in the English ports. Further, he agrees to join with the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia in the issue of federative notes for circulation on the continent, for the expenses of war solely, to an amount not exceeding five millions sterling, the reimbursement of which is allotted in the following proportions; England three-sixths, Russia two-sixths, Prussia one-sixth. A commission is to be named by three powers for regulating the distribution of this sum. In return for the maintenance of the Russian fleet, the British government is to have the right of employing it in any manner against the common enemy. These reciprocal engagements are to be continued as long as the war last; and each party binds itself to act in concert with the other, and not to enter into any separate negotiation with the enemy.

In the convention with Prussia, signed at the same place, June 14th, it is stated, that the object of the war being to re-establish the independence of the states oppressed by France, it is essential to replace Prussia in possession of her relative power, and to prevent France from ever occupying any of the strong places in the north of Germany, or exercising any sort of influence in that quarter; and, on the other hand, Prussia is to co-operate in restoring to their hereditary states, the house of Brunswick Lunenburg, and the ducal house of Brunswick. Prussia engages to employ an army of 80,000 men in the field, exclusive of garrisons; and is to receive from England for the year 1813 £666,666 sterling in monthly payments. The issue of federative paper is agreed for as above; and the British navy is to co-operate, when practicable, in the defence of the Prussian states and commerce, and in military expeditions for the common cause.

An additional convention with Prussia, signed July 5th, relates to the transfer to the king of Great Britain of his imperial majesty's German legion, to be augmented to 10,000 men, for the sum of ten pounds fifteen shillings per man yearly, exclusive of providing arms, ammunition, clothing, and other charges. If the preceding treaties indicated a determination in the government to *spare no money* in following up the prospects of a successful prosecution of the war, the measures introduced in parliament for augmenting the disposable military force of the country, were equally a proof of the resolution as freely to supply the demand of men for the same purpose. The ascendancy of the ministers whose vigorous and liberal policy had been so triumphantly rewarded by the succession of events, rendered all opposition to these warlike preparations ineffectual; and after a short and comparatively silent session, parliament was adjourned

CHAPTER LXVI.

GEORGE III.

[1814.]

Policy of the Allies with respect to France—Invasion of that Country—The Confederates advance into the Heart of France—Movement of the Grand and Subordinate Armies—Battles of Arcis sur Aube, and Montmirail—Napoleon and Blucher manœuvre with alternate success—Change of Plan on the part of the Allies, who advance rapidly to Paris, leaving Buonaparte in their rear—Operations of general Wrede and Prince Swartzenberg—Napoleon defeats General Priest and advances to Rheims.

WHILE Napoleon was insulting enemies and subjects—was commanding the army of the national guard,—was assembling and exercising his new levies in haste,—was crowding into his strong places an army of old troops, which could be of no assistance to him;—when finally, after having decried the landstrum of the Prussians, as a barbarous and useless measure for the purposes expected from it, he was himself exhorting all the French to point their arms, and do every possible injury to the enemy; the allies, after sweeping Germany, with the exception of some garrisons, and a French corps which the prince of Sweden forced to shut themselves up in Hamburgh, were displaying their formidable armies along the Rhine from Switzerland to Holland.

THEY were preceded by proclamations of the 6th and subsequently of the 21st of December, 1813, addressed to all the powers of Europe, to the French people, and to the Swiss. By means of these, the allied powers informed the Swiss, that they would not respect their pretended system of neutrality; that it was to re-establish the law of nations that they appeared to violate them by entering on the Helvetic territory; but that the justice of their cause, the necessity of attaining peace by pushing on the war in a lively manner would justify them in the eyes of Europe and of posterity; that there cannot be a real neutrality for a state which does not enjoy a real independence, and which is governed by a foreign will. Such evidently was the situation of Switzerland under the dominion of Napoleon, who had declared himself *Mediator* of their confederacy.

THE allied powers announce to the people of France that they were about to pass their frontiers; that they were by no means making war against France—"we are repelling from us," said they, "the yoke which your government wished to impose on our country, which has the same right to independence and happiness as yours."

"THE maintenance of public order, respect for private property, and the most severe discipline, shall distinguish the passage of the allied troops. They are not animated with any spirit of revenge; they are not disposed to repay France those evils without number which she, for the last twenty years, has been heaping on her neighbours and the most distant countries—the only conquest of which she is ambitious is that of peace. We hoped to find it before we should touch the French soil: we are now proceeding there to search for it."

IN saying that they were forced to *come to search for peace in France*, the allies alluded to their celebrated declaration of the 1st of December, and to the circumstances of its promulgation. In that declaration they had announced that they offered Napoleon a

peace which still might be termed glorious, and which only deprived him of his excessive preponderance in Germany. He, on the other hand, declared on his side, that he had accepted, without restriction, all its bases, and that he had transmitted that acceptation to the belligerent powers, so far back as the 5th of December; and in a demi-official article published in Paris on the 4th of January, he complained bitterly that the allies had not caused their declaration to be printed and published before the 6th or 7th of the same month of December, after having received his acceptation of it. He represented this conduct as an act of bad faith toward him, and a proof of the insincerity of their pacific offers. These circumstances are necessary to be remarked, as connecting themselves with the causes which rendered a peace impossible.

The same principles of moderation were nevertheless repeated, in offers of the same nature, separately sent in the name of the different powers, on the 1st of January, 1814, at the moment when their troops were crossing the Rhine at three different points. We may remark, that the proclamation of the prince of Schwartzenberg, of the date of the 8th of January, addressed to the general district of Montbelliard, was the first in which the armed peasant, not clothed in military uniform, was threatened with death, and the communes which would defend themselves devoted to the flames. Thus it happened, that on one side, as well as the other, they had sought for opportunities of doing as much mischief as possible to their enemies, and were still looking for similar opportunities, and that no side found fault with the practice as unjust, but that side which received the injury.

At the opening of the campaign, the forces of the invaders were divided into seven armies.

1st, The grand Austro-Russian army, commander-in-chief the prince of Schwartzenberg; this army was composed of the Austrian divisions of Coloredo, Wimpfen, Guilay, Bianchi, Burbina, the princes Maurice and Louis of Lichtenstein; the Russian divisions of Barclay de Tolly and Witgenstein; the Bavarians in three divisions, general-in-chief count Wrede, and Wirtemburghers under the prince of Wirtemburgh.

2nd, The grand Prussian or Silesian army, commander-in-chief marshal Blucher, formed of the corps of D'Yorck, in three divisions, of the corps of Kleist, in three divisions, of the corps of Bulow, in four divisions, of the four Russian corps of Tscherbatoff, Langeron, Sacken, and Winzingerode, and of the Saxons under the prince of Saxe Weimar, and the baron de Thielman.

3rd, The grand Swedish army, commander-in-chief the prince royal of Sweden, formed of the Swedish corps, of the five Russian corps of Bennigsen, Tettenborn, Doerberg, Benkendorf, Tchernitcheff, of which the first had remained before Hamburgh; and of an Anglo-German corps, the Hanseatic troops, and the contingents from the petty states of the confederation.

4th, The Anglo-Batavian army, commander-in-chief sir Thomas Graham.

5th, The Anglo-Spanish and Portuguese army, on this side the Pyrenees, commander-in-chief lord Wellington.

6th, The Austrian army of Italy, commander-in-chief count Bellegarde.

7th, The army of Naples, under the orders of king Joachim, who had joined the coalition by a treaty signed on the 11th of January, 1814. The French journals estimated the three grand corps, whose operations extended on the Rhine, at less than 200,000 men, an estimation evidently too low, inasmuch as the confederation of the Rhine, and the petty German states, had augmented the coalesced forces with 144,000 men, viz. 36,000 Bavarians, 32,000 Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Mecklenburghers, and the troops of the Hanseatic towns; 23,300 Saxons, 12,000 Hessians, 9,200 men of Berg, Waldeck, La Lippe, &c.; 9,200 men belonging to Wartzbourg, d'Armstadt, Franckfort, Isembourg, and Reuss; 12,000 Wirtemburghers, and 10,300 men of Baden, Hohenzollern, and Lichtenstein, Prussia and Austria might have an effective force of about 250,000, and Russia herself alone, 200,000.

The first operations of importance were directed towards Switzerland. While the prince Schwartzenberg was penetrating in that direction on the 21st of December, his Bavarian division acting on the side of Colmur, entered Alsace in that quarter, where, on the 24th, it was engaged. Huningen was immediately blockaded, and Befort attacked; the garrison retired into the citadel. On the

30th of December, Geneva shook off the yoke, and forced the garrison to retire. The prefect, who had abandoned the town, was delivered up to a court of enquiry; this was followed by a decree which charged the public functionaries on their responsibility to contribute to the defence of the country. The tone also of the journals, the spirit of which emanated directly from the minister of police, assumed an additional portion of virulence; it was seriously proposed in them that the women and children should make war; the women, it was observed, would be very useful, and cause great destruction by devoting themselves in the characters of young Judiths or manlike Deborahs.

On crossing the Rhine, the allies issued a proclamation well calculated to answer the purposes of their invasion: in this proclamation they declared that, though victory had conducted them into France, they had not come to make war upon her; their wish and object were, simply to repel far from them the yoke that the French government endeavoured to impose on their respective countries; countries which possessed the same rights to independence and happiness as France. As conquest and splendour were not their objects, they therefore called upon the magistrates, land owners, and cultivators, to remain at their homes; as the progress and stay of the allied armies would be characterized by the maintenance of public order, respect to private property, and the most severe discipline: notwithstanding all they had suffered, they were not animated by a spirit of vengeance; they knew how to distinguish and separate the ruler of France from France herself; to him they attributed all their calamities; and not even were they disposed to retaliate on the French nation any of those calamities which the revolution had brought on Europe. While Buonaparte never made war but for the purpose of conquest, and to gratify his ambition, other counsels presided over the allied monarchs: they indeed were ambitious; they indeed sought glory: but their ambition and glory were of a very opposite character from those of Buonaparte; the only conquest which was the object of their ambition and glory was that of peace; but not such a peace as Buonaparte had often mocked Europe with; but a peace which should secure to their own people, to France and to Europe, a state of real repose. "We hoped to find it before touching the soil of France; we come hither in quest of it!"

Much was naturally expected from this proclamation; especially if the allies, on their first entrance into France, acted strictly and conscientiously up to the spirit of it. They had been accused of dilatoriness in their motions: but no sooner had they crossed the Rhine, than this accusation could no longer justly be made. Marshal Blucher's army crossed this river in three columns; general St. Priest at Coblentz, who made himself master of that town, and took 500 prisoners: generals Langeron and D'Yorck passed at Caub, and took Bingen, forcing a strong position, and defeating a corps of the enemy; and general Sacken passed at Manheim, and drove the enemy from an entrenched position. The whole amount of Blucher's army was 80,000 men; while at the same time Brabant was entered by an army of 50,000 men, to co-operate with which a considérable force was sent from England. But it was not only with her troops and money that this country was determined to assist the allies in their glorious purpose of restoring peace and tranquillity to Europe: as it was natural to suppose that the downfall of Buonaparte, or, if he displayed a sincere desire for peace, a treaty with him would take place, it was proper, in either case, that Britain, who had done so much, and who was so much interested in the result, should have a person well acquainted with her real interests, present with the allied armies. Lord Castlereagh was accordingly selected for this purpose; and we shall afterwards have abundant proofs, that no other person could have been selected, better qualified for this high and arduous mission.

Let us now turn our attention to Buonaparte in Paris. He still remained there, notwithstanding the sacred territory of France was invaded; nor was there any evidence that he was effectually preparing to meet the allied armies: he did not even boast of his means: it was indeed stated that there were 12,000 men at Metz, but that was the largest number stated to be any where, except at Paris. Indeed he seemed to be reduced to the necessity of adopting language, in his address to the French nation, very different from that which he had formerly employed;—

"Bearn, Alsace, Franche Comté, are invaded. I call upon the French to succour the French. Peace, and the deliverance of our territory, ought to be our rallying cry: *the question is now no more to recover the conquests we have made.*"

Notwithstanding, however, this change of tone in Buonaparte, he found the French nation very reluctant in coming forward against the allies; and the regular armies which still remained to him were by no means equal to cope with them: they therefore advanced into France with little or no opposition or resistance. By the middle of January, part of the allied army occupied Langres, an antient and considerable town, 100 miles within the French frontier: until the allies reached this town, there was not a shot fired at them by any but the military; but here the inhabitants fired at them, though without effect. The principal French armies which Buonaparte had been able to collect, were under the command of marshals Victor and Marmont: the former advanced into Alsace, where he met the Bavarians under general De Wrede: the French, however, were compelled to evacuate this province, and, being pursued by the Bavarians, they were brought to action in Lorraine; the engagement was severe, and long contested: but at length the French were defeated with great loss, and retreated on Luneville. The cossacks, according to their usual custom, were greatly in advance, and by the middle of January had pushed on between Epinal and Nancy. That these troops should have been able to come so near Paris, is a convincing proof of the inadequacy of Buonaparte's means effectually to repel the allies. The second French army, under the command of Marmont, was ordered to oppose the advance of Blucher; but neither in relative force nor equipment was it equal to this object. Marmont therefore retreated before the Prussian general to the Saare, behind which river, and within the frontiers of Old France, he took up a position: his retreat was much harassed on one flank by count Sacken, who occupied Worms, Spires, and Deux Ponts; while on the other flank he was approached by general D'Yorck, who occupied Treves and Saar-Louis. From this sketch it is evident, that even within a month after the allies had crossed the Rhine they had approached within no considerable distance of Paris, while the French armies which Buonaparte had hitherto been able to collect were by no means adequate to resist them.

Before the end of January the situation of Buonaparte was still more desperate and degrading: at that time Marmont had fled to Verdun; Victor to Commercy; Mortier to Chaumont, and Macdonald to Namur; while the allies occupied Lorraine, as far as the Meuse; all Alsace, Franche Compté, and great part of Burgundy. Under these circumstances Buonaparte still remained at Paris; and, being unable to rouse the French nation, at last determined to sue for peace. The allied sovereigns had taken up their head-quarters at Chatillon; and thither Caulincourt was ordered by Buonaparte to proceed, to negotiate a peace: but as lord Castlereagh had not yet joined the allied sovereigns, the French ambassador was obliged to await his arrival.

In consequence of the rapid advance of the allies, and the total indifference of the French nation to the apparently approaching fate of Buonaparte, the Bourbon family naturally began to be reanimated with the hopes that they would at last be restored to their country. The allies, indeed, had carefully abstained from even intimating to the French nation that they wished the restoration of the Bourbons; on the contrary, at this period there was reason to believe that they were willing to treat with Buonaparte. The English government, though more averse to make peace with him, yet were not disposed to go against the plans of the allies; but it was generally believed that the prince regent was strongly inclined to support the cause of the Bourbons. Louis the XVIIIth himself was unable, from age and infirmity, to take an active part in the restoration of himself and family: but Monsieur, the duke d'Angouleme, and the duke de Berri, more young, active, and enterprising, embarked for the continent towards the end of January.

In the midst of these difficulties and dangers, Buonaparte still remained at Paris. His stay there was accounted for in different ways: some were disposed to think that he was so completely bewildered and astounded at the imminence and magnitude of his danger, as to be totally deprived of all his faculties; others conceived that he was engaged at

Paris in preparing those measures that would effectually serve to defeat the allies: and in this idea they were confirmed by the recollection, that on many former occasions he had been silent, and apparently inactive, at the very period when he was about to burst forth with renewed energy. The truth probably was, that he was afraid to leave Paris: he well knew that at this city the seeds of discontent and dissatisfaction were not only more abundant, but of more rapid vegetation, than in any other part of France; and that if, on his leaving Paris, that city rose against him, his fate was inevitably sealed. That he had lost his usual energy, in the midst of his dangers, was by no means true; as, while he continued in Paris, he was constantly employed in endeavouring to recruit his armies, and to replenish his finances: in the former he was not so unsuccessful as in the latter; troops he obtained, though not in sufficient numbers, nor of the best description; but his finances were in a most deplorable state; and to add to his disasters, in this respect, before the end of January the national bank of France encountered such difficulties as amounted nearly to a stoppage. This evil Buonaparte was by no means calculated to remedy, even under more favourable circumstances; he had no idea of any thing but force; or if force could not possibly be applied, as in the present instance, his measures displayed the profoundest ignorance of political economy. By the report of the directors of the bank, it appeared that their ready money amounted only to £600,000, which, from the eagerness of the holders of notes to obtain payment, would be exhausted in a few days. In order, therefore, to prevent the draining of the bank, it was announced that, whatever number of notes might be presented for payment in the course of a day, not more than £20,000 would be paid; and that no one could apply to the bank to change bank notes, unless he were the bearer of a number which had been delivered to him by the mayor of his quarter.

At length on the 25th of January Buonaparte left Paris, having been preceded on the 19th by Berthier, and having previously confided the regency, during his absence, to Maria Louisa.—The French armies about this time were assembling within the line of the Meuse; Chalons on the Marne being the point towards which Macdonald, Marmont, Victor, and Mortier were retreating from different quarters. The allied armies at the same time were concentrating and pressing on the same point: Blucher by the way of Nancy and Toule; and Schwartzenberg, who had the chief command of the Austrian and Russian armies, by Langres and Chaumont. About the end of this month the two grand armies of the allies came entirely into communication; when it was determined by the allied sovereigns, as a mark of their special confidence in marshal Blucher, to place at his disposal the Austrian corps of general Ginlay and of the prince of Wurtemberg. The French army at this time were strongly posted, with their right at Dienville, about three miles above Brienne; their centre at the village of La Rotherie, and their left towards Tremilly; a village and wood in front of their left being also occupied. Marshal Blucher, having been reinforced, made his dispositions to attack the enemy; and on the 1st of February general Sacken moved from Trannes in two columns; the first on Dienville, the second on La Rotherie, while a reserve of 6000 Russians was posted on the heights between Trannes and Maison. The whole of the force of the allies, which they brought into action on this occasion, amounted to between 70,000 and 80,000 men; that of the enemy was about the same strength, consisting of the corps of Victor, Marmont, and Mortier. Both Buonaparte and Berthier were engaged in the contest; and on the other side the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and prince Schwartzenberg were spectators of it: it was indeed the first grand engagement within the French territory.

After some skirmishing and cannonading in the plain, an obstinate contest began on the left, for the position of La Giberie, which the prince of Wurtemberg at length succeeded in carrying. Buonaparte, fully aware of the importance of this position, endeavoured to remedy the disaster by moving a corps to the left; but in this movement he was prevented by the watchfulness and skill of marshal Blucher, who drew the whole of the force under Sacken towards the centre, leaving count Ginlay alone to attack Dienville. In consequence of this movement on the part of Blucher, a most desperate engagement took place at La Rotherie, which

formed the key of the enemy's disposition. At this place Buonaparte led on his troops in person, and at first was successful: but the allies fought with most determined perseverance and courage; they knew that they fought under the eye of their sovereigns; and they were moreover animated by the example of Blucher, whose great prowess and skill were on this occasion whetted by his deadly antipathy to Buonaparte.

At La Rotherie the combat lasted till ten at night, when the Russians remained masters of the town; though the French held the ground beyond it, and at midnight of the 1st of February were in possession of the heights of Brienne. It was not, however, till two hours after the Russians became masters of La Rotherie that general Giulay succeeded in gaining possession of Dienville. Such was the result of the battle of the 1st of February.

About one o'clock in the morning of the 2nd, Buonaparte, being completely baffled in all his attempts to re-occupy the village of La Rotherie, notwithstanding he himself directed the attack of the young guards on that place, where he was opposed in person by marshal Blucher, decided upon a retreat, with the loss of 73 pieces of cannon and 4000 prisoners. He drew off his troops in two columns, one upon Lesmont, and the other upon Lassicourt. They were followed at day-break by part of the allied army; and the French were compelled to continue their retreat on Troyes, and thence on Nogent. On the 5th of February the corps of Macdonald was defeated by D'Yorck, between Vitry and Chalons, with the loss of three cannon and several hundred prisoners.

The allies were determined not to lose the fruits of their victories by delay: on the 7th they occupied Troyes, one of the richest and most considerable towns in France. The circumstances attending their occupation of this town fully confirmed his opinion that the people of France were indifferent to the fate of their emperor; for, notwithstanding all his promises of peace, all his representations of the cruelties of the allies, and especially of the cossacks, and notwithstanding he invoked them by every thing which he thought dear to Frenchmen to rise *en masse*, they were in almost every instance immoveable, maintaining a most rigid and inflexible neutrality.

In this disposition they were undoubtedly confirmed by the behaviour of the allied troops, as well as by the conduct of the allied sovereigns; for the most strict and orderly discipline was preserved; and in no cases, except where the inhabitants fired on them, did they retaliate on Frenchmen the cruelties which their respective countries had suffered from them. That the sovereigns were sincere in their desire for peace, was sufficiently manifested by their treating with Buonaparte at the very time that their armies were victorious in the very heart of France; for the negotiations still continued; and it was afterwards known that the ambition and madness of Buonaparte were the only causes which prevented them from terminating in peace.

After the battle of Brienne, the prince of Schwartzenberg fixed his head-quarters at Troyes, and marshal Blucher at a place about twenty miles to the north of Troyes.—It was naturally supposed that the latter would follow the course of the river Aube, until he united his army with that under the prince in the neighbourhood of Nogent, and after the junction, force Buonaparte to fight. But the plan of Blucher was different: from the banks of the Aube he marched northwards in the direction of the Lower Marne. About the same time Buonaparte, accompanied by Ney, Mortier and Marmont, left Nogent, and proceeding 30 miles to the north, attacked a Russian corps and took the whole of them prisoners. On the following day the head-quarters of Blucher were at Bergeres; on the 13th he advanced to attack Marmont at Etoges, who had between 8000 and 9000 men. The enemy however gradually retired, his rear suffering very considerably from the cossacks. In the mean time Buonaparte marched from Chateau Thierry, generals D'Yorck and Sacken having retired from that place behind the Marne. On the 14th Buonaparte, having joined Marmont, made a sudden and very impetuous attack on Blucher, who was inferior in numbers, and particularly in cavalry: he therefore determined on a retreat, and for this purpose formed his infantry into squares.—On these the enemy made the most desperate attacks; but they were received with such undaunted firmness, that not one of the squares was broken. After a very severe and unequal contest, which continued for upwards of four hours, marshal Blucher, observing a large corps of cavalry

posted in his rear, resolved to force his way through it: this he effected by opening a heavy fire of artillery and musketry. But when he reached Etoges at night, he was assailed by a body of infantry, which had penetrated through by-roads, on his flanks and rear: he was therefore again under the necessity of renewing the attack: and this obstacle being also overcome, two divisions of Blucher's army occupied for the night the position of Bergeres. The total loss which he sustained during this incessant fighting was nearly 4000, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the French, however, was stated to be much greater, as Blucher was very superior to them in point of artillery, from which he poured on them a tremendous and most destructive fire.

While these events were going on in this part of France, general Winzingerode, who had already made himself master of Rheims, advanced against Soissons: at this place Buonaparte had fixed a reserve camp, which the general attacked with great impetuosity. The contest was sharp, but not of long duration: the issue was, that 2 generals and 3000 men were taken, and the allies obtained possession of the town.

General Alsufief at Camp d'Aubert, was attacked in that position and defeated with considerable loss; but on the 11th general Sacken rallied the division of D'Yorck, and attacked the French. The battle, which was named from the village of Montmirail, was warmly contested, and its result indecisive. Sacken, however, found it expedient to retreat, and was pursued by Napoleon, losing in his retreat 2000 men. At this critical juncture, Buonaparte was informed that Blucher had determined on attacking marshal Marmont near Etoges. He immediately relinquished the pursuit of Sacken, united himself with Marmont's division, and compelled Blucher to retire from Vauchamp. General Winzingerode entered Laon in force on the 14th, and took 3000 men and 23 pieces of cannon.

General Witgenstein now advanced towards Pont Sur Seine, and general Wrede towards Bray; the French abandoned the left of the Seine, and destroyed the bridges, which were re-established by the allies; and general Wrede advanced towards Provins.

General Witgenstein crossed at Pont Sur Seine, generals Bianchi and Giulay were at the same time marching on Montereau, and measures were adopted for placing the grand allied army on the left of the Seine, with the right at Mery, and the left at Montereau, with the prince of Wirtemberg's and general Wrede and Witgenstein's at Provins and Villeneuve.

On the 16th, dispositions were made to remove the head-quarters of the grand allied army to Bray, and generals Witgenstein and Wrede's corps by Nanges towards Melun. On the 17th, Fontainbleau was taken by counts Hardegg and Thuan, and general Platoff. On the 17th, Buonaparte attacked, with a large corps of cavalry, at Nanges, the advance of general Witgenstein's corps, under count Pahlen, and drove it back with considerable loss, both in men and artillery. Prince Schwartzenberg then withdrew his army behind the Seine. On the following day the French vigorously attacked at Montereau the prince royal of Wirtemberg's corps, charged with the defence of the bridge at that place; they were repulsed with loss. The attack was again renewed in the evening, when the French succeeded in obtaining some advantages.

On the 21st, field-marshal Blucher, with the army of Silesia, effected his march upon Mery, which town was already occupied by general count Witgenstein, who had reconnoitred the enemy to be in some force opposite to him, between Chartre and Merigny. The count, on the arrival of the veteran field-marshal, withdrew his corps, and early in the morning of the 22nd, took the direction of Chandrigny. Scarcely had the posts he left in front of the town been relieved by the army of the field-marshal, at about eight o'clock in the morning, when marshal Oudinot, with two corps, commenced an attack from the opposite side of the river.

It not being, however, the immediate object to carry on any operation on the left bank of the river, arrangements were immediately made for burning the bridge over the Seine, that divides the town in two parts, and for defending that on the other side of the river. Whilst field-marshal Blucher was himself superintending the dispositions for the effect, the town itself, in three places, fell a prey to the flames. The wind, from being very high, rendered it impracticable to subdue the flames; and the project, therefore, of defending the town by

any considerable body of infantry, could not be executed. A few tirailleurs were all that could be employed; and marshal Oudinot, who had not any obstacle on his side of the river, advancing rapidly, the bridge was set fire to, but only one side of it consumed.

From nine o'clock till two, a constant tiraillade ensued; but the flames became so general, that no more support could be sent to the small party that had defended the town, and the French were enabled to effect a passage across the remaining part of the bridge.

In the mean time field-marshal Blucher drew up his army in two lines, in a vast plain outside the town, having his cavalry in reserve, and was thus prepared to have taken every advantage of the enemy, had he attempted to push any force across the river. The view of this preparation, however, intimidated him.

Marshal Oudinot had pushed over three battalions, and, extending them along the left bank of the river, began a very sharp fire, with the design of covering the further advance of troops from the river, when he was himself attacked, driven into the town, and obliged to recross the broken bridge, leaving several prisoners and wounded behind him; and at sun-set each army remained at their respective sides of the town.

On the morning of the 24th, field-marshal Blucher threw three pontoon bridges across the Aube, near Baudmont, and crossed with the whole of his army, having marched it during the night without being perceived by the enemy from opposite Mery. It bivouaced on the night of the 24th, at and in the vicinity of Anglure.

The field-marshal had received advices of the approach of different corps, by which he expected to be joined; and also intelligence that marshal Marmont, emboldened by his absence, had advanced to Sezanne. This account determined the veteran chief to break up from Mery, and to march against marshal Marmont, whose apparent object was to get in the rear of the allies.

On the approach of the Prussian field-marshal, Marmont retired to La Ferté sous Jouarre, on the Marne. The peasantry represented him to be flying in disorder, and his troops seeking shelter in the woods. At Rabais, however, it was learnt that marshal Mortier, with the young guard, had marched from Chateau Thierry, where he had been some time in observation of general Winzingerode, to effect a junction with marshal Marmont, their whole force amounting to somewhat between 16,000 and 20,000 men.

To pass the Marne, therefore, in presence of such a force, with the probability that Buonaparte, hearing of the march of the army of Silesia in this direction, would detach a force to the rear of it, became an operation of great delicacy. Field-marshal Blucher consequently made the following skilful dispositions, by which he menaced the communications of the enemy with Paris, and compelled him to evacuate La Ferté sous Jouarre.

The corps of general baron Sacken and general count Langeron, were directed to march on Coulamiers and Chailly, and to pursue their rout on the morning of the 27th, towards Meaux. The corps of general D'Yorck and general Kleist, after halting for the night at and in the vicinity of Rebais, were ordered to march at the same time to La Ferté sous Jouarre. General Korff, with a reserve of 3000 cavalry, formed the rear-guard at La Ferté Gaucher.

The demonstration towards Meaux was attended by great results: marshal Marmont and Mortier, who had united their force at La Ferté sous Jouarre, precipitately abandoned the town, leaving the river in front of it open to the establishment of pontoon bridges in every direction. Some yagers got over in small boats, and took possession of the town. The French head-quarters were at Nogent on the 21st, and proceeded towards the city of Troyes on the 22nd and 23rd.

On the 24th, Buonaparte, with his whole army, covered the heights of Troyes, whilst the allied advanced posts retired into the suburbs. On the road of Sens an action took place with the allied cavalry merely, which repulsed the French attack.

At night-fall, Buonaparte occupied the suburbs of Troyes, which the allies had evacuated. He made three attacks upon the city, which were repelled by the valour of general Volkmann and his brigade. Buonaparte at last proposed a convention for the allies evacuating the city, and Troyes was accordingly delivered up to him next day, at six o'clock in the morning.

On the ensuing morning, Buonaparte made

his entry into the city, and immediately issued the following decrees :

Imperial head-quarters, Troyes, Feb. 26, 1814.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, mediator of the Swiss confederation, &c.

We have decreed and do decree as follows :

Art. 1. A list shall be drawn up of those Frenchmen who, being in the service of the allied powers, or under whatever titles have accompanied the enemy in the invasion of the territory of the empire, since the 20th of December, 1813.

Art. 2. The individuals who shall be comprehended in the said list, shall be summoned without delay; and all other business ceasing before our courts and tribunals, to be there judged and condemned to the penalties inflicted by our laws, and their property confiscated to the benefit of the domains of the state, according to the existing laws.

Art. 3. Every Frenchman who shall have worn the badges of the decoration of the antient dynasty, in the places occupied by the enemy, and during his stay there, shall be declared a traitor, and as such judged by a military commission, and condemned to death : his property shall be confiscated to the profit of the domain of the state.

Art. 4. Our ministers are charged, each as far as concerns him, with the execution of this decree, which shall be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed) Napoleon.

After issuing the above decree, Buonaparte caused the sieur Gau, an old emigrant, and the sieur Viderange, an old garde du corps, who had declared in favour of the allies, and worn the crosses of St. Louis, to be arrested : they were then brought before a commission of Provost marshals, and condemned to death.

Prince Schwartzenberg continued his retrograde march as far as the Aube and Chaumont, to which places the head-quarters of the allies were withdrawn. But the movements of field-marshal Blucher's army now compelled Buonaparte to march against him. He accordingly quitted Troyes and began the pursuit of Schwartzenberg on the 27th of February. He took with him the flower of his troops, consisting of the whole of his guards, the corps of marshals Marmont and Mortier, and a considerable body of cavalry, leaving a small force only, under marshal Oudinot, to observe the grand army of the allies.

Oudinot immediately united his force with the cavalry divisions of generals Milhaud and Nansouty, and proceeded to an instant attack of the allied position on the Aube, which was defended by the army corps under count Witgenstein, and that under general Wrede.

The attacks of the French, who had peremptory orders to force this position, were very severe. Bar sur Aube was taken by the French, and their troops occupied the heights of Arconal, and the wood of Levigny, with the apparent view of carrying the heights of Vernonfait, which were the centre of the allied position.

As soon as the allied columns were formed and in readiness to march, the prince Schwartzenberg, the commander-in-chief of the allies, who was with them at the very commencement of the action, ordered a general attack on all points occupied by the French. The advanced posts of count Witgenstein were withdrawn upon the reserves of prince Gortschakoff; while general Pahlen, with his cavalry, supported by the infantry of prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, penetrated over the heights of Arantiere and Levigny, in the rear of the French. At the same time the reserve infantry, and the divisions of Russian cuirassiers, drove them from the heights of Vernonfait, which they had mastered by a warm attack. The French cavalry thrice charged to cover their flying infantry; but the grape-shot from the Russian artillery posted there, drove them back in disorder. They still occupied the heights of Arconoal with strong masses; but a well ordered flank march of general Volkmann's, in concert with another under the direction of the Bavarian colonel Hertling, expelled them from this position also. At the same time general Wrede stormed and took possession of Bar sur Aube. The victory was now decided, and the French fled in disorder towards Vandoeuvres, where they were followed by the allies.

The French suffered severely in this battle; more than 1000 prisoners, and among them colonel Moncey, the brother of the marshal, two pieces of cannon, and some hundreds of

muskets were the fruits to the allies of this victory. Prince Schwartzenberg and count Witgenstein were both likewise slightly wounded.

Prince Schwartzenberg, having repelled this attack, determined himself to attack on the 3rd. The corps of general Witgenstein was directed by Piney to turn the left of the French at the village of Laubrussel, and to threaten their communication with Troyes, by marching in the direction of St. Parre. General Wrede was directed to wait the movement of general Witgenstein, who was then to attack the bridge of La Guillotoire, and to move upon the enemy's front. The prince royal of Wurtemberg was at the same time to attack the French position at La Maison Blanche.

The circuitous road by which the corps of general Witgenstein was directed, prevented its arrival on the French flank till near three o'clock in the afternoon. Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg, commanding one of its divisions, immediately announced the commencement of the attack, by moving along the heights towards Laubrussel, driving the enemy before him, and at last by storming and carrying the village. General Witgenstein instantly supported this attack by all the artillery of his corps. Count Pahlen, upon the right, made a shew of threatening the French rear.

At this moment prince Schwartzenberg directed five battalions of Bavarians to pass the Barce near Courteranges, establish themselves in the wood on that river, and place themselves in communication with the Russians at Laubrussel. This movement was immediately carried into execution. General Wrede then stormed the bridge of La Guilletoire, drove the enemy from it with loss, and thus carried the whole of their position.

Marshal Oudinot, finding himself threatened on every side, retired with his army along the road towards Troyes; and several successful charges were made upon him in his retreat by the cavalry of general Witgenstein. The results of this action to the allies were 10 pieces of cannon, 54 officers, and 3000 prisoners. The French were driven to the village of St. Parre; their rear-guard only remained there, the rest of their force defiled during the night through Troyes.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 4th, general Wrede again advanced against them; they retired, and after being summoned to surrender, Troyes capitulated, on the condition of having half an hour to evacuate it. Prince Schwartzenberg, as soon as the stipulated time was past, directed all his cavalry to pursue upon the road towards Nogent.

Whilst affairs were thus proceeding upon the Aube, Buonaparte, as already stated, having quitted Troyes on the 27th of February, arrived on the Aisne on the 4th of March, and determined on the following day to attempt retaking Soissons; but on the evening of the 3rd of March, field marshal Blucher, with the army of Silesia, had effected a junction with the corps of generals Winzingerode and Bulow, at Soissons, and on the following day, the field-marshal, to whom the command of the whole had been entrusted, took up a position on an extensive plateau to the left, and in the rear of the town of Soissons, with his right close to the village of Laffaux, and his left near Craone.

The town of Soissons was defended by ten thousand Russian infantry, of the corps of general count Langeron, under the orders of general Rudzewich. On the 5th, soon after day light, the attack was commenced by the French; their troops succeeded in obtaining possession of the greater part of the suburbs, unroofed the houses, and kept up a constant fire from them upon the allied troops on the walls of the town, until night put a termination to the contest

Buonaparte had entrusted the operations of this day (the 5th) to the divisions of marshals Mortier and Marmont. In the morning of the 6th they had given up the contest and retired, and Buonaparte made a movement to the right. In the afternoon of that day he effected the passage of his army across the Aisne at Bery le Bac, and at about two o'clock in the afternoon commenced an attack on the left of the position occupied by marshal Blucher's army near Craone. At the same time he put in motion some strong columns towards Laon by the way of Corbeny. To oppose those manœuvres the following dispositions were made by the Prussian field marshal.

A corps of 10,000 cavalry, under general Winzingerode, was directed to march by the way of Chevrigny and Presle, and throw itself in the line of the enemy's communications across the road from Corbeny to Laon.

General Bulow, with 20,000 men, was directed to march and occupy Laon. The corps of generals D'Yorck, Kleist, and Sacken, were ordered to incline towards the infantry of general Winzingerode, which sustained the extremity of the position near the villages of St. Martin Craone.

The battle began on the 6th. Under cover of the wood of Corbeny the French made their approaches, and sent forward large bodies of skirmishers; these were supported by artillery, but were repulsed, and the firing ceased with the night. The fighting of this day was therefore only with the skirmishers.

On the morning of the 7th the French had desisted from their march upon Laon, and field marshal Blucher directed the corps of generals D'Yorck and Kleist to move across the river Delette, in the direction of Presle and Lenilly, to sustain the movement of the cavalry under general Winzingerode, and, together with the corps of general Bulow, make an attack on the French right. Should Buonaparte push forward against the point occupied by the infantry of general Winzingerode near Craone, general Sacken was ordered to the support of the latter, and to attempt to turn the French left, should they make their attack on the other side. If pushed by a superior force, he was directed to fall back on the road to Laon, and draw in the garrison on Soissons These defensive manœuvres were so masterly as to merit this detail.

The French began the attack at eleven in the forenoon, with their whole force, amounting to 60,000 men, against the point where Winzingerode's infantry were posted. Marshal Blucher immediately rode to the spot where the cavalry was supposed to be formed, to direct the operations in that quarter; but some difficulties had opposed the march of his cavalry during the night, and it was found to have advanced no further than Presle. General Kleist's infantry, which had marched in the morning, reached Feticia; but the advanced-guards of the cavalry alone had come up, and it had thus become impossible to accomplish the movement which Blucher had projected against the right of the French.

The allied corps posted near Craone was in the meantime exposed to a most severe and powerful attack. Generals count Strogonoff and Woronzoff defended this position with the utmost determined obstinacy. They were at length, however, obliged to retire, upon which they fell back upon Laon.

Blucher now took up a position in front of Laon. The elevated plateau on which the town itself is situated was occupied by the corps of general Bulow. In this position Blucher was again assailed, under cover of a thick fog, before day-light in the morning of the 9th. The density of the atmosphere concealed all Buonaparte's movements, and he obtained possession of the villages of Semilly and Ardon, close under the town, and which may be regarded as its suburbs. The musketry reached the walls of the town, and continued without intermission, until about eleven o'clock, when the fog began to disperse.

As soon as the fog had dispersed, Blucher made an attack, and the French were driven from Somilly. Blucher next directed his cavalry from the rear to advance and turn their left flank. General Woronzoff advanced at the same time with his infantry, drove in the French posts, sustained a charge of cavalry, and maintained himself in an attitude to keep the French troops in check until the allied cavalry could advance. A part of general Bulow's corps was also ordered to advance against the village of Ardon. The French sustained a fire for about half an hour, and then were compelled to retreat.

While the cavalry of the allies was taking a circuit round from the rear, and at about two o'clock in the afternoon, the French advanced a column of sixteen battalions of infantry, with cavalry and artillery, along the high road from Rheims. General D'Yorck was directed to oppose these troops, and general Sacken ordered to general D'Yorck's support. At this quarter the battle became most general and decisive.

The French troops opened a formidable battery of forty pieces of cannon, and advanced in a firm and undaunted manner. Their commander found a column of attack, and was moving forward to the village of Althies, when prince William of Prussia, who was advancing to the village at the same time, met these troops half way, and overthrew them.

The French now began to retreat. It was at first executed in good order; but the

allies pressing them warmly, some confusion ensued, and the retreat was converted into flight. The French troops were pursued as far as Corbeny, losing much artillery, baggage, and many prisoners, by the way

On the right no particular advantages were obtained by the allies beyond the expulsion of the French from the villages at the foot of the hill of Laon. General Woronzoff, towards the close of the day, again attacked the French in this post with the greatest vigour; but he had large masses opposed to him, and the ground presented difficulties against the active co-operation of his cavalry.

Notwithstanding the discomfiture experienced by the right of Buonaparte's army on the 9th, he renewed and continued his attack with the rest of his force during the whole of the succeeding day, the 10th.

The plain, below the city of Laon, is interspersed with villages and small woods, which soon became the scene of very obstinate contests. A wood near the village of Claiy was taken and retaken four different times, and remained finally in the possession of the allies. The infantry of general Winzingerode's corps, under the command of general count Woronzoff, were the troops there engaged. In the centre and left of the position, the French troops maintained themselves. At about half an hour before sun set, on the 11th, they advanced a body of skirmishers, supported by two battalions of infantry, (the rest of his army remaining in reserve,) and attacked the village of Semilly, close under the walls of the town. A battalion of Prussians, of general Bulow's corps, immediately threw itself in the road, and, being supported by the fire of the troops from each flank, compelled the French to retire in disorder and with loss.

If we examine the operations of these several days, viz. from the 3rd of March to the 10th, we shall find that they amounted to those circumstances which decided the campaign,—not, indeed, so much because these circumstances were absolutely decisive in themselves, as that they compelled Buonaparte to a measure which ended in his ruin. The following, if condensed into points, was the substantial matter and character of these engagements.

1st, The army of Blucher, i. e. the Silesian army, effected its union with generals Winzingerode and Bulow, its Russian reinforcements on the 3rd of March, at Soissons; it was raised to 90,000 in number, and took up its position behind and in the town of Soissons.

2nd, On the 5th, Buonaparte came up with an army of 60,000, and made an instant assault on Soissons, with the purpose of recovering it. The battle continued from the morning of the 5th till night; and at night one half of the town was in possession of the French, and the other in that of Blucher.

3rd, On the morning of the 6th, Buonaparte made a flank march, and came upon the left of the allied position at Craone. On the following morning, the 7th, Buonaparte began the battle by an attack on general Winzingerode, and compelled the allies, (the greater part of the Russian cavalry having been left behind,) to retreat with great loss upon Laon. Buonaparte had clearly the advantage this day.

4th, Both armies employed the day of the 8th in movements and manœuvres. On the morning of the 9th, the French, under cover of a mist, reached the hill upon which the town of Laon is situated, and attacked Blucher in his position with great animation and valour. The battle of the 9th was renewed on the morning of the 10th; and, after two days of fighting, Blucher retained his position at Laon; while Buonaparte, despairing to force it, changed the line of his march, and took the road of Rheims in the direction of the Aube. In the course of his route, he defeated general Priest, and continued his march towards prince Schwartzenberg, who was advancing towards the Seine; but, having now learned the loss of Rheims, and the defeat of general Priest, again fell back to Arcis on the Aube, and in that position awaited Buonaparte, who was proceeding by forced marches against him.

CHAPTER LXVII.

GEORGE III.

[1814.]

Negotiations with Buonaparte—Declaration of the Allied Powers—They arrive before Paris, which capitulates—Napoleon retreats to Fontainbleau, and abdicates the Throne—He departs for Elba—Louis XVIII. leaves England, and is received in Paris with universal acclamations—Military operations in the South of France—BATTLE of THOULOUSE—Splendid achievements of Lord Wellington—His merits are rewarded by the gratitude of the Nation.

WHILST the events recorded in the preceding chapter were passing, pacific overtures were made by Buonaparte to the allied powers, through the medium of his minister, Caulaincourt, who repaired to Chatillon-sur-Seine for that purpose, where, on the 4th of February, he was met by the ministers of the allied potentates, counts Stadion and Rasumowski, lord Castlereagh and baron Humboldt.

THESE proceedings will be best explained by the declaration of the allied powers, which was published on the day of their termination, March 18th. It is as follows.

Declaration of the Allied Powers on breaking off the Negotiations at Chatillon.

THE allied powers owe it to themselves, to their people, and to France, as the negotiations at Chatillon are broken off, publicly to declare the reasons which induced them to enter into negotiations with the French government, as well as the causes of the breaking off the negotiations.

MILITARY events, to which history can produce no parallel, overthrew, in the month of October last, the ill-constructed edifice known under the name of the French empire: an edifice erected on the ruins of states, lately independent and happy, augmented by her conquests from antient monarchies, and held together at the expence of the blood, of the fortune, of the welfare of a whole generation.

THE allied sovereigns, led by conquest to the Rhine, thought it their duty to proclaim to Europe anew, their principles, their wishes, and their object. Far from every wish of domination, or conquest, animated solely by the desire to see Europe restored to a just balance of the different powers, resolved not to lay down their arms till they had obtained the noble object of their efforts: they made known the irrevocableness of their resolutions by a public act, and they did not hesitate to declare themselves to the enemy's government in a manner conformable to their unalterable determination.

THE French government made use of the frank declarations of the allied powers to express inclinations to peace. It certainly had need of the appearance of this inclination, in order to justify in the eyes of its people, the new exertions which it did not cease to require. But every thing, however, convinced the allied cabinets, that it merely endeavoured to take advantage of the appearance of a negotiation, in order to prejudice public opinion in its favour, but that the peace of Europe was very far from its thoughts.

THE powers, penetrating its secret views, resolved to go and conquer in France itself, the long desired peace. Numerous armies crossed the Rhine; scarcely were they pass-

ed the first frontier, when the French minister for foreign affairs appeared at the outposts.

All the proceedings of the French government had henceforth no other object, than to mislead opinion, to blind the French people, and to throw on the allies the odium of all the miseries attendant on an invasion.

The course of events had given the allies a proof of the full power of the European league. The principles which, since their first union for the common good, had animated the counsels of the allied sovereigns, were fully developed; nothing more hindered them from unfolding the re-construction of the common edifice; these conditions must be such as were no hindrance to peace after so many conquests.

The only power calculated to throw into the scale indemnifications for France, England could speak openly respecting the sacrifices which it was ready to make for a general peace. The allied sovereigns were permitted to hope that the experience of the late events would have had some influence on a conqueror, exposed to the observation of a great nation, which was, for the first time, witness, in the capital itself, to the miseries he had brought on France.

This experience might have convinced that the support of thrones is principally dependant on moderation and probity. The allied powers, however, convinced that the trial which they made must not endanger the military operations, saw that these operations must be continued during the negotiations. The experience of the past, and afflicting recollections shewed them the necessity of this step. Their plenipotentiaries met those of the French government. Meantime the victorious armies approached the gates of the capital. The government took every method to prevent, it falling into our hands. The plenipotentiary of France received orders to propose an armistice, upon conditions which were similar to those which the allies themselves judged necessary for the restoration of a general peace. He offered the immediate surrender of the fortresses in the countries which France was to give up, on condition of a suspension of military operations.

The allied courts, convinced by twenty years experience, that in negotiations with the French cabinet it was necessary carefully to distinguish the apparent from the real intention, proposed, instead of this, immediately to sign preliminaries of peace. This measure would have had, for France, all the advantages of an armistice, without exposing the allies to the danger of a suspension of arms. Some partial advantages, however, accompanied the first motions of an army collected under the walls of Paris, composed of the flower of the present generation; the last hope of the nation, and the remainder of a million warriors, who, either fallen on the field of battle, or left on the way from Lisbon to Moscow, have been sacrificed for interests with which France has no concern. Immediately the negotiations at Chatillon assumed another appearance. The French plenipotentiary remained without instructions, and went away instead of answering the representatives of the allied courts. They commissioned their plenipotentiaries to give in the project of a preliminary treaty, containing all the grounds which they deemed necessary for the restoration of the balance of power, and which a few days before had been represented by the French government itself, at a moment, doubtless, when it conceived its existence in danger. It contained the groundwork for the restoration of Europe.

France restored to the frontiers, which, under the government of its kings, had insured to it ages of glory and prosperity, was to have with the rest of Europe, the blessings of liberty, natural independence, and peace. It depended absolutely on its government to end, by a single word, the sufferings of the nation; to restore to it with peace, its colonies, its trade, and the restitution of its industry. What did it want more? The allies now offered, with a spirit of pacification, to discuss its wishes upon the subject of mutual convenience, which should extend the frontiers of France beyond what they were before the wars of the revolution.

Fourteen days elapsed without any answer being returned by the French government. The plenipotentiaries of the allies insisted on the fixing a day for the acceptance or rejection of the treaty of peace. They left the French plenipotentiary the liberty to present a *contre projet*, on condition that this *contre projet* should agree in spirit, and in its general contents, with the conditions proposed by the allied courts. The 10th of March was fixed, by the mutual consent of

both parties. This term being arrived, the French plenipotentiary produced nothing but pieces, the discussion of which, far from advancing the proposed object, could only have caused fruitless negotiations. A delay of a few days was granted, at the desire of the French plenipotentiary. On March 15th, he at last delivered a *contre projet*, which left no doubt that the sufferings of France had not yet changed the views of its government. The French government, seceding from what it had itself proposed, demanded, in a new *projet*, that nations, which were quite foreign to France, which a domination of many ages could not have amalgamated with the French nation, should now remain a part of it; that France should retain frontiers inconsistent with the fundamental principles of equilibrium, and out of all proportion with the other great powers of Europe; that it should remain master of the same positions and points of aggression, by means of which its government, to the misfortune of Europe and that of France, had effected the fall of so many thrones, and so many revolutions; that members of the family reigning in France should be placed on foreign thrones; the French government, in short, that government which, for so many years, has sought to rule no less by discord than by force of arms, was to remain the arbiter of the external concerns of the powers of Europe.

By continuing the negotiations under such circumstances, the allies would have neglected what they owed to themselves; they would from that moment have deviated from the glorious goal they had before them; their efforts would have been turned solely against their people. By signing a treaty upon the principles of the French *projet*, the allies would have laid their arms in the hands of the common enemy; they would have betrayed the expectations of nations, and the confidence of their allies.

It is in a moment so decisive for the welfare of the world, that the allied sovereigns renew their solemn engagement, till they have attained the great object of their union.

France has to blame its government alone for all its suffering. Peace alone can heal the wounds which a spirit of universal dominion, unexampled in history, has produced. This peace shall be the peace of Europe; no other can be accepted. It is at length time that princes should watch over the welfare of the people without foreign influence; that nations should respect their mutual independence; that social institutions should be protected from daily revolution; property respected, and trade free.

All Europe has absolutely the same wish to make France participate in the blessings of peace—France, whose dismemberment the allied powers neither can nor will permit. The confidence in their promises may be found in the principles for which they contend. Whence then shall the sovereigns infer that France will take part in the principles that must fix the happiness of the world, so long as they see that the same ambition, which has brought so many misfortunes on Europe, is still the sole spring that actuates the government; that while French blood is shed in torrents, the general interest is always sacrificed to private? Whence, under such circumstances, should be the guarantee for the future, if such a desolating system found no check in the general will of the nation? Then is the peace of Europe insured, and nothing shall in future be able to disturb it.

Buonaparte reached Arcis on the 21st, and made an attack to repel Schwartzenberg, which wholly failed. Having failed in his attempt to debouch from Plancy and Arcis, across the Aube, and abandoned his ideas of attacking prince Schwartzenberg at Menil la Comtesse, Buonaparte was guided in his next operations by the desire of preventing the junction of the armies of prince Schwartzenberg and marshal Blucher. Did he not succeed to the utmost in this object, it was evidently his best policy to force their union and their communications as far to the rear, and make it as circuitous as possible. It was further made manifest to the allies, by intercepted letters, that Buonaparte was of opinion, that the movement he determined upon on the right of prince Schwartzenberg, might induce him to fall back towards the Rhine, for fear of losing his communications; that he thus would be able to relieve his places, and be in a better condition to cover Paris. It generally occurs, that manœuvres are made with the advance, or the head of an army; but Buonaparte, in his present undertaking, pushed his object so far, by the passage of the Aube with his whole army,

near Vitry, as to have left himself completely open to that bold and magnificent decision which was immediately adopted.

Buonaparte put his whole army in motion on the evening of the 21st for Vitry. That night he remained at Sommepuis; on the following day his advanced corps arrived at Vitry, and summoned the place. It had been placed in a tolerable state of defence, and it had a garrison of between 3000 and 4000 Prussians. Marshal Ney endeavoured by every menace, to obtain a surrender; but the Prussian colonel resolutely refused, and held the town, which reduced the French commander to cross the Marne by bridges constructed near Frignicourt. Buonaparte here passed his whole army on the 23rd and 24th, and it was immediately ascertained to have taken the direction of Saint Dizier. Three objects might be now in his view. By the movements round the right of the allies to force them back; if this failed, to operate upon their communications, and even proceed to form a junction with marshal Augereau; or finally by moving to his fortresses of Metz, &c. prolong the war by resisting on a new line, while he placed the allies in the centre of France, having taken the best precautions in his power for the defence of his capital.

The allies, on the 22nd, having crossed to the right of the Aube, lost no time in adopting the bold resolution of forming the junction of the two armies to the westward, thus placing themselves between the French army and Paris, and proceeding with a united force of at least 200,000 men to the capital of the French empire.

In order the better to mask this movement, the march of the allied army was made from Pougy, Lesmont, and Arcis, on Vitry; and his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, by two extraordinary marches of eighteen and twelve leagues, established his head-quarters with those of the field-marshal at Vitry, on the 24th. A brilliant capture of several pieces of cannon, 1500 prisoners, and a large number of caissons was made by general Augerawski, of the cavalry of the Russian guard, on the 23rd; and on this day and the preceding, several advanced-guard affairs took place between general Wrede's corps, the prince of Wirtemburg, and the enemy.

According to the vulgar rules of military tactics, after the grand union of the two armies, no other measure was to be expected than offering battle to Napoleon; but instead of this, the confederate forces no sooner came in contact, and shook hands upon their meeting, than they instantly began their steady and daring march upon Paris.

The corps of Marmont, Mortier, and Arrighi, had followed the army of Blucher, with the intention of keeping him on the Aisne; and when Napoleon made his retrograde movement on Arcis, they were on march between Vitry and La Fêre Champenoise, to join him. Marmont pushed forward a corps in the night of the 24th of March, upon Vitry, without knowing that it was still occupied by the confederates, having supposed that they had followed the movement of Napoleon.

The prince of Wirtemburg and general Rajewsky, with their several corps, the Russian reserve cavalry of the guard, and a part of Blucher's cavalry, fell in with Marmont's corps, charged and broke it, the remains retreating to La Ferté Gaucher, on the road to Paris. A very large and complete artillery park fell, on this occasion, into the hands of the allies. The two divisions of Pactod and Amey were surrounded, and, after a warm affair, the whole of them were taken prisoners near La Fêre Champenoise. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia were present at this engagement.

There is not, perhaps, in the history of modern campaigns, a stratocratic manœuvre upon a grander scale to be found, than that which the confederates had now put in practice, by interposing themselves between Buonaparte and Paris. The boldness of this memorable operation of the allies, evidently unnerved Napoleon's whole system, overturned the basis of his plans, and placed him in the state of a mariner endeavouring to steer his vessel without a compass. He faced about, it is true, making a feint of marching by the way of Bar-sur-Aube, direct to Paris; but, as if alarmed and confounded, instead of proceeding on the line of the Marne, to throw himself on the rear of the allies, and to offer battle, whatever it might cost him, he made a flank march from the Marne to the Aube, and from thence behind the Seine, and by this short-sighted and bewildered measure hastened, in a superlative degree, his own downfall and destruction.

Blucher, at the head of his army, entered Etoges on the 25th of March, and pressed forwards by the way of Montmirail towards Meaux. Marshals Marmont and Mortier drew back to Sezanne. Generals Yorck and Kleist, having arrived the same day at Montmirail, detached a body of their cavalry on the road to Sezanne, and broke up by break of day on the 26th, to cut off the enemy in the direction of La Ferté Gaucher. They found La Ferté occupied, soon dislodged the enemy, and established themselves in the place. The French fled towards Coulomiers, closely pursued by the Prussian cavalry and a brigade of infantry; they were overtaken near the town, charged, and dispersed; and 300 prisoners, together with a number of tumbrils, were taken from them. The Silesian army reached Meaux on the 27th, in the utmost order and regularity. In the afternoon, the rest of Marmont's and Mortier's corps appeared on their march from Sezanne to Coulommiers. The powerful and well-directed artillery of Yorck's and Kleist's corps, which opened their fire upon the French columns, as they marched in advance down the road, forced them to file off from the high way, and to throw themselves into the bye-roads towards the Seine. If the allied cavalry had happened to have been on the spot, the remainder of these two French corps would have fallen into their hands, or have been cut in pieces.

Between La Ferté Jouarre and Meaux, an attempt was made by a body of 10,000 national guards to impede the march of Blucher's army. They put on a good countenance, and seemed determined to dispute the further advance of the allies; and the brave general Von Horn, being detached to charge them at the head of his brigade of cavalry, executed his orders with such celerity, courage, and firmness, that one of their masses of infantry was entirely broken up and cut in pieces, the rest put to the rout, and the French general, who commanded them, taken prisoner by general Von Horn himself.

The corps of Marmont and Mortier being now completely deranged, retired at all points, on the 28th of March. When making good their retreat through Meaux, they blew up an immense magazine of gun-powder, without any previous notice to the inhabitants, and then pursued their retrograde march to Claye. The corps of Yorck and Kleist came up with the enemy at this latter place, and, after a desperate conflict, which lasted till late at night, they succeeded in dislodging the French, and occupying Ville-parisis and Montsaigle.

During these operations, the Silesian army defiled over the bridges of the Marne, near Triport, which had been re-established, notwithstanding the cannonade of the French.

It was on the 29th of March that the grand confederate army began likewise to defile over the bridges near Triport and Meaux. The preconcerted union of Schwartzenberg's and Blucher's army was now fully accomplished, in order of battle. The confederate army pursued the high road to Paris, while the Silesian army filed off on the road from Mery to that capital.

Marshals Marmont and Mortier had advanced, by forced marches, with the shattered remains of their corps, by the way of Melun, towards Paris, and had taken a position in front of the wood near Landy: they were attacked by the advanced-guard, and driven back upon Pantin. The grand head-quarters were at Bondy on the 29th: in the mean time Blucher pushed forwards two principal corps to the right, in the direction of Mory, Draucy, and St. Denys, to reach Montmartre.

The French had taken a position in front of the heights of Montmartre, under cover of some hasty intrenchments they had thrown up, and lined with 150 pieces of artillery; their line extended to the villages of Pantin, Romainville, and Belleville. The confederate force consisted of about 8000 regular troops, and 3000 national guards. The canal, and the nature of the ground altogether, rendered his position a strong one, particularly as the allied cavalry had no extent of ground to make a charge. In the interim, Napoleon had issued orders to defend the capital to the last extremity, being himself as he announced, on his march to relieve it.

Blucher's conduct, under the difficult circumstances in which he undertook this memorable march on Paris, may be accounted a master-piece of discretion and firmness. The bold measures of the field-marshal, the splendid feats he performed, his well-chosen commanding positions, his energy of action,

and the efficiency of his dispositions on the field of battle, all alike point him out as a military hero, not only worthy of the wonder and admiration of the age in which he lives, but of future generations.

PREPARATIONS for a general attack on the enemy's position at Montmartre were vigourously carried on during the 30th of March. It was the plan of the allies, that the grand confederate army, under the prince of Schwartzenberg, should assault the heights of Romainville and Belleville, while the Silesian army was ordered to carry those of Montmartre.

MARSHAL Blucher made the following arrangements with the several corps of which his army was composed. General count Langeron's corps formed his right wing, and those of Von Yorck and Kleist, his left. The corps under the command of general Winzingerode remained in reserve, and that under general Von Sacken was still in position near Meaux. General Von Bulow covered Soissons. The general directed count Langeron to take Aubervilliers, to blockade St. Denys if it would not submit, and to advance with his main body towards Clichy, for the purpose of attacking Montmartre from this side. Generals Von Yorck and Kleist were ordered to assault Montmartre from the routes of La Vilette and La Chapelle.

THE confederate grand army began their attack upon the enemy's lines at Pantin, at five o'clock, A. M.; that of the Silesian army did not commence till near eleven, A. M. at which time Romainville and Pantin had been already carried by the allied army. The enemy still occupied Ferme le Rouvroy with infantry, supported by a battery of 18 pieces of cannon, very advantageously planted. The advanced-guard, under major-general Katzeler, carried the place itself, but could not debouch out of it, until the enemy's battery was first silenced. The artillery necessary for this operation did not arrive on the ground till near three o'clock, P. M. along with Winzingerode's corps, whose operations were favoured by the corps of Yorck and Kleist filing off to attack in conjunction with count Langeron.

THE reserve of grenadiers, and a brigade of guards appertaining to the grand army, and supported by six battalions under prince William of Prussia, had just made an attack from Pantin towards Paris, forcing the enemy's battery near Villette to draw back its right wing, as the reserves and the artillery of Von Yorck's and Kleist's corps came into action, and thereby enfiladed the whole of the French battery. The enemy retreated instantly into Villette, but again faced about, and, although hard pressed, endeavoured to charge with a large body of cavalry, supported by infantry and artillery. It happened that the cavalry of Yorck's and Kleist's corps had begun to form at Ferme le Rouvroy, and two regiments of Prussian hussars boldly met the enemy's charge, repulsed them with heavy loss, threw themselves upon their infantry, and put the whole to rout, taking their guns sword in hand.

FOUR battalions belonging to general Woronzow's corps, taking advantage of the favourable moment, stormed La Villette at the same time, and the enemy fled in the greatest confusion, leaving their artillery and materiel in the hands of the victors: they were briskly pursued to the very barriers of Paris. On the road from Pantin, the guards had likewise penetrated to the barriers from that side. The whole of the enemy's positions were, in this manner, either turned or stormed, about half past three o'clock, P. M. when the firing ceased on both sides.

FLAGS of truce now appeared to entreat a suspension of hostilities, as the city of Paris would submit. They were conducted to the august sovereigns who had arrived near the barriers, and an armistice was granted for four hours, to afford time for the French force to defile into Paris.

IMAGINATION can scarcely form an idea of two situations more opposite to each other, than that of one army flushed with a series of continued victories, and another depressed with the mortifying reflection of unvaried discomfiture. The one rushes on with the cheerful confidence of certain conquest; the other proceeds with a reluctant diffidence, resulting from a humiliating retrospection of experienced defeats.

DURING these events, the corps of general Langeron had continued its movement, those of Yorck and Kleist kept up a brisk cannonade, and advanced upon Montmartre. The village of La Chapelle was already carried, and the assault upon Montmartre upon the point of being attempted as the intelli-

gence of the armistice reached them. But count Langeron being at a greater distance, his infantry had already stormed the heights of Montmartre on that side, and taken twenty pieces of cannon, before the report arrived.

Prince Schwartzenberg and Blucher were now at the head of their respective armies, in positions from which they could cannonade at their pleasure the city of Paris. The whole of the barriers were delivered up to the confederates in the course of the evening, and on the following morning, the 31st of March, the capital of the French empire was in the hands and at the mercy of the confederate monarchs. At seven in the morning, the whole of the French regular troops, under marshal Marmont, evacuated Paris, in virtue of a convention entered into for that purpose.

The glorious trophies of the 31st of March consisted of 70 pieces of artillery, 3 standards, and 500 prisoners.

Scarcely was the issue of the battle of La Fère Champenoise and its consequences known to Napoleon, when, on the 27th of March, after pushing aside the two corps of Winzingerode and Czernicheff, he hastened from Bar sur Aube to Troyes, and on observing that Paris was lost to him, he proceeded in the direction of Sens to Fontainbleau, where, on the 4th of April, he issued his last order of the day.

Thus ended the plans he had formed for the welfare of Europe, the subjection of Russia, and the oppression of Germany and Italy. But it must not be forgotten, that Providence achieved the work, that its hand might be visible to all. The German nation has in particular to hail the hour of its deliverance, with unceasing sentiments of pious gratitude. It has recalled it from a state of bondage to the bright certainty of future honour and happiness, and prevented the diffusion of those principles which directly tended to destroy all property, subvert the laws and religion of a country, and to introduce the wild and ruffian system of rapine, falsehood, espionage, and impiety.

Their majesties the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia put themselves at the head of their victorious guards, and made their triumphal entry into Paris, between ten and eleven o'clock A. M. of the 31st of March. It was one of those grand spectacles that occur but seldom during the course of many centuries. They were escorted and surrounded by all their distinguished generals, and endless files of horses formed their train. The gazing multitude saluted them as they passed with reiterated acclamations of "*Vive l'empereur Alexandre! Vive le Roi de Prusse! Vive Louis XVIII! A bas Napoleon! La paix! La paix!*

The allied monarchs proceeded through the suburb St. Martin, across the Boulevards to the place of Louis XV., and from thence to the Champs Elisées, where their respective troops defiled in the utmost order before them.

St. Denys capitulated on the 31st of March. All the military trophies which had been previously taken from the allies, were found in Paris, or in the Dome des Invalides, from which latter place they were taken away by detachments of Russsian and Prussian guards on the 1st of April.

Napoleon had, in the mean time, halted at Fontainbleau. His marshals and princes renounced their obedience to him, and appeared in Paris to await their fate from the decisions of the august allied monarchs. Upon this important occasion it was seen, that the marshals, who had hitherto acted as an united and formidable body for the meretricious glory and unjust aggrandisement of France, not only took part with the confederates, but almost immediately accepted posts under Louis XVIII. Many were pleased to observe, "that the matter in issue was, in fact, whether a good, just, and liberal constitution was or was not to be maintained in France; whether the wild ideas of universal conquest, and of theory, were to overwhelm the wholesome maxims of established practice and well founded experience; and whether those laws, under which Europe had flourished for such a series of years, were to be rendered null and subverted by a tyrant, unsanctioned by the people, at the head of a detested aristocracy, and the dread and abhorrence of neighbouring nations."

As Frenchmen, nearly and deeply interested in the real welfare of France, the marshals seemed to hasten to convince the world that the happiness of the French people was their sole object. They were eager to announce, that they held the principles and the system of their former sultan as treasons towards France, and incompatible with the

peace of Europe. On this great, this solid basis, the august allies listened to their arguments of secession, and believed and trusted their promises and protestations. It was a critical period. To have done less would have cast an odium on the noble and generous conduct of the allies; and to have done more would have implied a want of wisdom and sound policy.

The following is the Capitulation of Paris:

The four hours armistice which had been agreed upon, for the purpose of treating on the conditions relative to the occupation of Paris, and to the retreat of the French corps therein, having led to an arrangement to that effect, the undersigned, after being duly authorized by the respective commanders of the opposed forces, have adjusted and signed the following articles:

Art. 1. The corps of the marshals dukes of Treviso and Ragusa shall evacuate the city of Paris on the 31st of March, at seven o'clock in the morning.

Art. 2. They shall take with them all the appurtenances of their corps d'armée.

Art. 3. Hostilities shall not recommence until two hours after the evacuation of the city; that is to say, on the 31st of March, at nine o'clock in the morning.

Art. 4. All the arsenals, military establishments, workshops, and magazines, shall be left in the same state that they were in previous to the present capitulation being proposed.

Art. 5. The national or city guard is entirely separated from the troops of the line; it is either to be kept on foot, or disarmed, or disbanded, according to the ulterior dispositions of the allied powers.

Art. 6. The corps of the municipal gendarmerie shall in every respect share the fate of the national guard.

Art 7. The wounded and the stragglers, remaining in Paris after seven o'clock, shall be prisoners of war.

Art. 8. The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the high allied powers.

Done at Paris the 31st of March, at two o'clock in the morning.

(Signed) Count Orloff, aide-de-camp of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; colonel count Paan, aide-de-camp-general of marshal prince Schwartzenberg; colonel Baroy Farrier, attached to the etat-major of his excellency the marshal duke of Ragusa; colonel Denys, first aide-de-camp of his excellency the marshal duke of Ragusa.

DECLARATION.

"The armies of the allied powers have occupied the French capital. The allied sovereigns meet the wishes of the French nation: they declare, that if the conditions of the peace required stronger guarantees, when the object in view was the restraining of Buonaparte's ambition, they ought to be more favourable, as soon as, by returning to a wise government, France herself shall offer the assurance of tranquillity. The allied sovereigns proclaim, therefore, that they will treat no more with Napoleon Buonaparte, or with any of his family;—that they respect the integrity of ancient France, such as it existed under her legitimate kings; they may even do more, because they always profess the principle, that, for the happiness of Europe, France ought to be great and strong;—that they will recognize and guarantee the constitution which the French nation shall give itself. They accordingly invite the senate to appoint a provisional government capable of providing for the wants of administration, and of preparing such a constitution as may be adapted to the French people. The intentions which I have expressed are common to me, with all the allied powers.

ALEXANDER."

"By order of his imperial majesty,

"The secretary of state,

"Count de Nesselrode."

"*Paris, March* 31, 1814, *at three o'clock in the afternoon.*"

The senate lost no time in accepting the invitation contained in the above address of the emperor Alexander; they assembled on the 1st of April and chose a committee of five members, with Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, at their head, to form a provisional government, and decreed that the emperor Napoleon had ceased to reign. The emperor however had collected about 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Fontainbleau. He addressed them in an animated speech, which

was received by the soldiers with enthusiastic acclamations of "Long live the emperor! Long live Napoleon." But the marshals present were far from concurring in these expressions of attachment. When admitted to Napoleon's presence they acquainted him that all was lost, that at most he could collect only 56,000 men that he had not two days' provision, and that the only means of safety was to abdicate in favour of the king of Rome. Intimidated by reproach and advice to which he was so little accustomed, he signed his own abdication on the 4th of April, and addressed an order of the day to his army, in which, after contrasting forcibly and justly the former servility and present tergiversation of the senate, he intimates that if *he* is the only obstacle to peace, he is ready to make the last sacrifice for France, and that he has sent Ney, Caulaincourt, and Macdonald to Paris to arrange the negotiations. The mission of these generals, which had for its object the continuance of Buonaparte's power under the pretext of a regency to be administered either under her own name or that of her son, failed of success. His offers being rejected, Buonaparte then gave in the following declaration:

"THE allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France.

"DONE at the palace of Fontainbleau, April 6th, 1814."

AFTER the publication of this document, other negotiations ensued which did not relate to questions of policy, power, or government, but of pounds, shillings, and pence. On the 11th of April was signed the famous treaty by which Buonaparte abandoned for himself and for his family the thrones of half the world, and stipulated only for the empty titles of his better days, a retreat to the obscurest corner of his late dominions, and a pension of two millions of livres per annum (about £83,000) from the civil list of Louis XVIII. Finally on the 12th, he signed the formal instrument of abdication on the part of himself and family.

AFTER many indications of reluctance and apologies for delay, he left Fontainbleau for the island of Elba. We shall not enumerate the various details of his conversation and demeanour, since they rest on authority too suspicious for authentic history. It is certain however that his reception in the course of his journey to the coast testified the utmost abhorrence among the lower orders of the people. Every species of insult attended his progress, notwithstanding he was accompanied by four commissioners: count Scovalof from Russia, count Koller from Austria, count de Waldberg from Prussia, and colonel Campbell from England. He was followed by 14 carriages, and his escort employed 60 post-horses. On the night of the 28th of April he embarked from St. Rapheau, a short distance from Frejus, in his British majesty's ship the Undaunted, and on the 3rd of May landed in form on the island of Elba.

A DIFFERENT scene was at this moment witnessed by the shores of England. Louis XVIII., who had been preceded by the duke d'Artois, entered London in triumph, and tended by the prince regent proceeded to Dover. After a passage of three hours he anchored in the roads of Calais, from whence he proceeded by slow stages, amidst the acclamations of the people, to the capital of France, where he was received with apparent testimonies of the most fervent, general, and unlimited attachment. Unhappily for the interests of humanity the occurrence of these important and propitious events was not received at the head-quarters of the armies of the south till the termination of many sanguinary conflicts. On the 7th of April, colonel Cooke left Paris for the express purpose of acquainting lord Wellington with the abdication of Buonaparte. This officer was accompanied by colonel St. Simon, who was employed by the provisional government to give marshals Soult and Suchet information of the same event. Their mission was sacred, and respected as far as the banks of the Loire, but after passing that river they were arrested on their road to Thoulouse. In consequence of this unfortunate circumstance the military operations of the respective commanders were continued with activity and vigour.

AT the commencement of the year, the British army commanded the navigation both of the Nieve and the Adour; and lord Wel

lington, taking into consideration the necessity of fixing the basis upon which the commerce of the ports of French Navarre to the south of the Adour should be regulated, declared that those ports were open to all nations not at war with the allied powers; a duty of five per cent. ad valorem, being paid upon all articles except grain and salt, and stores for the use of the army. An order of council was also published in England, granting permission for British vessels to trade to these and such other ports as might be under the protection, or in the military occupation of his majesty's arms. To this then were the decrees of Berlin and Milan come at last! The tyrant, who had endeavoured to shut the ports of all Europe against British ships, and had well nigh at one time accomplished his barbarous and barbarizing purpose, saw England at this time regulating the commerce of his own ports, and levying duties in France,—not after his example, with blind and senseless rapacity, but upon those principles of moderation and equity upon which her power is raised, and by which her prosperity is supported. The right of our army was between the Adour and the Nieve; the centre and the left were posted between the Nieve and the sea; and in this position they remained till the beginning of February, enjoying the resources of a faithful country, with little molestation from the enemy's army, and none from the inhabitants. This state of things was concealed as much as possible from the French people, Buonaparte persisting till the last in that system of falsehood by which he had so long deceived and flattered them to their ruin. It could not indeed be disguised that lord Wellington was wintering in France; though by what train of events he should have arrived there the French were left to guess. But it was asserted, that he had been defeated in the actions before Bayonne, with the loss of 15,000 men;—that he now thought of nothing more than entrenching himself in his own lines,—that the position which general Clausel had taken, alarmed him,—his situation became more and more critical,—the misunderstanding between the Spanish and British troops increased every day,—the British commander began to perceive that that part of the French army which remained in the camp at Bayonne would cut off his retreat,—in fine, that there was consternation in the British army, and that while they were in want of provisions, their convoys were wrecked upon the coast of the Landes, and supplied the French detachment with beef and clothing, and packages of prest hay, which were sent to Bayonne, and there served out to the troops. While the Moniteur, in its official articles, boasted thus of a chance shipwreck, and attempted to delude the people in its usual strain of falsehood, that part of the French nation who remembered and regretted the state of the country under the Bourbons, beheld the progress of the British arms with satisfaction, because it offered a hope of the restoration of the legitimate government, and that state of security and peace which could be attained under no other auspices. The hopes of the exiled family had also recovered; and, before the duke d'Angouleme went to the British camp, an agent of Louis XVIII. arrived at Bourdeaux. Part of his commission was to see M. de la Roche Jaquelein, and tell him that the king depended upon him for La Vendé.

THE name of Roche Jaquelein is one which France will remember with pride in better days: few families have displayed more devotion, or made greater sacrifices in an honourable cause. In the first Vendean war, the marquis de la Roche Jaquelein had distinguished himself by a generous enthusiasm and heroic devotion. One of his proclamations to his soldiers concluded with these impressive words,—*Si j'avance, suivez moi—si je recule, tuez moi, si je meurs, vengez moi*—twenty years afterwards, his brother, the heir of his name, his virtues, his glory, and his fate, put himself at the head of the Vendeans, repeating, with a noble and affecting simplicity, the very words of his illustrious brother. "If I advance, follow me,—if I fall back, shoot me,—if I die, revenge me. Nothing, however new or striking, that eloquence could have uttered, would have equalled the pathos of this simple repetition, which, besides being calculated to excite all the feelings which a leader would wish to inspire, was moreover a peculiar claim on their confidence, and the most touching panegeric of his illustrious brother, and the heroic royalists who died with him.

M. DE LA ROCHE JAQUELEIN immediately went through Anjou and Touraine, and found

little difficulty in rouzing again that spirit which the national convention had found it so difficult to suppress. A plan was formed for delivering Ferdinand VII.; but the person who was to have headed the enterprise died at the time when it should have taken place. Roche Jaquelein's designs were suspected; and he was warned by an express from M. Lynch, that orders were given for arresting him, and bringing him, dead or alive, before M. Savary, the worthy minister of police under Buonaparte; he escaped to Bourdeaux, and from thence, with great difficulty and imminent danger, got to the British head-quarters, where he assured lord Wellington that Bourdeaux would declare for the king as soon as a British force should approach it. He would fain also have persuaded the British general to send a few hundred men, who should land him on the coast of Poitou, and divert the attention of the troops, while he pursued his way alone, and called up the faithful people who had exerted themselves so bravely, and suffered so severely in the most frantic and ferocious time of the revolution. Lord Wellington listened with great interest to these representations; but he doubted whether the attachment of the people to the Bourbons was what M. de la Roche Jaquelein believed it to be, and he did not feel himself authorised to detach troops upon an expedition such as was proposed, especially when he was on the eve of great operations; for he was at this time preparing to pass the Adour.

About the middle of February, the right of his army advanced, cut off the enemy's communication with St. Jean Pied de Port, and drove them successively across the Bidouze river, the Gave de Mouleon, and the Gave d'Oleron. These movements obliged marshal Soult to weaken his force in Bayonne, and withdraw his troops from the right of the Adour, above the town. While one part of the army was thus employed, sir John Hope prepared to cross the Adour below Bayonne, a service in which admiral Penrose, with a naval force, was anxiously waiting to co-operate. A corps of 600 men, under general Stopford, crossed on the evening of the 23rd, upon rafts made of pontoons: they were attacked by the enemy, who hoped to overpower them before they could be reinforced; but, by the assistance of a rocket brigade, the French were repelled with considerable loss. In the night, a breeze sprung up, and enabled the vessels to reach the mouth of the Adour; and the boats which had been collected to form a bridge across the Nieve, endeavoured to find a passage through the surf. The first, which was selected as the safest for such an attempt, and had the principal pilot on board, was overset; the second succeeded in reaching the beach, and the rest returned to wait the chance of the next tide, "it being scarcely possible," says the admiral, "that one in fifty could then have effected the passage." A pilot was landed to the south-west of the river, who might walk from thence to the Adour, and make signals from within the bar to guide the vessels through the safest parts; without, there appeared nothing but one long and heavy line of surf; the bar, at all times a difficult one, being at this season especially, dangerous. But the zeal and intrepidity of British seamen will overcome all obstacles which are not absolutely insuperable; and with the next tide the boats and vessels, vying with each other, crossed this tremendous surf, and ran up the river in triumph, the officers displaying on this occasion a gallantry and skill which has seldom been equalled. With these boats, a bridge of about 800 yards was thrown across the river; and the troops, thus having accomplished their arduous undertaking, invested Bayonne.

The right of the army meantime was engaged in more extensive operations. Marshal Beresford, on the 23rd, attacked the enemy in their fortified posts on the left of the Gave de Pau, and compelled them to retire within their tête-de-pont at Peyrehorade. On the 24th, the allied troops crossed the Gave de Pau, destroyed the bridges, and collected their force near Orthes. The position was very strong; their right was upon the heights on the road to Dax, and occupied the village of St. Bocs, the left upon the heights above Orthes, defended the passage of the river. Marshal Beresford attacked the right, and carried the village; but the ground was so narrow that the troops, after repeated attempts, could not deploy to attack the heights; and Lord Wellington, perceiving that it was impossible to turn the enemy by their right without extending his line too far, (an error of which he had taught the French on a

former occasion so severely to repent,) changed his plan, and, bringing up two other divisions, attacked this wing on the left, dislodged it from the heights, and secured the victory. Sir Rowland, who had forced the passage of the Gave, seeing the state of the action at this time, moved upon the enemy in a direction which threatened them with such fatal consequences, that the good order in which they had begun to retire was exchanged for a precipitate flight; the cavalry charged at the favourable moment; the fugitives threw away their arms to facilitate their escape, and when darkness put an end to the pursuit, the whole country was covered with their dead. In this action lord Wellington was struck by a spent musket-ball on the thigh; he did not mention this till the business of the day was over, but then it was necessary to lift him from his horse, for he could neither move nor stand without assistance.

This may not be an improper occasion to observe, that the *personal* behaviour of this great captain has been, on all occasions, as perfect as his conduct as a general;—to say that he is brave, is to give him a praise which he shares with all his army; but that for which, above all other officers, he is distinguished, is that wonderful union of the coolest patience with the hottest courage,—that sense of duty which restrains him from an ostentatious exposure of a life, of the value of which he could not affect to be ignorant; and that brilliant gallantry which, on the proper occasions, flashes terror into the eyes of the enemy, and kindled in his own army an enthusiasm which nothing can withstand.

Heavy rains again impeded the progress of the victorious troops. As soon as the rivers had fallen, and the bridges which the enemy had destroyed could be repaired, lord Wellington sent a detachment to occupy Pau, the capital of Bearn, a country on many accounts memorable, and for this among others, that it is not only the most beautiful part of France, but, before the baneful revolution, cut up the happiness of a whole generation by the root; it was one of the most favoured parts of the world, the division of property and the industry of the people combining with every circumstance of soil, surface, and climate, to render the inhabitants happy. Travellers are still shewn at Pau the chamber in which Henry IV. was born, and the tortoise-shell in which he was nursed as a cradle. Here we had a hospital established, where *Les Sœurs de la Charite* attended upon our sick and wounded soldiers. One of the first measures of the revolutionary government, after what they themselves called the general devastation, was to recal these nuns, whose want had been severely felt in all the hospitals. "*Orca fait*," said M. Portalis, "*la triste experience, que des mercenaires sans motif interieur qui puisse les attacher constamment a leur de voir, ne sauraient remplacer des personnes animeses pur l'esprit de la religion, cest a dire, par un principe qui est superieur aux sentimens de la nature, et qui pouvant seul motiver tous les sacrifices, est seul capable de nous faire braver tous les degouts et tous les dangers.*" Louis XVI. wishing to improve the state of the hospitals in France, sent a member of the academy of sciences to England, to inquire into the manner in which such establishments were conducted here. The agent praised them as they deserved, but remarked that two things were wanting,—the zeal of the French parochial clergy, and the charity of the hospital nuns. This digression may be excused in gratitude to a most useful and exemplary order, to whose pious offices so many of our wounded countrymen are beholden; perhaps also it may lead to some useful thoughts.

While general Fane took possession of Pau, marshal Beresford marched upon Bourdeaux, M. de la Roche Jaquelein preceding him to prepare the royalist party. The progress of the British troops was no longer impeded by deep roads and numerous streams, which, owing to the devastation of the woods on the French Pyrenees, became impassable, and inundate the country more frequently than in former times. From Bayonne to Bourdeaux, extends a sandy track well known by the name of *Les Landes*, which, totally uncultivated as it is, yields a better revenue than any other land in the country; the pine-trees, with which it abounds, being regularly tapped for resin. Over these sands the British forces advanced without opposition; they were received as deliverers; the magistrates put on the white cockade, and Louis XVIII. was proclaimed in Bourdeaux. The hopes and wishes of the better part of the French people were now no longer doubtful; if any event could put

an end to the accumulated evils under which France was suffering, it was the restoration of the Bourbons, and to that desirable event all things were tending. The appearance of that family, whose expulsion the French nation had much reason to regret, and the manner in which it was now evident that Great Britain favoured their cause, called forth a proclamation from marshal Soult, which clearly shewed what was to be expected from him, and from those officers who, like him, had served the tyrant in all his bloody purposes, without scruple and without remorse. "Soldiers," said he, "there will be no repose for us till this hostile army shall be annihilated, or till it shall have evacuated the territory of the empire. It does not suspect the dangers which surround, nor the perils which await; but time will teach this army, as well as the general who commands it, that it is not with impunity that our territory is invaded; that it is not with impunity that the French honour is insulted. The British general has had the audacity to incite you and your countrymen to revolt and sedition. He has dared to insult the national honour: he has had the baseness to excite the French to betray their oaths, and to be guilty of perjury. Yet a few days, and those who have been capable of believing in the sincerity and delicacy of the English will learn to their cost that the English have no other object in this war than to destroy France by itself; to reduce the French to servitude like the Portuguese, the Sicilians, and all the other people who groan under their yoke. Let these deluded Frenchmen look to the past! they will see the English at the head of every conspiracy, of the overthrow of all principles, of the destruction of all the establishments of greatness or industry, to gratify their inordinate ambition and their insatiable avidity! Does there exist a single point known to the English on the surface of the globe where they have not caused to be destroyed, by seduction or violence, the manufactories which rivalled or eclipsed their own?—Soldiers! let us devote to opprobium and general execrations, every Frenchman who shall have favoured the projects of the enemy: there is no longer any bond between them and us! *Honour and fidelity* is our motto! Our duty is marked out; obedience and discipline, implacable hatred to traitors, and to the enemies of the French name; interminable war to those who would divide in order to destroy us, as well as to the wretches who would desert the imperial eagles for any other standard. Let us have always in our mind fifteen ages of glory, and the innumerable triumphs which have rendered our country illustrious! Let us contemplate the prodigious efforts of our great emperor, and his signal victories, which will eternize the French name; let us be worthy of him, and then we may bequeath to our posterity without a stain, the inheritance which we have received from our fathers." Marshal Soult needed not to have exhorted the French soldiers to become worthy of their emperor, they were already worthy of him. Bear witness, Jaffa! bear witness, Madrid, and Porto, Ucles, and Tarragona! bear witness, the wrongs, the sufferings, and the curses of all Europe, at that moment moving in arms against him from the Tagus and the Elbe, the Danube, and the Moskwa.

United Europe was victorious: the tyrant fell; and Paris, opening her gates to the allied armies, received a king, whose restoration delivered France at once from foreign enemies and internal oppression. But Buonaparte's adherents, clinging still with superstitious hope to the fortune of their leader, prevented the intelligence from reaching lord Wellington till he had once more humbled his boasting opponent. Marshal Soult, having retired from Conchez to Lembage, was driven from Lembage to Vic Bigorre. At Vic Bigorre, M. Carel assures us that he beat the English, defeating them with a loss on their part of 2000 men, while the French had not so many as 75 *hors de combat*. This victory, however, was kept so secret at the time, that neither the French themselves nor lord Wellington's army ever heard of it till M. Carel communicated the information to the world two years afterwards. All that was known at the time was, that general Clinton drove marshal Soult's rear-guard from Vic Bigorre, and that the enemy retreated in the night to Tarbes. Buonaparte and Josephine had rested in Tarbes on their way to Bayonne in 1808, when the abominable usurpation of Spain was plotted; a monument had been erected in the town, in commemoration of this imperial visit, and that journey in its consequences terminated in now bringing a

victorious enemy's army to Tarbes. Lord Wellington hastened to attack the French there; they retreated again, but with considerable loss, and took shelter in Thoulouse: the weather once more favoured them by impeding the movements of their antagonist; and Soult, taking advantage of the time which was thus afforded him, fortified a position in front of that city. The extent of Thoulouse is disproportionate to its population: it is in length, from north to south, about two miles, and a mile and quarter in breadth from east to west; the inhabitants are computed at not more than 60,000. The canal of Brienne, so called from the cardinal archbishop of that name, connects the Garonne with the canal of Languedoc, about two miles from the town, the navigation of the river in Thoulouse being impeded by a weir for the use of the corn mills. It is magnificently executed, and is broad enough for several barges to pass abreast. The two canals and the river surround three sides of the city. Of the three bridges over the Garonne, which Thoulouse possessed in the days of its prosperity, one only is left; and the suburb, which the enemy had fortified with strong fieldworks in front of the antient walls, formed a good tête-de-pont; têtes-du-pont were formed also at the bridges of the canal, defended by musketry in some places, and in all by artillery from the old walls. A height extended eastward from the canal, and to the river Ers; all the roads from the eastward pass over this height; the enemy had fortified it with five redoubts, which were connected by lines of entrenchments. They had indeed, to use lord Wellington's words, "with extraordinary diligence, made every preparation for defence." They had broken the bridges over the Ers by which their right could be approached; but as the roads from Areige to Thoulouse were impracticable for artillery and horse, and nearly so for infantry, the British general had no alternative, and prepared to attack his antagonist in this formidable position.

One bridge over the Ers at Croix d'Orade the enemy had left standing, thinking they could at any time destroy it. Colonel Vivian with the 18th hussars attacked a superior body of cavalry here, drove them through the village, took 100 prisoners, and secured this important post. Here marshal Beresford crossed with two divisions, carried the village of Mont Blanc, and moved in three columns of lines up the left of the Ers, over most difficult ground, in a direction parallel to the enemy's position; and having reached the point at which he turned it, he formed his lines for the attack. General Freye with the Spanish corps under his command, as soon as he saw that marshal Beresford was ready on his side, attacked the enemy in front. They advanced with great spirit in two lines under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery, the general and all his staff at their head; both lines were soon lodged under some banks immediately under the enemy's entrenchments; but when they attempted to move round the left flank of the French, they were repulsed; and the French following their success turned the right of the assailants by both sides of the high road leading from Thoulouse to Croix d'Orade, and compelled the whole corps to retire with considerable loss. The Spanish general and his staff distinguished themselves greatly on this occasion, and their troops rallied as soon as the light division, which was immediately on their right, moved up. General Mendizabal, who was present as a volunteer, was wounded, but kept the field; and one Spanish regiment kept its position under the enemy's entrenchments till it was ordered to retire. Mean time marshal Beresford had been more successful on his side. He attacked and carried the heights on the enemy's right, and the redoubt which covered that flank, and he lodged his troops on the same height with the enemy. They were still in possession of four redoubts, of the entrenchments, and some fortified houses; and before marshal Beresford could attack these, he was obliged to wait till his artillery could be brought up, which, owing to the badness of the roads, he had left in Mont Blanc. By the time this was effected the Spaniards had re-formed, and the attack was then renewed on both points with the most determined valour. The marshal continued his movement along the ridge, and carried, with general Pack's brigade, the two principal redoubts and fortified houses in the enemy's centre; a desperate effort was made to recover them, but in vain. Marshal Beresford pursued his advantage, and the Spaniards, moving in like manner upon the point, the French were driven from the two

redoubts and entrenchments on the left, and the allies remained in possession of the whole range of heights. Sir Rowland meantime had driven the enemy from their exterior works in the suburb on the left of the Garonne within the antient wall; and the army was established on three sides of Thoulouse.

Thoulouse is a name which brings with it a painful reflection to an Englishman's mind, when he remembers the history of a catholic crusade under an English leader; henceforth the name will be connected with lord Wellington's wars, and bring with it a proper feeling of national exultation. The battle was fought on Easter Sunday; long will that Easter be remembered by the Thoulousans! the wounded French were brought from the field of battle as they fell, to the gates of the town, and thence conveyed by the inhabitants to the hospitals. They are said by the French themselves to have been innumerable. Marshal Soult talked of defending the town and burying himself and his army under its ruins, and the people had all the horrors of Saragossa and Tarragona before their eyes, and dreaded those reprisals which might so naturally be expected from the Portuguese and Spaniards. The city and the army were in reality at that time at the conqueror's mercy; but lord Wellington, though he had not been apprised of the deposition of Buonaparte, knew that the event was at hand, and that no circumstances could long delay it. Wishing, therefore, to avoid all further effusion of blood, he suffered Soult and his troops to file off during the night of the 11th under the cannon of the British army without firing a shot; and on the following morning the allies entered the city as deliverers. The perfect order which they observed, so utterly unlike the rapacious conduct of the French armies, excited the utmost admiration in the inhabitants, who, in the eulogium of gratitude, compared Wellington to Turenne. Lord Wellington is wronged by the comparison; Turenne's memory is stained by the ravage of the Palatinate, but the character of the British commander is stained with no such spot. The battle of Thoulouse occasioned the allies a loss of 4600 men; the victory was decisive, and such a victory of wholesome effect, much as the circumstances are to be regretted which occasioned the expense of a needless battle. The French had systematically been kept in ignorance of the repeated defeats which their armies had sustained; and this policy had been surprisingly successful: the vain and unreflecting character of the people seconding, in this respect, the artifices of the government. Here the superiority of the British troops was exhibited in a fair theatre and upon an ample scale; the whole people of Thoulouse were spectators and witnesses; they saw their veteran troops, under leaders of great experience, undoubted skill, and high reputation, attacked in a position which they had fortified with extraordinary care; they saw them beaten there and driven from thence, and they beheld them file off under the guns of the British army, at the mercy of the British general.

On the evening of the 12th the dispatches from Paris arrived; the restoration of the Bourbons was announced to marshal Soult, and that general only proposed a suspension of hostilities till he could ascertain the real state of public affairs. Lord Wellington then put his army in motion to pursue him; but on the 17th marshal Soult informed him that he formally acknowledged the provisional government of France. And here lord Wellington finished that career which he had begun at Roliza, and which, when all circumstances are considered, may truly be regarded unparalleled in military history. If any thing seemed wanting to the triumph of Wellington and England, it was that the British flag, which had led the way into France, should have entered Paris also:—complete as the triumph was, it was scarcely possible not to feel something like regret that it had not thus been consummated. Who could then have apprehended that this consummation was only for a short time deferred?

It seemed not unreasonable to suppose that the duke of Wellington would, for the remainder of his life, enjoy in peace the honours and rewards which he had so well deserved, and which had been so properly bestowed. Leaving the army which he had so often conducted to victory, he joined the allied sovereigns at the court of Louis XVIII.; and there for the first time met general Blucher, the most glorious of his fellow labourers in the deliverance of Europe; little did they foresee in what manner the acquaintance which they then began was to be cemented, and how their names in inseparable union

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

would descend to the latest posterity. From Paris the duke repaired to Madrid, where Ferdinand confirmed all the honours which the cortes had conferred upon him, and created him captain general of Spain. Returning to England, he was received with every mark of love, and gratitude, and honour, which the prince, the legislature, and the people, could bestow. He had never yet taken his seat in the house of lords, and now at his first introduction was placed in the highest rank of the peerage, his various patents of viscount, earl, marquis, and duke, being read on the same day. Here he received the thanks and congratulations of the house on his return from his command on the continent, and for the great, signal, and eminent services which he had so repeatedly rendered therein to his majesty and to the public. The house of commons appointed a deputation to congratulate him on his return, and the duke attended the house in person to express his thanks. This was a memorable scene; all the members uncovered, rose, enthusiastically cheered him as he entered; the speaker, in an admirable address, touched upon those parts of his military character for which Wellington is more peculiarly to be praised; the implicit faith which he communicates to his soldiers; the confidence which he had ever felt in himself and his cause, and the manner in which he had united armies of such different and discordant materials under his command. "It is not," said the speaker, "the grandeur of military success which had alone fixed our admiration or commanded our applause; it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken, and that ascendancy of character which, uniting energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires." The occasion indeed had called forth the efforts of the country, and success could not be doubtful when our mighty means were entrusted to hands which knew how to direct them so well. Nor is the gratitude of the British nation confined to the mere acknowledgment of his services as a general. Having been appointed in the summer ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of France, he obtained by his firmness, promptitude, and address the most valuable concessions to the cause of European freedom, and of humanity at large.

On the arrival of his lordship at Paris, appearances were propitious to the stability of the Bourbons, and the constituted authorities had already adopted the most energetic measures in support of the new government. A deputation had been sent to London, to invite the presence of the king, and on presenting their report after their return, it was read before the senate, who appointed a commission to consider it. On the evening of the 5th of April the commission made its report, and a constitution was unanimously adopted, by which Louis was restored under the sanction of the following articles.

1. The French government is monarchial, and hereditary from male to male in order of primogeniture.

2. The French call to the throne Louis, brother to the last king.

3. The antient nobility resume their titles; the new ones preserve theirs hereditarily; the legion of honour shall retain its prerogatives.

4. The executive power belongs to the king.

5. The king, the senate, and the legislative body concur in the making of laws: those relating to contributions can be proposed only in the legislative body: the sanction of the king is necessary for the completion of a law.

6. There are 150 senators at least; and 200 at most; they are named by the king; their dignity is immoveable, and hereditary from male to male; the present senators are retained; the revenues for the support of the senate are divided equally between them, and to pass to their successors; in cases of death without male posterity, the portions return to the public treasure. The senators who shall be named in future cannot partake of this endowment.

7. The princes of the blood and of the royal family are, by right, members of the senate: the functions of a senator cannot be exercised under 21 years of age.

9. Each department shall send to the legislative body the same number of deputies it

sent before: the duration of the function of the deputies is fixed at five years.

10. The legislative body shall assemble each year on the 1st of October: the king may convoke it extraordinarily: he may adjourn it: he may also dissolve it: but, in the latter case, another legislative body must be formed, in three months at the latest, by the electoral colleges.

11. The legislative body has the right of discussion: the sittings are public.

13. No member of the senate or legislative body can be arrested without a previous authority from the body to which he belongs; the trial of a member of the senate or legislative body belongs exclusively to the senate.

14. The ministers may be members either of the senate or legislative body.

15. Equality of proportion in the taxes is of right: no tax can be imposed or received, unless it has been first consented to by the legislative body and the senate. The land tax can only be established for a year. The budget of the following year, and the accounts of the preceding year, are presented annually to the legislative body and the senate, at the opening of the sitting of the legislative body.

16. The law shall fix the mode and the amount of the recruiting of the army.

17. The independence of the judicial person is guaranteed. No one can be removed from his natural judges. The institution of juries is preserved, as well as the publicity of trial in criminal matters: the penalty of confiscation of goods is abolished. The king has the right of pardon.

18. The judges are for life, and irremovable: the commissions and extraordinary tribunals are repressed, and cannot be re-established.

21. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable: all the acts of the government are signed by a minister. The ministers are responsible for all which those acts may contain in violation of the laws, public and private property, and the rights of citizens.

22 The freedom of worship and of conscience is guaranteed: the ministers of worship are treated and protected alike.

23. The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty.

24. The public debt is guaranteed. The sales of the national domains are irrecoverably maintained.

25. No Frenchman can be prosecuted for opinions or votes which he has given.

26. Every person has a right to address individual petitions to every constituted authority.

27. All Frenchmen are equally admissible to all civil and military employments.

28. All the laws existing remain in vigour, until they shall be legally repealed. The code of civil laws shall be entitled, The civil code of the French.

29. The present constitution shall be submitted to the acceptance of the French people, in the form which shall be regulated. Louis Stanislaus Xavier shall be proclaimed king of the French, as soon as he shall have signed and sworn, by an act stating, "I accept the constitution: I swear to observe it, and cause it to be observed." This oath shall be repeated in the solemnity, when he shall receive the oath of fidelity of the French.

A few days after his entrance into Paris, the senate was presented to the king, when the prince of Benevento (Talleyrand) addressed him to the following purport:—"The return of your majesty restores peace to France, and secures peace to Europe: from you alone could these blessings proceed; hence the gratitude and enthusiasm with which you are every where received; the joy expressed on this occasion cannot be feigned; it is truly national. The kingdom of your fathers has been laid waste; you succeed to it after 20 years of ruin and misfortune: the reparation of so great a state of disorder requires the devotion of great courage: the more difficult the circumstances are, the more power and preponderence ought to be given to the royal authority. A constitutional charter has been framed, which will unite all interests to the throne, and fortify the first will with the concurrence of all wills. The nation and the senate, full of confidence in your majesty, desire, with you, that France may be free, in order that the king may be powerful." His majesty received with great satisfaction the sentiments and homage of the senate.

In a very short time, however, some gloom and apprehension began to appear in Paris, in consequence of the declaration of the king.

In this he stated, that being anxious to invoke that mutual confidence so necessary to his own repose and the happiness of France, he had attentively read the plan of the constitution proposed by the senate in the session of the 6th of April ; and though he acknowledged that the bases were good, yet a great number of articles bore the appearance of the precipitation with which they had been digested, and could not, therefore, in their actual form, become the fundamental law of the state. As the wish of his majesty was to adopt a liberal constitution, he also wished it to be wisely considered : but not thinking it proper to accept one which it would be indispensably necessary to alter, he called together for the 10th of June the senate and legislative body ; and in the mean time he would choose a commission out of these two bodies, for the purpose of considering the constitution, to which he would give the following guarantees as bases : the representative government to be maintained as it existed, divided into two bodies, viz. the senate, and the chamber composed of deputies of the departments. The taxes to be freely granted ; public and individual liberty secured : the liberty of the press respected, saving the necessary precautions for the public tranquillity. The liberty of worship guaranteed. Property to be inviolable and sacred ; the sales of the national estates to be irrevocable. The ministers, being responsible, may be prosecuted by one of the houses of the legislature, and tried by the other. The judges to be irremoveable, and the judicial power independent. The public debt to be guaranteed : the pensions, honours, and rank of the military to be preserved, as well as of both the antient and new nobility. The legion of honour to be maintained. All Frenchmen to be admissible to employments, civil and military. No individual to be disturbed for his opinion or votes.

As the stability of the government of Louis depended, in a great measure, on the adherence of the marshals, and, through them, of the army, their sentiments on the counter-revolution were anxiously looked for. Many of them were not slow in giving in their adhesion ; and, if they had simply contented themselves with expressing their fidelity to their new sovereign, and their hopes that, by his restoration, peace would be secured to France and Europe, no blame could have been attached to them ; but many of them, in their acts of adhesion, indulged in the most violent and outrageous language against Buonaparte ; language which we are far from contending was not strictly warranted by his conduct, but which came with an ill grace from men who had been his instruments, while he was fortunate and powerful, in the execution of his most unprincipled and tyrannical actions. Soult and Davoust were among the last who sent in their adhesion ; the latter commanded in Hamburg, where he had been guilty of very great atrocities and cruelties.

On the 30th of May, the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris ; the following are some of its most prominent articles.

The first article not only stipulates in the usual form for perpetual peace and amity between the high contracting parties, but also for their mutual exertions to preserve peace between all the states of Europe.

The 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th, restore to France the limits of January 1st, 1792, (prior to which, it is to be observed, she had seized Avignon and the countries inclosed within her frontier,) and make some further additions, which at various points appear to be merely arrangements of convenience, all in favour of France, indeed, but not amounting, in the whole, to a cession of serious import to the tranquillity of Europe. Beyond these limits, France renounces all those absurd pretensions to sovereignty, seizerainty, or paramount authority, for the acquisition of which the mad Corsican shed such oceans of French blood. The navigation of the Rhine is to be free.

The 6th provides that Holland shall receive an accession of territory, with proviso that the prince sovereign shall never wear a foreign crown ; that the states of Germany and Switzerland shall respectively form independent confederations ; and that Italy, exclusive of the countries to be restored to Austria, shall consist of independent sovereignties.

The 7th confirms Malta to Great Britain.

The 8th restores to France all the colonies, fisheries, factories, &c. which she possessed in 1792, except St. Lucie, Tobago, and the Isle of France.

The 9th and 10th contain the consent of Sweden to the cession of Guadaloupe, and

that of Portugal to the cession of French Guiana.

The 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, relate to the time and manner of making the colonial restitutions, and provide that, for the avoidance of future contest, France shall erect no fortresses in the East Indies.

The 15th and 16th restore to France two thirds of the shipping in the harbours given up by her in consequence of the convention of April 23rd. This stipulation applies principally to Antwerp and Flushing, of which the former is, in future, to be only a commercial port.

The articles 17 to 31 inclusive, contain the usual stipulations for protection of all interests which may be affected by the changes of dominion, whatever may have been the political conduct of the parties interested. By the 21st and 23rd, it would seem that some parts of Germany and Italy will remain chargeable with the sums originally imposed on them to maintain the grand dignitaries of France, the senators, the legion of honour, &c.

The 32nd article provides for a congress to be held at Vienna by the plenipotentiaries of all the powers of Europe, to regulate the arrangements requisite to carry this treaty into full effect.

By the 1st additional article to the treaty with Great Britain, both parties agree to use their joint efforts at the congress for a general abolition of the slave trade, France in the meanwhile promising to abolish it within five years.

The following additional articles are alike honourable to both countries, by the engagements which they mutually contract for the discharge of all just debts, and the annulment of all unjust confiscations on either side; and England, with her characteristic generosity, consenting that, after full justice has been done to her subjects, the balance due to her for the maintenance of prisoners of war, which must be immense, shall be freely given up to France. Lastly, to crown the whole, commercial arrangements for the mutual benefit of both countries are promised.

Respecting the success of the allies, the dethronement of Buonaparte, the restoration of the Bourbons, and the consequent peace of Europe, there was considerable controversy in England: the point debated was, not whether these were desirable events, (for on that all were agreed,) but whether these events had been brought about by following the principles and the advice of Mr. Fox, or of Mr. Pitt. The adherents to the principles of the latter contended that Europe had been restored to independence and liberty, peace and happiness, principally or solely, by the firmness of Britain in that contest; and that this firmness and perseverance had always been inculcated and acted upon by Mr. Pitt: and that his successors in office, by following his example, had at length proved, by the result, the soundness of his views, and his high merit as a statesman. The adherents of Mr. Fox, on the contrary, maintained that Europe had been saved entirely by acting on his principles and advice; that he was as sensible as Mr. Pitt could be of the tyranny of Buonaparte, but regarded all resistance to it as vain, which did not spring from the people acting in concert with their respective governments. He therefore was adverse to the coalitions of Mr. Pitt, because, by our subsidies, we induced those states to come into the contest who were not prepared for it, and endeavoured to unite those, who were not sufficiently aware of their common danger to lay aside their jealousy of one another. With respect to the mass of the people, he contended that they were nearly indifferent to the result of the contest which their respective sovereigns held against Buonaparte, because they did not dread being exposed to more tyranny and oppression under him, than they already suffered. It was therefore necessary to give the people an interest in the contest, which, according to Mr. Fox, could only be done by giving them more liberty. Mr. Fox, however, does not appear to have been aware, that there was another mode by which their interests in the contest might be excited; and that this mode would be followed by Buonaparte himself, who would thus prepare the way for his own downfall. It is sufficiently evident, that the great bulk of the people would not rouse themselves in the contest, unless they had good reason, either to fight for their own sovereigns, or against Buonaparte; and it may well be doubted, whether, if their own sovereigns had, agreeably to Mr. Fox's advice, granted them a greater portion of civil and religious liberty, this would have been an adequate

stimulus to their exertions, since the promise of this would have been to most of them the promise of what they did not understand, or could not relish, and therefore did not desire. It may even be doubted, whether the prospect of being freed from those acts of personal degradation and oppression, to which they had been so long habituated that they scarcely felt them, would have roused them; whereas Buonaparte, by loading them with a species of tyranny, to which they were unaccustomed, and, moreover, that tyranny proceeding from a foreigner, and being inflicted by foreign soldiers in every mode most galling to national feelings, touched the cords of indignation and resistance, and roused those against him, who never would have been roused by the promise and expectation of a greater portion of civil and religious liberty. In our opinion, therefore, the downfall of Buonaparte, and the consequent restoration of independence and peace to Europe, was not owing to the measures of Mr. Fox having been pursued; but was indirectly and incidentally owing to perseverance in the plans of Mr. Pitt; most essentially, in the first place, to the universal detestation which the tyranny of Buonaparte created; and next, to his annihilating, by his campaign in Russia, the means which he possessed for repressing the effects of that universal detestation: thus illustrating this grand and salutary truth, that tyranny and ambition will always work out their own overthrow.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

GEORGE III.

[1814.]

Deliverance of Europe—Exultation of the English People—Misunderstanding between the Prince and Princess of Wales—The latter is refused admission to the Drawing Room—Trial and Punishment of Lord Cochrane for Fraud—War in Norway—Cession of that Kingdom to Sweden—Affairs of the rest of Europe—Cessions in Italy—Ferdinand returns to Madrid—Congress at Vienna.

THE spontaneous expression of public feeling among all classes of the people of Holland; the recal of the prince of Orange; the deliverance of Hamburgh, and the restoration of commercial freedom to the Belgian states, were the immediate and natural results of the victories of the confederates. An unfortunate attack on Bergen-op-Zoom, conducted by sir Thomas Graham, clouded, indeed for a time, the aspect of Belgic affairs; but the misfortune was temporary, and the benefit of English co-operation decisive. We forget the former treachery and apathy of the Dutch in our determination to sacrifice all minor feelings to the deliverance of the world. The exultation of the British people at the late propitious concurrence of events was universal and sincere. We had bravely fought the fight, and looked forward to an ample reward for our persevering and unwearied exertions in the blessings of a long and glorious peace. The visit of the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, the duchess of Oldenburgh, and the gallant and

veteran Blucher, considerably enhanced the general feeling of hilarity; and the subsequent festivities in the parks under the auspices of the prince regent, however imperfectly designed, or thoughtlessly conducted, were hailed as the harbingers of happiness and of plenty.

The national gaiety, however, was in some degree overcast by the pernicious influence of that fatal misunderstanding which had so long prevailed between the prince regent and his consort. At a moment when every subject participated in the general festivity, when every selfish and private feeling seemed to be absorbed in one universal sentiment of gratitude and joy, the princess alone was sentenced to humiliation, privacy, and neglect, by the mandate of her husband, who intimated, through the medium of a letter from the queen, that her appearance at the drawing-room could not be admitted. To repeat the history of the formal correspondence between her majesty and her daughter-in-law, would be equally unpleasing and superfluous. It produced, however, a motion in the house of commons for an increase of her annual income; and, after some discussion, in which lord Castlereagh generously offered £50,000 per annum, and Mr. Whitbread regarded £35,000 as sufficiently ample, the latter of these sums was adopted. Scarcely had the grant been made, when the public attention was attracted in a more than usual degree, to the disputes in the royal family by the sudden elopement of the princess Charlotte, in a manner by no means accordant with the forms of a court, or with the habits of her sex. The prince regent, accompanied by the bishop of Salisbury, had repaired to Warwick-house, to remonstrate with his daughter on her rejection of the prince of Orange as a suitor. Deeply affected by the language of her monitors, she escaped by the back stair-case, entered a hackney-coach without a head-dress, and drove to Connaught-house, the residence of her mother. The princess of Wales, perplexed by this unusual incident, proceeded to the house of parliament, and consulted her political friends on the best line of conduct. The result was, that the princess Charlotte was persuaded to accompany the duke of York to Carlton-house, whence she was afterwards removed to Cranbourne lodge in Windsor forest, where she was placed under the care of new attendants. Her autumn, under the pretext of a pain in her knee, was spent at Weymouth.

Greater agitation has seldom pervaded the public mind, than was evinced in the sympathy excited by the trial and condemnation of lord Cochrane. The effects of the recent intelligence from France had been productive of the most extraordinary influence on the funds, which had arisen to the enormous premium of 28 per cent. This unexampled and pernicious rise was occasioned by an extensive and infamous conspiracy, in which the principals were men of suspicious character, but intimately connected by intercourse and family alliance with lord Cochrane. The committee of the stock exchange, though little scrupulous themselves, on other occasions, preferred an indictment for the conspiracy; and the persons tried were Charles Random de Berenger, sir Thomas Cochrane, commonly lord Cochrane, the honourable Andrew Cochrane Johnstone, Richard Gathrone Butt, Ralph Sandon, Alexander M'Rae, John Peter Holloway, and Henry Lyte. The crime charged, was a conspiracy for raising the funds, and thereby injuring those who should become purchasers in them; the court was the king's Bench, Guildhall, before lord Ellenborough, on June 8th and 9th. The case for the prosecution having been stated by Mr. Gurney, the first witness called was John Marsh, master of the Packet-boat public house, at Dover. His evidence went chiefly to prove the fact of a gentleman, drest in a grey great coat and a red uniform under it, with a star, knocking at the door of the Ship inn, early in the morning of February 21st, whom he assisted to get into the inn, and who said he was the bearer of very important despatches from France. He was fully satisfied that Berenger was this person. This evidence was confirmed by that of Gourley, a hatter, who was at the time in Marsh's house.

Mr. St. John, who was then at the Ship inn as a traveller, deposed in like manner to the arrival of a person who asked for a post chaise, to his dress, and to the identity of Berenger as this person.

Admiral Faley was then called to prove the receipt of a letter despatched to him as port admiral at Deal, by express from Dover,

from a person at the Ship inn, who signed himself R. Du Bourg, lieutenant-colonel and aid-de-camp to lord Cathcart, and which was proved to be in the hand-writing of Berenger. The purport of the letter was to acquaint the admiral that he was just arrived from Calais with the news of a great victory obtained by the allies over Buonaparte, who was slain in his flight by the cossacks, and that the allied sovereigns were in Paris, where the white cockade was universal. A post chaise boy was then examined who drove a gentleman in that night from Dover to Canterbury, and another from Canterbury to Sittingbourn, and a third from thence to Rochester. They deposed to the receiving of Napoleons from him, and the latter boy to his dress, agreeing with the former descriptions.

Mr. Wright, of the Crown inn, at Rochester, brother to Wright of the Ship, at Dover, (who was prevented from appearing by illness,) next gave evidence of the persons coming to his house, of his dress in the great coat, red uniform, star, and military cap, and of his conversation relative to the news he brought; and was positive that Berenger was the man. Other inn-keepers and drivers continued the chain of evidence to that of a Dartford chaise-driver, Thomas Shilling, who gave a very circumstantial account of carrying Berenger to the Marsh gate, Lambeth, and there seeing him into a hackney-coach. The driver of this coach, William Crane, then deposed to the carrying him to No. 13, Green street, Grosvenor square, and leaving him; also to the circumstance of his red uniform under a great coat, and to his taking with him into the house a small portmanteau; and thus was completed the process of tracing Berenger from Dover to lord Cochrane's house in London.

The next circumstance brought forwards for the prosecution, was that of the fishing up by a waterman on the Thames, of a bundle containing a coat cut to pieces, a star, embroidery, &c. which was recognized by a military accoutrement-maker, to be the same that he sold on February 19th, to a person who mentioned its being wanted for one who was to perform the office of a foreign officer, and who also purchased a military regimental coat, and a military cap.

The person with whom Berenger lodged, deposed, that on the 20th he went out in a new great coat.

With the main plot, in which Berenger was the chief actor, another was stated to be connected, involving M'Rae, Sandon, Lyte, and Holloway. With respect to this, the first witness called was Thomas Vinn, an accountant, who deposed to have been applied to by M'Rae for the purpose of engaging to assist in a hoax upon the stock exchange, by personating a French officer along with him, which he refused to do. A female witness, a fellow lodger with M'Rae and his wife, deposed, that M'Rae brought home, on February 20th, a parcel with two opera coats and two opera hats, the coats being like those of officers, with some white ribbon for cockades; that he said they were for the purpose of deceiving the flats, and that he must go down to Gravesend—that on the next day she met him in London, apparently much tired, and that he brought back a bundle containing one of the coats and hats, and the cockades; and that he said he was to have £50 for what he had done.

Mr. Foxall, master of the Rose inn, at Dartford, then deposed as to receiving a note from Mr. Sandon, dated from North Fleet, on Monday, February 21st, desiring him to send a chaise and pair, and to have ready four good horses to go to London with all expedition,—that in consequence, his chaise brought from North Fleet Mr. Sandon and two gentlemen with white cockades in their hats, who immediately proceeded to London with the four horses. A driver deposed to carrying these persons, the horses being decked with laurels, over London bridge, through Lombard street and Cheapside, and thence to Marsh gate, Lambeth, where they got out, having taken off their military hats and put on round ones. It was then proved by Mr. Francis Bailey, that Holloway confessed before the committee of the stock exchange, that he was a contriver of this plot, and that Lyte confessed himself and M'Rae to have been the persons who accompanied Sandon in the post chaise.

The next body of evidence produced related to the stock concerns of Mr. Butt, Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, and lord Cochrane. The most material points went to the close connection between these three persons,

to the vast amount of omnium which they held on the morning of the day in which the fraud took place, to the sale of the whole on that day, and to the circumstance of Mr. C. Johnstone's having taken a new office in a court adjoining the side door of the Stock Exchange against that day for Mr. Fearn, their principal broker, without having previously acquainted him with his intention. An affidavit by lord Cochrane was then read, which admitted the coming of Berenger to his house on February 21st, but stated that he was in a green uniform, which he took off, putting on a black coat which his lordship gave him for the purpose of waiting on lord Yarmouth. The affidavit further averred that lord C. had no knowledge whatever of the imposition, and stated that he had given instructions to his broker to sell out the whole of his omnium at a rise of one per cent.

Mr. Le Merchant was next examined with respect to a conversation held with Berenger; and he deposed, that having asked him how he could go to North America under the command of lord Cochrane (as he had said his intention was) with the embarrassments he lay under, ; B. replied that he was easy on that score, because, for the services he had rendered lord C. and Mr. C. Johstone, whereby a large sum might be realized in the funds or stocks, lord C. was his friend, and told him he had kept a private purse for him. The honourable Alexander Murray, a prisoner in the King's Bench, also deposed to a great intimacy between Berenger and Mr. Cochrane Johnstone.

Another examination of witnesses to a considerable length was consequent upon the capture of Berenger, who had absconded at Leith, when there was found in his possession certain papers and bank notes, which last he was very urgent to have restored to him, but which were detained, others of corresponding value being given to him. From an entry in his memorandum book there appeared to be a sum of £540, part of which he had expended, and the remainder was in the notes in his possession. All these notes, as well as most of those he had paid away, were with great industry traced to lord Cochrane, Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, and Mr. Butt. This closed the evidence for the prosecution.

The business on the following day commenced with the evidence for the defendants. Letters were produced which passed between Le Merchant and lord Cochrane, and which went to contradict the evidence he had given.

Lord Melville was then called for the purpose of proving that admiral sir A. Cochrane had made application to be allowed the service of Berenger, in his command on the North American station. Colonel Torrens, secretary to the commander-in-chief, was examined to the same point, as was Henry Golburn, esq. The intention in these examinations was to confirm lord Cochrane's statement, and to shew a connection between the parties independently of any other transactions. King, a tin-plate worker, next deposed to lord Cochrane's being at his manufactory in Cock Lane, on the morning of the 21st, whence he was called by a note brought to him by his servant, Dewman, a servant of lord Cochrane's deposed to a gentleman's coming to their house in a hackney coach, and writing the note, which he brought to his lordship. Mr. Tahourdin, solicitor to Berenger, was called to prove that Mr. Cochrane Johnstone had employed Berenger to make a plan for a projected building in some premises belonging to him, and had paid him money for it. Two receipts were produced for such payments, signed by Berenger, the last for £200 dated February 26th, 1814. This witness also absolutely denied the letter sent to admiral Foley, at Deal, to be the hand writing of Berenger. The earl of Yarmouth spoke to Berenger's having been adjutant of the corps of Cumberland's sharp shooters, and thought the letter to admiral Foley very unlike his usual writing. Two other persons also deposed to their belief that this letter was not of his writing.

A series of evidence was then brought to prove an alibi with respect to Berenger. The first of the witnesses were W. Smith and his wife, who were his servants, and who swore to his sleeping at home on the night of February 20th. Then followed an ostler of some livery stables at Chelsea, who swore to Berenger's being there on the evening of the 20th. Other depositions were made to the same effect, which it is not material to enumerate, since from the rank and character of the persons no regard seems to have been paid to their testimony. Here the case for the defendants terminated.

Lord Ellenborough summed up the

evidence with great minuteness, making various observations on different parts. He particularly dwelt upon the evidence of the identity of the person taking a chaise from Dover, and traced to lord Cochrane's house, with Berenger; and of the disguise he wore, and the colour of his uniform, which he seemed to think proved in such a manner that no doubt could remain; and from these circumstances, and his subsequent change of apparel, he drew a strong inference of lord Cochrane's privity to the plot.

The jury retired at ten minutes after six in the evening, and returned at twenty minutes before nine with a verdict, finding all the defendants guilty.

Of the subsequent proceedings relative to lord Cochrane's application for a new trial, and a motion in arrest of judgment, it is sufficient here to mention, that these attempts were void of effect, and that on June 21st all the persons charged, with the exception of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, who had absconded, were called up to receive sentence. This was pronounced by Mr. Justice Le Blanc, and was to the following effect:—Lord Cochrane, and Richard Gathrone Butt were condemned to pay to the king a fine of £1000 each, and J. P. Holloway of £500; and these three, together with De Berenger, Sandon, and Lyte, were sentenced to imprisonment in the Marshalsea for twelve calender months. Further, lord Cochrane, De Berenger, and Butt, were to stand on the pillory for one hour before the Royal Exchange, once during their imprisonment. This last part of their punishment was afterwards remitted.

The only subject of foreign policy on which the ministry were formidably opposed, in argument, or in numbers, was their acquiescence in the invasion and partition of Norway. It was clearly discernable at the close of the last year that Denmark, deserted by the ally, to whose fortune hers had unhappily been attached, and invaded by a force which she had nothing adequate to oppose, had no other part to take than that of acquiescence in the conditions imposed upon her, of which the most galling was, undoubtedly, the resignation of that portion of her dominions to which she owed one of her crowns, and a great part of her consequence. Her submission was sealed by treaties of peace concluded at Kiel, on January 14th, with the sovereigns of Sweden and Great Britain. In the first of these, after a declaration of the renewal of peace and amity between Denmark and Sweden, the king of Sweden engages his mediation for the same purpose with Russia and Prussia; and on the other hand, the king of Denmark engages to take an active part in the common cause against the French emperor. The entire and perpetual cession of Norway by Denmark, and of Pomerania and the isle of Rugen by Sweden, is then declared, and reciprocal stipulations are made for the preservation of the rights and privileges of the ceded countries on both sides. The king of Sweden further promises to use his best endeavours with the allied powers, to procure for Denmark, at a general peace, a full equivolent for the cession of Norway. In the treaty with Great Britain, the articles in substance were, that all conquests were to be restored, with the exception of Heligoland, which was to remain in the possession of England; that the prisoners of war on both sides were to be liberated; that Denmark was to join the allied armies with 10,000 men, on the condition of a subsidy from England of £400,000; that Pomerania was to be ceded to Denmark in lieu of Norway; that Stralsund was to continue a depôt for British produce; that Denmark was to do all in her power for the abolition of the slave trade; and that England was to mediate between her and the other allies. The effect of these treaties as far as related to the co-operation of the Danish troops with the army of the crown prince of Sweden, has been already noticed.

But all difficulties with respect to these compacts were not overcome by the acquiescence of the king of Denmark. The people of Norway are well known to possess a high and independent spirit; and though they have long ceased to constitute a separate nation, and have been annexed to a monarchy which circumstances have rendered nearly absolute, they have been able to preserve constitutional privileges, which, combined with their detached situation from the seat of government, have secured to them a considerable share of practical freedom. It was scarcely to be expected that such a people would readily submit to be transferred, without asking their consent, to a new master, especially to the sovereign of a country against

which that national enmity had been long fostered, which usually exists between bordering neighbours. This dislike too, had recently been aggravated by the severe policy of Sweden, in intercepting all supplies of provision to Norway after a year of scarcity; the consequence of which is said to have been the death of 5000 persons in the diocese of Drontheim, of famine and disease. Their governor, at this juncture, was Christian Frederic, hereditary prince of Denmark, and duke of Schleswig Holstein, a prince apparently of an active and enterprising character. On January 18th, an officer having arrived with the ratification of the treaty concluded between Sweden and Denmark, the prince repaired to the country-seat of the chamberlain, Mr. Carsten Anker, near Christiana; and on the 28th he assembled the most considerable persons, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, together with the merchants and deputies who were met to regulate the affairs of the national bank. After laying before them the treaty, he asked them if it was their opinion that the people of Norway were disposed to assert their antient independence against the claims of Sweden. Their answer was, unanimously, in the affirmative; and they earnestly besought the prince to remain at the head of the government, resolving at the same time, to effect his nomination to the title of prince regent of Norway. The prince, who doubtless had already settled his plans, immediately proceeded to the frontiers, thence to Roroas, and finally across the mountains to Drontheim. He was every where met by the people from the hills and vallies in crowds, accompanied by their wives and children, who exclaimed, "We will conquer or die for old Norway's freedom;" adding, in their plain and affectionate mode of address, "Thou shalt not leave us." On arriving at Galbrandsthal, a pass famous for the extermination of a band of Swedish invaders by the mountaineers, the prince alighted at the marble pillar commemorating the event, and having read aloud the inscription in the words of an old ballad, "Woe to every Norwegian whose blood does not boil in his veins at the view of this monument!" he asked the surrounding peasants, if they were willing to imitate this noble example? and was answered by a thousand consenting shouts. Entering Drontheim, he alighted at the house of general Von Krogh, where the principal citizens were assembled at a solemn entertainment. The venerable host, eighty years of age, was unable, through infirmity, to join the company; but he caused himself to be led in at the close of the entertainment, and amidst universal acclamations, drank the health of Christian as regent. The prince, after a stay of four days at Drontheim, returned to Christiana. On the following day all the bells of the city were rung, and the cannon were fired, the town guards and troops paraded the streets, and the prince repaired to the principal church, where he took an oath as regent of Norway. On the 19th of February, the Danish flag was taken down, a funeral dirge playing the while, and the Norwegian colours were hoisted amidst loud acclamations. A council of state, consisting of 17 persons, was appointed, and the prince issued proclamations to the people of Norway, to the bishops, the civil officers, the army and navy, a circular letter to the clergy, and an address in the French language, to all Europe. In his proclamation to the people, after adverting in indignant terms to the forced cession of their country, he called upon them to assert their independence, promising to stay among them and hold the reins till an assembly of the most enlightened men of the nation should have formed a wise constitution, on whom it should depend whether he was to continue in the trust now reposed in him. The subject of another proclamation was, the abolition of privateering, and the relation which was to subsist between Norway and other nations. Its preamble acknowledged as a particular benefit conferred on Norway by the king of Denmark, before he absolved the nation from its oath of allegiance, that he had given it peace with Great Britain. It proceeded to declare Norway at peace with all the powers, except that which should violate its independence, or attack its frontiers; and to proclaim free access to all its ports, to the ships of all nations, with the permission of importing every kind of merchandise by such vessels as should bring two-thirds of their cargoes in grain or other provisions.

On February 24th, the Swedish count, Axel Rosen, appeared at Christiana, commissioned to put in execution the treaty of

peace between Denmark and Sweden. He was introduced to prince Christian, in presence of the chief officers of state, when he exhibited his powers as plenipotentiary, and as bearer of the proclamation of the king of Sweden to the people of Norway. The prince said, that in the present state of affairs he could not receive the proclamation, and that in lieu of all other answers, he must communicate the declaration which he had made in the face of all Europe, by which Norway asserted her independence. Having read this, count Rosen observed, that after such an unexpected declaration, nothing remained for him but to return immediately. A conversation ensued between the prince and the count, in which the latter waved all discussion of the points at issue between the nations, and finally left the audience room. The prince afterwards wrote a letter to the king of Sweden, enclosing his declaration, and stating the motives of his conduct.

THE proclamation of the king of Sweden to the Norwegians above alluded to, contained an engagement of leaving to the nation the power of establishing a constitution on the basis of national representation, and the right of taxing itself, and affirmed his determination not to amalgamate the finances of the two countries.

THE king of Denmark, probably conscious of lying under the suspicion of having secretly fomented this spirit of resistance to a compulsory treaty, addressed a letter to the magistrates and people, dated April 13th, in which he explicitly disavowed their cause, expressed his displeasure with what had been done by prince Christian, and his resolution to acknowledge no other authority in Norway than that of the king of Sweden. He forbade all the officers nominated by him to accept or retain any employment in it during its present state; and recalled all those who were natives of Denmark, under pain of forfeiting their rights, as Danish citizens.

THAT hopes had been entertained by the Norwegians of the countenance of England; the country fondly looked up to on the continent of Europe as the general patron of public liberty, is manifest from the clause in the proclamation of prince Christian, above quoted; and after the meeting of the diet of the kingdom convoked by him, Mr. Anker was deputed to England with instructions to procure, if possible, the accession of Great Britain to the independence of Norway. He was admitted to a conference with lord Liverpool, in which that minister stated to him the situation and determination of the British government; and in consequence, Mr. Anker was desired to return to Norway. The part taken by this court was afterwards openly declared in a notification made on April 20th, by command of the prince regent, to the ministers of friendly powers in London, that necessary measures had been taken for a blockade of the ports of Norway by the British navy. The administration was doubtless of opinion, that Great Britain having been a party in a treaty by which the cession of Norway to Sweden was stipulated, it was incumbent upon her to make use of her power to bring this cession to effect.

DIFFERENT parties in the mean time, as might be expected, were making their appearance in Norway. Some persons, dreading the approaching conflict, were inclined to submission to Sweden. Others entertained the idea of forming a republican form of government. The majority were attached to the cause of national independence, but looked to prince Christian as the head under whom it was to be established and maintained. At the diet, held in the month of April, these different opinions were brought forward; but a great majority concurred in placing the crown of Norway upon the head of Christian, with descent to his posterity. The legislative power in the new constitution was given to an assembly consisting solely of landed proprietors. The new king was proclaimed on the 19th, when he dissolved the diet with a speech. This decisive step committed the nation to a determined resistance to the coercive transfer of their country, and to all the attempts of the allied powers for persuading the Norwegians into submission. One of these was made by the prince regent of England, who despatched, in the beginning of June, Mr. Morier as envoy to Norway. That gentleman, finding that the diet had been dismissed before his arrival at Christiana, put a declaration into the hands of the government then established, but without recognizing its legitimacy, mentioning, that the object of his mission was

to explain to prince Christian and the Norwegians the situation of the British government with respect to its engagements with Sweden and the allied powers, and its determination to act up to them with sincerity and vigour.

A FINAL effort at pacification was made by the allied powers, of which a particular relation was given in a set of state papers published by Christian Frederick, in quality of king of Norway, under the date of July 26th. It begins with stating, that on the 30th of June there arrived at Christiana the following envoys: baron de Steigenstesch, for Austria; major-general Orloff, for Russia; Augustus J. Foster, for England; and major baron de Martens, for Prussia; who, on July 7th, presented a note to his majesty (by them addressed to prince Christian Freedrick of Denmark,) which follows. In this paper he is formally summoned to return within the lines of his duties, on refusal of which he will have to contend with forces which he cannot resist; he is informed of the orders of the king of Denmark, whose first subject he is, to this purpose; he is told that the subscribers do not come as mediators between Norway and Sweden, but rather as heralds of arms, charged with the execution of the treaty of Kiel; that, however, the character of the prince of the Norwegian nation has induced them to enter into modifications which are not within the literal meaning of their instructions, but which they have adopted from the wish of furnishing his highness with the most honourable means of descending from the elevation to which circumstances have unfortunately raised him. As prince Christian had positively declared that he could only replace in the hands of the diet the rights he had received from the nation, the convocation of that assembly was deemed necessary, and for that purpose a truce was proposed by his highness, to which they readily acceded, but the conditions they mentioned were all successively rejected. They finally offered an armistice upon the following basis: 1. A solemn engagement from his highness to resign into the hands of the representatives of the nation all rights he received from them, and to use influence to induce them to consent to the union. 2. That the country between the Glommen and the Swedish frontier, the isles of Walcheren, and the fortresses of Frederickstadt, Frederickshall, Fredericksein, and Kongswinger, shall be evacuated by the Norwegian troops; the country to be declared neutral, and the fortresses to be occupied by Swedish troops. 3. After the occupation of the fortresses, the blockade of Norway to be raised in respect to the ports of Christiania, Christiansand, and Bergen, during the period of the truce. To this ultimatum they require a categorical answer, and they declare, that whatever it may be, they shall consider their negotiations as terminated.

IN his answer to this note, Christian begins with stating his reasons for accepting the crown offered him, and hoping for the independence of Norway; but since the great powers of Europe have determined otherwise, he is persuaded that the safety of the country requires that they should submit to the law of the strongest, and he is ready to make the sacrifice demanded from him. He acknowledges it to be his duty to make known to the nation the dangers with which it is surrounded, and to represent the advantages to be derived from an union with Sweden; but should a brave though useless resistance be its determination, he will remain faithful to his engagements, and never separate his fate from the nation's. With respect to the second basis, he acceded to the evacuation of the country, isles, and fortresses specified, with the exception of Kongswinger, which, being on the north of the Glommer, he thinks ought to be left to the Norwegians. But with regard to the occupation of the fortresses by Swedish troops, he represents to them that the inevitable consequence would be a general rising of the people, and in that case he must prefer war against the enemy to the civil war which he must incur by outraging the constitution in the eyes of the nation. As to the third basis, he observes, that the raising of the blockade of Norway, which is an indispensable condition of the truce, must be extended to all ports on the coast, if it is to be wished that it should be regarded as a real benefit. On these several points he further refers to his letter to the king of Sweden, which he subjoined.

IN a note to the envoys of the allied powers, Christian desires from them the guarantee of the basis of union which the king of Sweden may accept, as well as of the armis-

tice in all its points. Their answer expresses disappointment that not one of three bases of an armistice has been fully accepted; and affirms, that they are compelled to rest their hopes of the success of their negotiation upon the generosity of the king of Sweden. With respect to the guarantee, they are convinced that none of the powers of whom they are the representatives will object to it, when all points are definitively settled. They farther desire the immediate publication of their official notes, for the information of the people of Norway. The envoys had their audience of leave on the 17th, and returned towards Sweden. Christian departed on the 21st to Moss, whence he was to repair to head-quarters. His letter to the king of Sweden was afterwards returned unopened.

The return of the envoys was generally considered as a signal for war, and the course of exchange at Copenhagen accordingly suffered a considerable depression. Denmark, indeed, was placed in a very uneasy situation by the events in Norway. Though their king had done every thing in his power to demonstrate that he had no concern in the proceedings of the Norwegians, it was thought proper by the allies to keep him closely watched; and for that purpose a body of Russian troops had penetrated into Holstein, where they were to be joined by a corps of Prussians. The crown prince of Sweden in the mean time was extremely active in his military preparations, and in a proclamation to his soldiers, dated Winnesberg, July 17th, he tells and repeats to them, "there is no rest for us till the union and independence of the Scandinavian peninsula are obtained by the annexation of Norway to Sweden." He, as well as the king of Sweden, made trial of their powers of persuasion upon the Norwegians before they employed force, and it may be interesting to give a summary of the arguments made use of by the crown prince in his proclamation to the people of Norway. He begins with telling them that, destined by nature to an union with the Swedish nation, their fate was decided, when by the peace of Kiel the king of Denmark ceded to Sweden his rights over Norway. He next states all the advantages which accrued to Denmark from that treaty, and the merits of Sweden in having withstood "the idol of the day." Proceeding to more direct reasoning, he informs the Norwegians, that small states are always moved by the more powerful; that they themselves are unable to form an insulated government; and that the purpose of the man who misleads them is to reunite the crown of Norway to that of Denmark. He dwells upon the mutual advantages that Sweden and Norway will derive from their union, and asserts that such a measure had been the intention of the great Gustavus. He speaks of the brave army which he is leading back from a campaign as glorious as it is astonishing, and of their desire to be received rather as brethren than enemies. He affirms that Sweden will not lay down her arms till she has accomplished an union necessary to her safety and repose, and conjures them to avoid the calamities of war by accepting the offer of independence, liberty, and the guarantee of all their privileges. Such was the general strain of this soldier-like piece of eloquence, in which, "the argument he summed up all in," that of superior force, was obviously the only one calculated to operate upon the feelings of a people who were inspired with high notions of their national rights. Accordingly it failed, like all other addresses of the kind, and the final appeal was made to the sword.

The war began with a naval action. The Norwegians had stationed a flotilla near the Hualorn islands, protected by a number of batteries raised upon them. On July 26th, the Swedish admiral, baron Pike, made a signal for his fleet and flotilla to weigh and move to the attack of the Norwegians, but a calm prevented them from reaching a proper station during that day, so that the attack was postponed till the following morning. The Norwegian commander, however, did not wait for the event, but during the night evacuated the islands in such haste, that the cannon of the batteries for the most part were thrown into the sea; and, when day approached, he was seen in full retreat to Frederickstadt. This success was obtained by the Swedes without the loss of a man. On the 27th the crown prince put himself in march with his whole army for Norway. The king of Sweden, who had formerly been a naval commander, chose to take a personal part in this expedition, by going on board the Great Gustavus at Stromstad. On July 30th the second Swedish corps d'armée, near 20,000

strong, crossed the frontier with very little resistance and occupied two advanced posts; and on the same day, the crown prince, with the duke of Sudermania, made a reconnoisance into Norway from his head quarters at Stromstad.

It would be uninteresting to give a narrative of all the incidents of this petty campaign on the south eastern part of Norway; and we shall confine ourselves to a notice of the more important transactions. Major-general Gahn, who on July 31st had entered Norway, making an attempt on August 2nd to force a strong position, was driven back with some loss; and on the following day found the enemy, who had taken a circuitous rout in his rear with a superior force. An obstinate and sanguinary action ensued, in which the Swedes made good their retreat with the loss of a gun, 20 baggage-waggons, and a considerable number of men killed, wounded, and prisoners. Admiral Pike, having on the 2nd of August received orders from the crown prince to attack Krajero, three bodies of troops were landed upon the island, supported by gun-boats and armed vessels. The Norwegians retreated, and a battery surrendered after a cannonade. Frederickstadt was summoned; and, on refusal, was attacked by the gun-boats and bomb-vessels. On the 4th, this fortress desired to capitulate, and the conditions being settled, the Swedish troops entered it and Kongstein in the evening. The garrison, of 1500 or 2000 men, were not made prisoners of war; but having signified their submission to the king of Sweden, were permitted to return home. Frederickstadt commands the passage of the Glommen, and is regarded as the key of Christiana.

A BULLETIN, dated August 11th, from the Swedish head-quarters, mentions other successes on their side, and that they were masters of the left bank of the Glommen from lake Ocjorn to Frederickstadt. It charges the Danish officers with being the cause of keeping up the hostility of the Norwegians, who, nevertheless, are said to desert the army in numbers, and that the inhabitants of the towns and villages came in crowds to take the oath of allegiance. This unequal contest was now rapidly drawing to a conclusion. The next Swedish bulletin mentioned that general Aldereutz had forced the strong position of the Norwegians at Isebro on the 10th; and on the 11th, the abandoned port and batteries of Sleswig had been taken possession of; and that general Vegesac had defeated, with great loss, the enemy, who had 6000 men and 10 pieces of cannon. On the 12th, preparations were made for passing the Glommen; and on the next day the bombardment of Frederickstein was commenced. The passage of Kojolberg was forced after a brave resistance, and the crown prince made dispositions for surrounding, with a very superior force, the army of prince Christian, posted near Moss. Further resistance would now have been mere desperation and an useless sacrifice of lives. Christian made proposals, which the crown prince accepted. He resigned the government, and gave orders for the surrender of Frederickstein; and that famous fortress of Frederickshall, before which Charles XII. lost his life, just as orders were about to be given for planting the scaling ladders. A convention was signed on August 14th, at Moss, between the crown prince, in the name of the king of Sweden, and the Norwegian government, of which the following are the articles. 1st, Prince Christian shall, as soon as possible, convoke the states-general of Norway according to the mode prescribed by the existing constitution. 2nd, The king of Sweden shall communicate with the diet by his commissioners. 3rd, The king promises to accept the constitution formed by the diet of Eswold, with no other changes than are necessary to the union of the two kingdoms, and will make no further alterations but in concert with the diet. 4th, The promises of the king and prince royal to the Norwegians shall be strictly fulfilled. 5th, The diet shall assemble at Christiania. 6th, Amnesty is declared for all past expression of opinions, and good treatment is promised to all Norwegian civil and military functionaries. 7th, The king of Sweden engages his good offices with the king of Denmark to obtain a revocation of all ordinances promulgated since January 14th, 1814, against the public functionaries and the kingdom of Norway. A convention was at the same time concluded between the Swedish and the Norwegian troops, by which were declared a cessation of hostilities, and the raising of the blockade of the Norwegian

ports, with various regulations as to the disbanding the Norwegian national troops, four regular regiments excepted. It also mentioned the number of the Swedish troops to remain in the kingdom, the line of demarkation, &c. with a particular stipulation that, in order to secure the freedom of deliberation in the diet, no troops of either country should approach within three miles (Swedish) of the place of its sitting. This convention was ratified by the Danish and Swedish princes. Prince Christian, on August 16th, issued a proclamation to the Norwegians, in which he informed them of the steps which brought on the war, of the circumstances attending the Swedish invasion, and of the events which had rendered necessary the acceptance of the conditions proposed in the armistice and convention. He farther mentioned having, by a rescript, summoned an extraordinary diet to meet at Christiania on the 7th of October next; and concluded with assuring them, that nothing but imperious necessity could have induced him to act as he had done, and that their welfare had always been the object which he pursued. Although it was evident that the Danish prince had not given up the cause of Norwegian independence until its maintenance was placed beyond all human probability, there was still the remnant of a part which, in the disappointment of their eager hopes, regarded the termination of the contest as the result of perfidy. Some persons, who in the Swedish account, are qualified "as professing the principles of jacobinism," excited on the 19th, a popular tumult in Christiania, in which the house of general Haxthausen, the friend and confident of prince Christian, was attacked, and its windows and furniture destroyed. The general being at that time at his country house, the mob pursued him thither, and his life was only saved by the speedy arrival of a body of Norwegian cavalry. The crown prince, informed of this occurrence, intimated to the council of state at Christiania, that if they did not possess sufficient authority to preserve the public tranquillity, he should be obliged to order his troops to pass the line of demarkation, in order to protect the peaceable inhabitants of the capital. Haxthausen, it appears, was charged with having suffered the Norwegian army to be three days without provisions. Among the circumstances preceding the convention of Moss, it is mentioned that the commandant of Frederickstadt gave up his fortress without a shot; that two generals behaved so ill that they were cashiered; but that the commandant of Frederickstein, general Ohme, had declared that he would defend himself to the last extremity; and that colonel Kreds had assembled about 10,000 peasants near Kongswinger with the intention of falling upon the rear of the Swedish army. But this would have been a fruitless attempt against such regular troops as the Swedes, and such a general as the crown prince. Further, if the war had been protracted by drawing it to the northern parts of the kingdom, the blockade of the ports would have involved those sterile regions in the miseries of famine. The mercantile part of the nation deserted the cause of independence as soon as they found that England had declared against it.

The diet of Norway having assembled, prince Christian, whose health and spirits had been affected by the mortifications he had undergone, sent his resignation; and the next day set out for Lauwig, accompanied by general Haxthausen, and several others of the late ruling members who would not quit him. Although a British sloop of war was waiting to convey him wherever he pleased, he refused the offer, and meant to embark in a Danish cutter. He declared that he would not go to Copenhagen, but would be landed at Sanderbery in the Rett; and thus terminated his short lived royalty, the assumption of which, whether dictated by patriotism or ambition, was an indication rather of spirit than of political wisdom.

On October 20th, the Norwegian diet, by a majority of 47 voices to 5, came to the following resolution. "Norway shall, as an integral state, be united to Sweden under one king, with the preservation of its constitution, subject to such necessary alterations as the welfare of the country may require; having at the same time regard to the union with Sweden. These alterations, which his Swedish majesty has recognized in the convention of Moss, are to be considered and determined on by the diet as speedily as possible; and as soon as this has been done, the diet will solemnly elect

and acknowledge the king of Sweden, his majesty Charles XIII, as the constitutional king of Norway." This resolution was made public in a proclamation of the representatives of Norway to their countrymen. The election of the king by the diet took place with entire unanimity, on November 10th; and seven of its members were deputed to convey the intelligence of this event to the crown prince of Sweden. His royal highness, accompanied by his son prince Oscar, set out from Frederickshall for Christiania on the 8th, and on the 10th repaired in state to the hall of the diet. He delivered a speech, which was repeated in the Swedish language by prince Oscar; after which the assembly took the oath of fidelity to the king, and his royal highness delivered to the president his majesty's promise of governing according to the national laws. On the following day, field-marshal count d'Essen was invested with the dignity of stadtholder of the kingdom of Norway.

On the 13th, a solemn Te deum was celebrated in the cathedral church of Christiania, and an eloquent discourse composed for the occasion was delivered by the bishop of Aggerhaus. Thus the great national act was completed, in a manner which at least bore every semblance of being free and voluntary.

The diet was closed on the 26th with a speech from the crown prince; the following paragraph of which affords an intimation of what may have occurred in the discussions on the constitution: "if, in passing rapidly from an absolute government, to one founded on the laws, the wishes which you have sometimes expressed have been mixed with fears and disquietudes, they must be ascribed to the recollection of times and of relations which no longer exist. You were animated with the zeal of defending the rights of the people; the king was desirous of recognizing them, and he was induced so to do, as much by his particular sentiments, as the free constitution of Sweden."

The events which took place in Hanover, terminated in the addition of a new regal title to the British crown. It had been determined in the councils of the allied powers, that the states of Germany should remain independent, and join in a federal union. In consequence, several of the powers concurring in the invasion of France, invited the prince regent to renounce that title, and in its stead assume that of king, which would facilitate the arrangements of the confederate powers. All the foreign plenipotentiaries recognized the new dignity of the British sovereign; and a proclamation was issued, announcing the change to the Hanoverian people.

The restoration of Ferdinand to Spain, conduced but little to the happiness of the people, or to the cause of freedom. He had scarcely arrived in his capital, (May 14th) than he enforced the menaces held out in a previous proclamation, in which he had denounced as guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours, the most eminent patriots, and most virtuous members of the Cortes. That respectable body was immediately dissolved, and its members treated with cruelty and insult. Many individuals, who had shed their blood and expended their fortunes in the cause of Ferdinand, were sentenced in return for their misplaced attachment, to exile or a prison. The inquisition was re-established, and the pope's Nuncio, an individual warmly attached to the cause of Napoleon, was recalled to court with every indication of respect: a circumstance highly flattering to the pride of Pius VII, who had already resumed the pontifical chair, established the antient government of Rome, and restored the order of the jesuits.

The king of Sardinia was restored to his dominions, and Genoa, which was occupied by British troops under the command of lord W. Bentinck, after remaining some time beneath the authority of a provisional government, was ceded to Sardinia as an addition to her former territory. All the other districts in the north of Italy, became a constituent part of the Austrian empire; and the antient republic of Venice was annexed to her dominions. A treaty was concluded between that power and the king of Naples, who meditated an invasion of the papal states. King Ferdinand was restored to the throne of Sicily, and announced his accession in a proclamation from Palermo. Such were the arrangements of the united congress from which so much was expected, and which so little was performed. So incautious indeed, and so little suspicious of any sinister event, were the princes, counsellors, and ambassadors, assembled at Vienna, that

that the later months of the year were expended in a series of amusements and festivities. The allied monarchs appeared to forget, in the intoxication of the moment, their own professions and the interests of Europe. It was destined that from this state of apathy and selfish indifference, a dreadful and unexpected event should recal them to reason and to justice: should impress them with a sense of mutual danger, and reanimate their exertions in the cause of European independence.

CHAPTER LXIX.

GEORGE III.

[1814.]

American War—Plans of the British Government.—General Wilkinson's retreat from Lower Canada—Conciliatory measures—Failure of Sandy Creek—Affairs of Erie and Chippawa—Operations in Passammaquoddy—Bay and the Chesapeake—Capture of Washington—Expedition against Alexandria—Death of Sir Peter Parker at Bellair—Attempt on Baltimore—Death of General Ross—Sir George Prevost proceeds against Plattsburg—Defeat of the British Flotilla on Lake Champlain—British Expedition to Florida—Treaty of Peace signed at Ghent—Capture of the American ship President by the English frigate the Endymion—Defeat of the English, and death of Sir Edward Pakenham before New Orleans.

As soon as Europe had been restored to peace by the dethronement of Buonaparte, the British government resolved to prosecute the American war, with a great accession of means and vigour. Two distinct modes of conducting hostilities were intended: an invasion of the coasts of the United States, and (after the protection of Canada had been secured,) the conquest of so much of the adjoining territory, as might in the event of a future war, effectually guard that province from intrusion. It was expected also that when the intelligence of the downfall of Buonaparte reached America, Mr. Madison would feel the necessity of making peace; or would become unpopular by persevering in hostilities, and be compelled to resign. These expectations were fallacious. The successes of the allies in France, were not credited by the people of America; and when they were established beyond all doubt, a majority of the nation lamented the intelligence, and glowed with tenfold impatience to humble the pride of a great, victorious, and envied rival.

In the midst of all their defeats by land, and of the dismay produced by the intelligence from Europe, the Americans were still successful by sea; and their good fortune on this element, not only inspired them with the hope that they should become in the lapse of time the masters of the ocean, but cast a gloom over Britain even while she was hailed by the rest of Europe, as having powerfully aided in restoring to the continent the blessings of independence and tranquillity. 1814.

On the morning of the 21st of June, in latitude 48, longitude 11, the Reindeer sloop of war, commanded by captain Manners,

perceived an enemy to the leeward, and instantly gave chase. About three o'clock, the ships were close together, when the action commenced, and was kept up with the most determined spirit for twenty-five minutes. At the end of this time, the captain of the Reindeer, the purser, and 27 men, were killed, and 40 wounded, among whom were all the officers. After making several unsuccessful attempts to board, she was under the necessity of striking to the enemy, which proved to be the Wasp American sloop of war, commanded by captain Blakely. The disproportion between the two ships in size, was very considerable. The Wasp was of the burden of nearly 800 tons, mounting 20 32-pounder carronades, besides two long 12-pounders, and having on board 175 men; while the Reindeer was little more than 380 tons, mounting only 16 24-pounder carronades, besides two long 12-pounders, with two long sixes, and had only 98 men and 20 boys. Captain Manners fought his vessel against his very superior enemy, in the most gallant manner, but lost his life in attempting to board after receiving fourteen wounds. The loss of the Wasp in men, and in wear and tear, was fully equal to that of the Reindeer. Some consolation for this and similar misfortunes, in which skill and intrepidity were equally unavailing, was derived from the capture of the Essex, under captain Porter, by the Phœbe, captain Hillyear. The Essex, mistaking the strength of her enemy, left the port of Valpairdiso, situated on the eastern coast of South America, on the 28th of March. She was pursued by the Phœbe and the Cherub, and attempted to gain the weather-gage, but failed in the attempt, and lost her main top-mast. On this she attempted to regain the port she had quitted, but was obliged to relinquish that intention, and to anchor near the shore. Observing that the Phœbe was preparing to anchor within cannon-shot, the American captain cut the cable of the Essex, and a serious conflict ensued, which continued for three hours, when the Essex struck her colours. Captain Porter, however, tarnished the fame acquired in consequence of his brave and spirited resistance, by conniving at the escape of some of his men, after the ship had surrendered.

Nor were the operations on land less indicative of mutual hatred and hostility, than the conflicts of the rival powers on the ocean. In the early part of February, the American army, under general Wilkinson, continued to occupy its position on the frontier of Lower Canada, at the French mills on the Salmon river; but between the 12th and 16th of that month, the troops abandoned this station, after partially burning their blockhouses and barracks, which had been erected at vast expence, and destroying their river craft and batteaux. They carried away their ordnance, and the greater part of their military stores. Two regiments proceeded to Sacket's harbour, and the remainder to Burlington and Plattsburg, where general Wilkinson took up his head-quarters. The reason for this movement is stated to have been the enormous expence incurred in supplying troops at such a distance with provisions, and their daily decrease by sickness and desertion. As soon as their retreat was made known to sir George Prevost, he detached a party to press upon their rear-guard, which took possession of a quantity of provisions and stores, and completed the destruction of their blockhouses, barracks, and boats. The American general remained quiet in his new position till march 30th, when, collecting a large force from Plattsburg and Burlington, he attacked, at an early hour, the outposts of the communication leading from Odell town to Burtonville and La Cole mill, the chief attack being directed on the latter post, which was under the command of major Hancock. The enemy brought a battery to bear upon it, which occasioned two attempts to take the guns, but both were unsuccessful. The resistance by the British commander, however, was so judicious and spirited, that after the enemy had persevered in the attack till night fall, he withdrew his guns and retreated, without attaining his object, after sustaining severe loss. That of the defenders, British and Canadian, amounted in killed, wounded, and missing, to 61.

An expedition under the command of general Drummond and commodore sir James Yeo, against the American fort Oswego, on lake Ontario, was undertaken in the beginning of May. After a reconnoisance of the defences of the place on the 5th of the month, the attack was made on the 6th, by a select detachment of troops, and the

squadron of armed vessels on the lake. The landing of the troops was effected under a heavy fire from the fort, and the enemy posted on the brow of a hill, and in the woods; but nothing could retard the advance of the assailants, who gained possession of the fort in ten minutes. The whole of the garrison made their escape except about 60 men, half of whom were severely wounded. There were taken seven heavy guns intended for a large ship of the Americans newly launched on the lake; and other guns, cordage, and naval stores, were sunk by themselves in the river. After the barracks in the town and fort had been burnt, and all the damage done to the works that was practicable, the troops were re-embarked, bringing away a quantity of stores. The principal advantage aimed at by this expedition, appears to have been, preventing the completion of the enemy's armament on the lake, and especially the equipment of their new ship, which was calculated to carry 64 guns.

A LARGE American force under major-general Brown, computed in the British accounts at 6000 men, crossed the Niagara river on July 3rd, and advanced into Canada, having driven in the picquets of fort Erie, and summoned the garrison, which, to the number of 170, surrendered prisoners of war. They then proceeded towards the British lines of Chippawa, their attack upon which was anticipated by the sortie of major-general Riall, at the head of about 1500 regular troops, besides militia and Indians. This commander made his dispositions in the afternoon of the 5th, for attacking the invaders, who had taken a position with their right on the Niagara, strongly supported by artillery; and their left on a wood, with a body of Indians and riflemen in front. In the action which ensued, after the American light troops had been dislodged, the king's regiment was moved to the right, whilst the royal Scots and 100th regiment were ordered to charge the enemy in front. They advanced with great gallantry through a destructive fire, from which they suffered so severely, (the commanders of each regiment, lieutenant-colonel Gordon, and lieutenant-colonel the marquis of Tweedale, being both wounded,) that it was found necessary to withdraw them, and commence a retreat towards Chippawa, which was effected in good order, and without further loss. That already incurred was however serious, amounting in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to about a third of the troops engaged. The loss of the Americans was also considerable.

THE operation of the British armaments on the coast of the southern American states, had hitherto been on a small scale, and calculated rather to alarm and irritate, than to produce any considerable effects; but in this year the resolution was taken of striking some important blow in these quarters. A large naval force was employed under the chief command of vice admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board a powerful land force, commanded by major-general Ross. In the beginning of August, admiral Cochrane was waiting in the Chesapeake for the arrival of rear-admiral Malcolm, with an expedition from Bermuda. Being joined by him on the 17th, the admiral was informed by rear-admiral Cockburne, whom he found in the Potowmac, that the American commodore Barney, with the Baltimore flotilla, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent. This circumstance afforded a pretext for ascending that river to attack him, while the ultimate destination of the combined land and naval force was the American capital, Washington. To this city the best approaches are by port Tobacco on the Potowmac, and Benedict on the Patuxent, from both of which are good roads to Washington, and the distances are nearly equal. It being determined to enter the Patuxent, the admiral sent a force to bombard fort Washington, situated ten or twelve miles below the city; and a man of war, with some small vessels, were sent up the Chesapeake above Baltimore, by way of diversion. The army being landed on August 19th and 20th, at Benedict, general Ross marched to Nottingham on the 21st, and to Upper Marlborough on the 22nd. Admiral Cockburne, in the mean time, with the barges, armed launches, and other boats of the fleet, having the marines on board, proceeding up the Patuxent, on the flank of the army. When they approached the station of commodore Barney with his flotilla, that officer did not wait an attack, but set fire to his vessels, all of which, to the number of 17, were blown to pieces, except one, which was captured. The expedition was now within sixteen miles of

Washington ; and the force of the Americans being ascertained to be only such as would authorize an attempt to carry the capital, general Ross determined in making it. He put his troops in motion on the evening of the 23rd and on the 24th reached Bladensburg, on the eastern bank of the Potowmac, about five miles from Washington.

The enemy was now discovered on the opposite side of the river, strongly posted on two commanding heights, formed in two lines, his advance occupying a fortified house, which, with artillery, covered the bridge over which the British troops were to pass. They were in number, 8000 or 9000 men, with 300 or 400 cavalry, commanded by general Winder, and composed of troops drawn from Baltimore and Pennsylvania. The disposition for an attack being made, the British light brigade soon carried the fortified house, the enemy retiring to the higher ground. The assailants rushed on, and, with an irresistible charge, drove the first line upon the second, which also got into disorder, and fled with rapidity, leaving the British in full possession of the field. Of the American artillery, 10 pieces fell into the victors' hands, its commander, commodore Barney, being wounded, and taken prisoner. The British loss in this action did not exceed 250 in killed and wounded.

After a short halt, general Ross marched to Washington, which he reached at eight o'clock in the evening, and he immediately began the destruction of the public buildings. Those committed to the flames were the *capitol*, including the senate house and house of representation, the arsenal, the dock-yard, treasury, war-office, president's palace, rope walk, and the great bridge across the Potowmac ; in the dock-yard were consumed a frigate nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop of war. The object of the expedition being effected, it was determined to withdraw the troops before any greater force of the enemy could be assembled ; and a retreat was accordingly commenced on the night of the 25th. The army reached Benedict on the 29th, and re-embarked on the following day, having met with no molestation on their return ; and nothing could be more complete than the success of this daring enterprize, the credit of suggesting which is given by the general to admiral Cockburne.

By the capture of Washington, the American government not only sustained a severe loss in property, but incurred much reproach from the nation, especially from the party adverse to the war, as having been the occasion of a disgrace, which it had taken no effectual measures to prevent. A vulnerable part of the republic was now exposed, and men's minds were impressed with a sense of imminent danger, where before it had been regarded only as a remote possibility. On the other hand, it cannot be concealed, that, the extent of devastation practised by the victors, brought a heavy censure upon the British character, not only in America, but on the continent of Europe. It is acknowledged, that strict discipline was observed while the troops were in possession of Washington, and private property was anxiously protected ; but the destruction not only of every establishment connected with war, but of edifices consecrated to the purposes of civil government, and affording specimens of the advance of the fine arts among a rising people, was thought an indulgence of animosity more suitable to the times of barbarism, than to an age and nation in which hostility is softened by sentiments of generosity and civilized policy.

If there be such a thing as humanized war, its principle must consist in inflicting no other evils upon an enemy than are necessary to promote the success of warlike operations. This indeed may be construed so as to admit of a wide scope of mischief ; and it will sometimes scarcely be possible to draw the line between allowable and illicit injury. But there are cases in which no ambiguity exists, and those of the destruction of useful or ornamental works, the purpose of which is altogether pacific, seem to be of this kind. History presents many instances of the hostile conflagration of palaces, which have seldom failed to be reprobated as acts of unmanly vengeance. Retaliation, indeed, has usually been the pretext for hostilities exceeding the prescribed measure ; and in the present case, the excesses committed by the Americans in their invasion of Canada, have been made the apology for the devastation of Washington. But it has appeared in the preceding narrative, that due retribution had already been inflicted for those enormities, with the promise that the punishment should not be

carried farther without fresh provocation. If the matter be considered in a simply political light, it can scarcely be thought desirable that unnecessary severities should be practised, which must leave a deep and durable resentment in the bosoms of a people, with whom a restoration of the relations of peace and amity is so much to be wished. Such reflections as these will naturally occur to every one, who has at heart the honor and moral reputation of his country, as well as its character for military prowess.

It has been mentioned that a part of the operations against Washington, consisted in dispatching a force against fort Washington, situated upon the Potowmac below that city. Captain Gordon of the Sea Horse, the commander of this expedition, proceeded with several other vessels up the Potowmac on August 17th; but for want of pilots was not able, after severe labour, to reach the fort till the 27th. On the evening of that day he began the bombardment of the place, the effect of which was such, that after the explosion of a powder magazine, the garrison evacuated it, and possession was taken of the fort and batteries at day-light on the 28th. A number of pieces of heavy ordnance were found spiked in the works, the destruction of which, with their carriages, was completed by the captors. The populous and commercial town of Alexandria, situated higher on the same river, thus lost its sole protection; and captain Gordon having no obstacle to his advance against it, buoyed the channel, and placed his shipping in such a position as to enforce compliance with the terms which he had resolved to insist upon. The common council of Alexandria in the meantime having assembled, unanimously concurred in a resolution, stating, that the forts for the defence of the district having been blown up by their own men, and abandoned without resistance, and the town being left without troops or means of resistance to the hostile force now in sight, they have with reluctance been compelled to authorise an arrangement with the enemy, by which it has been stipulated, that during their continuance before the town they are not to be molested. The conditions proposed by captain Gordon, and acceded to by the corporation of Alexandria, imported that the town, with the exception of public works, should not be destroyed, nor the inhabitants in any manner molested, on compliance with the following articles:—that all naval and ordnance stores, public and private, be given up; that possession is immediately to be taken of all the shipping, the furniture of which must be sent on board by their owners; that the sunk vessels are to be delivered in the state they were in on the 19th; and that merchandise of every description must be instantly delivered up, including all such as has been removed from the town since the 19th; and that refreshments are to be supplied to the British squadron at the market price. This capitulation was signed on the 29th, and the whole of the captured vessels which were sea-worthy, being 21 in number, were fitted and loaded by the 21st. Captain Gordon being now informed that great preparations were making by the Americans to oppose his return, determined to quit Alexandria, without waiting to destroy the remaining stores which he had not the means of bringing away. Contrary winds impeded the progress of the squadron down the river, and the grounding of one of the ships afforded the enemy an opportunity of attempting its destruction, and raising batteries to command the channel. The skill and gallantry of the different commanders, however, enabled captain Gordon to bring back in safety all his ships and prizes; and he was at anchor in the Chesapeake on September 9th.

We have next to notice an attack upon a body of American militia posted at Bellair, by sir Peter Parker, captain of his majesty's ship Menelaus, lying in the Chesapeake. From information received of their number and position, sir Peter landed about 120 men on the night of August 30th; and marching at their head up the country, found the enemy drawn up in line before their camp in the midst of woods, and in much greater force than had been represented. He did not, however, hesitate to attack, but as he was animating his men, he received a mortal wound. The other officers gallantly continued the combat, and forced the enemy to a full retreat; but the inequality of their numbers rendered it expedient to fall back to the beach, carrying with them their wounded.

Besides the death of their brave commander, the assailing party incurred a loss of 41 killed and wounded.

The approach of the equinox rendered it unsafe for the British fleet to proceed immediately to sea out of the Chesapeake, and act according to a concerted plan of further operations; it was agreed between admiral Cochrane and general Ross, to employ the intermediate time in an attempt upon the important maritime town of Baltimore, which had been thrown into the utmost alarm by the fate of the neighbouring capital. The admiral accordingly sailed up the bay, and on September 11th, anchored off the mouth of the Patapsco river, on the north side of which, round a kind of bason, Baltimore is situated. On the following day the troops were disembarked at the distance of about 13 miles from the town; the approach to which is through a peninsula, formed by the Patapsco and Black rivers. An entrenchment extended across this neck of land, which the Americans were diligently employed in completing, when they precipitately abandoned the work on the approach of the British forces. Two miles beyond this port the advance of the British were engaged with the enemy's riflemen, covered by the surrounding woods; and at this spot general Ross received a mortal wound in his breast. He immediately sent for the second in command, colonel Brooke, and after giving him his instructions, and recommending his young family to the protection of his country, exclaiming, "My dear wife!" he dropt senseless. "Thus (says colonel Brooke) fell, at an early age, one of the brightest ornaments of his profession; one who, either at the head of a regiment, a brigade, or corps, had alike displayed the talents of command; who was not less beloved in his private, than enthusiastically admired in his public character; and whose only fault, if it may be deemed so, was an excess of gallantry, enterprize, and devotion to the service." A tribute not less warm and affectionate is paid to his memory in the dispatch of the naval commander.

The van of the British continued to press forward, pushing before it the enemy's light troops to within five miles from Baltimore; where a corps of about 6000 men, with cavalry and six pieces of artillery, was descried posted under cover of a wood, and in dense order lining a paling which crossed the main road. Dispositions were immediately made by colonel Brooke for a general attack, which began by the light brigade driving the enemy's skirmishers upon his main body with great loss. The rest of the troops pressing on with rapidity, in less than fifteen minutes the Americans were entirely broken and dispersed; leaving on the field two pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. The day being now far advanced, the fatigued troops halted for the night on the ground on which the enemy had been posted; and the commander received a communication from admiral Cochrane, stating that the frigates, bomb vessels, and flotilla of the fleet would take their proposed stations on the following morning. At day break on the 13th, the army advanced; and at ten o'clock occupied a position a mile and a half to the eastward of Baltimore. This town is completely surrounded by detached hills, on which were constructed a chain of pallisaded redoubts connected by a small breast work. These works were defended, according to the best information, by about 15,000 men, with a large train of artillery. Relying, however, on the quality of his soldiers, the British commander had planned a nocturnal attack, in which the superiority of the enemy's artillery would have been less felt; but on the evening of that day a message from the admiral informed him that the entrance to the harbour was closed in such a manner by a barrier of sunken vessels, defended by gunboats and fortifications, that a nearer approach of the ships was impracticable. It was in consequence agreed by both commanders, that the chance of capturing the town was not an equivalent for the probable loss which would be incurred by storming the heights. The colonel therefore moved back three miles from the position which he had occupied, where he halted to see whether the enemy would be induced to quit his entrenchments and follow him. No demonstration of that kind being made, the army, on the 15th, was moved down to the place of re-embarkation, carrying with it 200 prisoners, many of them belonging to the

best families in Baltimore. The general alarm and confusion excited by this attempt, the necessity to the enemy of sinking a number of vessels, and burning a rope walk and other public buildings, and the rout to which he had been put in a general action, were farther consolations for the failure of an enterprize conducted with the characteristic spirit and activity of the British troops. The heaviest loss sustained was that of the lamented general. The killed and wounded in the action of the 12th, did not amount to 300.

Military operations were in the mean time carrying on with various fortune in the vicinity of the Canadian lakes, and on the northern border of the American territory. On August 12th, captain Dobbs made a gallant attack with his boats on three schooners which were anchored close to fort Erie, for the purpose of flanking the approaches to that fortress, two of which he carried sword in hand; the other escaped by cutting its cables. This success induced general Drummond to make an attempt on the fort, against which he opened a battery on the 13th. Its effect on the enemy's works was such that an assault was resolved upon, which took place two hours before daylight on the 15th, at two different points. Both unfortunately failed. In the principal attack, after the assailants had made a lodgement in the fort through the embrazures of the demi-bastion, and turned the guns against the enemy, some ammunition took fire, and caused a tremendous explosion, by which almost all the men who had entered the place were dreadfully mangled; and a panic being communicated to the rest, the attack was abandoned, and the whole retreated to the battery. The loss on this occasion was very serious, amounting in killed, wounded, and missing, officers and men, to 962.

An expedition up the Penobscot river was undertaken in the month of September, for the purpose of reducing the inhabitants of this part of the province of Maine under the British dominion. A combined sea and land force, under rear-admiral Griffith and lieutenant-general sir J. C. Sherbrooke, sailed from Halifax for this destination, and on September 1st, reached the fort of Castine, situated upon the peninsula on the eastern side of the Penobscot. The fort was summoned; and on the refusal of the American officer to surrender, arrangements were made for disembarking the troops; before, however, this could be done, the place was evacuated, after blowing up the magazine; and the militia, who were assembled for its defence, dispersed immediately upon their landing. An American frigate, the John Adams, having run up the river for safety as high as the town of Hamden, where she had landed her guns and mounted them on shore by way of defence; it was next determined to send a party in order to capture or destroy her. A naval force was appointed for this expedition under the command of captain Barrie, supported by a detachment of artillery and troops commanded by lieutenant-colonel John; and for their protection against any collection of the armed population, a regiment was sent to occupy the town of Belfast. The expedition proceeding up the river, landed at a cove three miles from Hamden, and on the morning of the 3rd, attacked the enemy, who, computed at double their number, were posted in front of the town on a height, strengthened with artillery on the flanks. After a short contest, the enemy's strong position was forced, and the frigate was set on fire by themselves, the batteries for its defence being deserted. The expedition pushed forwards to the town of Bangor, which was surrendered without resistance; and a brigadier-general, with a number of others, delivered themselves up as prisoners, and were admitted to parole. Twenty-two pieces of cannon were taken in these actions, in which the loss was very trifling. After this success on the Penobscot, the only remaining fortified post of the Americans between that river and Passamquoddy bay being that of Niachias, lieutenant-colonel Pilkington was sent to reduce it, assisted by a naval force under captain Hyde Parker. This was effected without any loss, on September 11th, and a capitulation was entered into, by which the whole brigade of the country of Washington engaged not to bear arms against his Britannic majesty during the present war. On their return to Halifax, general Sherbrooke and admiral Griffith issued a proclamation, declaring that they had taken formal possession, for his majesty, of all the eastern side of the Penobscot river, and all the country lying between it and the boundary line of New Brunswick, including all the

islands near and contiguous to the shores thereof, and establishing a provisional government for the same.

In correspondence with the vigorous measures adopted at this period for the prosecution of the war in other parts of the United States, the governor-general of Canada, sir G. Prevost, assembled all the disposable force in the lower province of that country, and on September 1st, entered the state of New York, and occupied the village of Champlain, near the lake of that name. His force was estimated at 14,000 or 15,000 men, among whom were a number of veterans, who had served in lord Wellington's army; and the commander and appointments were such as to give sanguine hopes of success. His first operations were directed against Plattsburgh, a fortified place on lake Champlain, which was garrisoned by the American brigadier-general Macomb, with about 1500 effective men of different descriptions. The British army advanced by slow marches, gallantly surmounting every obstacle thrown in its way by the enemy, and on the 6th had arrived within a mile of Plattsburgh. The following days were occupied in bringing up the battering train, and making approaches; and it was planned that the attacks should be supported by the co-operation of the British naval force on lake Champlain, consisting of a frigate, a brig, two sloops of war, and some gun-boats, under the command of captain Downie. On the morning of the 11th, this flotilla appeared in sight of Plattsburgh, and, bearing down, engaged at anchor in the bay off the town; at the same time the land batteries were opened against the fort, and threw in a continued shower of balls and bombs. The British flotilla was opposed by the American commodore M'Donough, with a force nearly equal, and the conflict was fierce and bloody. Captain Downie was unfortunately killed at the very beginning of the engagement; and the rudder of his ship being disabled, and the brig commanded by captain Pring, becoming quite unmanageable, both vessels were left almost at the mercy of the enemy. The result, after an action of two hours, was the capture of the frigate, the brig, and the two sloops, after a loss of 34 killed, and 110 wounded. Captain Downie and two lieutenants being among the former. The Americans lost 49 killed, among whom were two officers, and 57 wounded. The firing from the land against the fort, continued till sun-set; and attempts were made by the parties to advance to an assault of the works, but were foiled. The destruction of the naval force having now put an end to all hopes of success, it was thought necessary by the British general to abandon the enterprise. The cannon were withdrawn from the batteries, and at two o'clock the next morning the whole army began its retreat, leaving the sick and wounded to the humanity of the foe. Great quantities of provision were likewise left behind and destroyed; and the American accounts speak of finding on the ground, or concealed, a large quantity of shot, shells, ammunition, entrenching tools, &c. The estimate of loss of every kind, sustained by the British troops, as made by the Americans, rises very high; but the return sent by sir G. Prevost, of the loss in action of general de Rotterburg's division, from the 6th to the 14th of September, does not amount to 250. Deserters, who were probably numerous, are not included. The Americans being now collected from all the circumjacent country, the British drew back to their lines, and every idea of penetrating into the territories of the United States was relinquished. Such a conclusion of an expedition from which so much had been expected, naturally excited dissatisfaction; and the letters from Canada were filled with severe censures of the governor-general; but it is affirmed that he fully justified his conduct to the persons in power.

An action before fort Erie terminated more favourably for the British arms. On September 17th, the Americans stationed in that fort, joined by volunteers from the militia, made a sortie with their whole force, estimated at 5000 men, upon an intrenched position of major-general de Watteville, occupied by the 8th, and de Watteville's regiments. Under cover of a heavy fire from fort Erie, and favoured by the weather, they succeeded in turning the right of the picquets without being perceived; and attacking the picquets and their supporters, whilst another column attacked in front, they gained possession of two of the batteries. As soon, however, as the alarm was given, troops were assembled to oppose the enemy, by whose steadiness and bravery they were finally repulsed, the

batteries and entrenchments were recovered, and the assailants were compelled to retire with precipitation to their works, leaving two hundred prisoners, and wounded. The loss of the British in this affair was, however, very serious, consisting of about 600 killed, wounded, and missing.

While these warlike operations were going on beyond the Atlantic, the commissioners of the two contending powers were actively engaged in Europe in negociations for the restoration of peace. It has already been mentioned, that after a proposal on the part of the Americans to treat under the mediation of Russia had been declined by the British government, it was mutually agreed upon, that Gottenburg should be the place for holding the conferences. Circumstances afterwards produced a change in favour of Ghent; at which city the British commissioners, lord Gambier, Henry Goulbourn, esq. and William Adams, esq. arrived August 6th; the American commissioners, Messrs. J. Quincey Adams, J. A. Bayard, H. Clay, and Jonathan Russel being there already. The proceedings of this negociation were laid before the American congress by the president, on October 10th.

On November 5th, the American garrison evacuated fort Erie, having first blown up the works, and completely demolished the place, and retreated to their own shores. Military operations were at an end in this quarter.

A British expedition was undertaken in the autumn in the gulf of Mexico, of which we have only some imperfect accounts through the medium of the American papers. From these it appears that lieutenant-colonel Nicholls, styling himself commandant of his Britannic majesty's forces in the Floridas, issued a proclamation to the people of Louisiania, dated Pensacola, August 29th, in which he stated himself to be at the head of a large army of Indians, disciplined and commanded by British officers, and seconded by the aid of a numerous British and Spanish squadron of ships of war; and called upon all the settlers in that province to contribute their aid in abolishing the American usurpation. He also addressed a letter to monsieur La Fete, or Fitte, a Frenchman, the captain of a band of outlaws or pirates, as they are termed in an American paper, who had posted themselves in an island called Barataria, in an arm of the sea running up towards the Mississippi below New Orleans; in which he acquainted La Fete with his arrival, and made him large offers for his assistance. We have no further direct information of the proceedings of lieutenant-colonel Nicholls; but a letter from major-general Jackson to the American secretary at war, dated Mobile, September 17th, communicates an official report from major W. Lawrence of his success in repulsing an attack by a British land and naval force upon fort Bowger, on the point of Mobile, on the 15th. From this relation it appears that the British expedition bore down at noon on that day directly for the fort, when an American battery opened on the foremost ships, and the action became general. It continued till seven, at which time the leading ship was so much disabled, her cable being cut by the shot, that she drifted on shore within six hundred yards of the battery, where she was exposed to such a tremendous cannonade, that her remaining crew set her on fire and abandoned her; and she blew up at ten o'clock. Another ship and a brig retired, having suffered much injury; and the whole fleet stood out to sea in the night. General Jackson mentions, that he has since discovered that the ship destroyed was the Hermes, of from 24 to 28 guns, captain, the honourable W. H. Percy; and the other ship was the Carron, of the same force, captain Spencer, said to be the son of earl Spencer, the loss on board of which was 85 men killed and wounded. Among the latter is named colonel Nicholls of the marines, doubtless the lieutenant-colonel Nicholls above mentioned. The British land force is said to have been 110 marines, 20 artillerists, and 200 Creek Indians.

In the prospect of an indefinite continuance of the war, with more vigorous exertions on the part of Great Britain, measures were proposed in congress by the American government, for making defensive preparations adequate to the emergence. A letter was laid before the military committee of the house of representatives, from the secretary at war, dated October 17th, introduced by some prefatory observations relative to the nature and importance of the war in which they were engaged. The letter itself contained a report of what was deemed necessary to place the

war establishment on a proper footing; two articles of which were, that the present military establishment, amounting to 62,448 men, should be preserved and rendered complete; and that an additional permanent force of at least 40,000 men should be raised for the defence of the cities and frontiers, under an engagement that such corps should be employed within certain specified limits. For carrying into execution the plan of augmenting the army, a bill was introduced, providing that the white male inhabitants of the United States, between the ages of 18 and 45, should be distributed into classes of 25 in each; every class to furnish one able bodied man to serve during the war; that assessors should determine the territorial precincts of each class, so that the property in each division should be as nearly equal as possible; that in case of failure, a penalty should be levied on each class, to be divided among them in proportion to the property of individuals; and that every five male inhabitants liable to military duty, who should join to furnish one soldier during the war, should be exempt from service.

But events were taking place at Ghent, which rendered it extremely probable that there would be no necessity for carrying into effect the regulations of this bill. On the 8th of August, the British and American commissioners met at this city. The former were lord Gambier, Mr. Goulbourn, and Dr. Adams. The American commissioners were John Quincey Adams, J. A. Bayard, H. Clay, John Russel, and Albert Gallatin. The negociations were very protracted, and at last terminated unexpectedly in a pacific manner. The treaty of peace was signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, ratified immediately by the prince regent, and transmitted without delay to Washington for the ratification of the president. Its conditions are as follows.

1. All discussion of British maritime rights is waved on both sides.

2. Mr. Madison does not insist on England giving up the prizes captured in retaliation of the Berlin and Milan decrees.

3. The Indian allies of England are left as they were found in 1812.

4. England gives up all her conquests, and particularly the province of Maine, of which our commanders had taken permanent possession, by a solemn proclamation, in which an oath of allegiance was demanded from the inhabitants. We retain, however, the islands in Passammaquoddy bay which were ours by the treaty of 1783.

5. Commissioners on both sides are appointed to arrange the communication between Quebec and Upper Canada, and all other disputed questions of territory.

6. The British are allowed the exclusive enjoyment of the right of fishing on our own coasts at Newfoundland, and of trading to our own settlements in the east Indies.

The unavoidable delay between the actual conclusion of the treaty, and the circulation of that important intelligence, enabled the English navy to retrieve for the second time, the honors we had apparently lost. The President was one of the largest frigates yet sent to sea by the United States; and was commanded by captain Decatar, the ablest officer in that service. The President, accompanied by the Macedonian armed brig of 420 tons, laden with provisions, sailed from New York during one of those gales in which the blockading squadron under captain Hayes, was driven out to sea. From the orders which had been issued the track of the two vessels was speedily known; and the next day the English squadron, consisting of the Majestic, captain Hayes; Tenedos, captain Hyde Parker; Endymion, captain Hope; and Pomona, captain Lumley, made all sail in chace. The President made every effort to escape by cutting away the anchors, and throwing overboard every moveable article. The British squadron made equally strenuous exertions to come up with her; but only the Endymion of 40 guns, captain Henry Hope, could overtake her, about five in the evening. The Endymion about half-past five commenced close action, yard-arm and yard-arm. The conflict was continued with great gallantry and spirit on both sides for two hours and a half; when the Endymion's sails being cut from the yards, the enemy got a-head. Captain Hope taking this opportunity to bend new sails to enable him to get his ship a-long-side again, the action ceased till the Pomona bearing up at half-past eleven o'clock and firing a few shots, the enemy hailed, to say that he had already surrendered. The Endymion was inferior in number of men, tonnage, guns, and weight

of metal. After the action, the President had six feet water in her hold. The Endymion had 10 men killed, and 14 wounded. When the President struck, 13 British renegadoes, who had joined her crew, jumped over-board to escape the ignominious death which awaited their desertion, and perished in the waves. The force of the Endymion was 48 guns of all sizes—men 340, tonnage 1377. The force of the President was 59 guns,—crew, 490 men; tonnage, 1600; her killed and wounded at least 100.

It is with reluctance that I turn from this display of naval prowess, to the melancholy result of our military operations on the American continent. On the evening of the 25th of December, major-general sir E. Pakenham, an officer of distinguished merit, who had served in the peninsula, arrived and assumed the command of the army employed on the southern coast of America, before New Orleans. He found the troops in position in a flat country, with the Mississippi on its left, and a thick and extensive wood on its right. The front of the army was open, and it could clearly distinguish the enemy's line. The position of the enemy was as follows. On the left bank of the river it was simply a straight line, with a front of one thousand yards and a parapet; the right resting on the river, and the left on a wood, which had been made impracticable for any body of troops to pass. This line was strengthened with flank-works, and had a canal of four feet deep, but of unequal width. It was supposed to narrow on their left. About eight heavy guns were in position on this line. The Mississippi is here about 800 yards across, and they had on the right bank a heavy battery of 12 guns, which enfiladed the whole front of the position on the left bank.

Preparations were made on our side with very considerable labour to clear out and widen a canal that communicated with a stream by which the boats had passed up to the place of embarkation. By opening it into the Mississippi, the troops could be conveyed to the right bank, and the co operation of armed boats could be secured.

The disposition for the attack was formidable and judicious. A corps consisting of the 85th light infantry, 200 seamen, 400 marines, the 5th West India regiment, and four pieces of artillery, under the command of colonel Thornton, was to pass over during the night, and move along the right bank towards New Orleans, clearing its front until it reached the flanking battery of the enemy on that side, which it had orders to carry.

The assault of the enemy's line in front of the British was to be made by the brigade composed of the 4th, 21st, and 44th regiments, with three companies of the 95th, under major-general Gibbs, and two companies of the fusileers, and the 43rd, under major-general Keane. Some black troops were destined to skirmish in the wood on the right, and the principal attack was to be made by major-general Gibbs. The first brigade, consisting of the fusileers and 43rd, were placed as his reserve. The attacking columns were to be provided with fascines, scaling-ladders, and rafts, before day-light. An advanced battery in our front of six 18-pounders, was thrown up during the night, about 800 yards from the enemy's line. The attack was to be made at the earliest hour. Unexpected difficulties increased by the falling of the river, occasioned considerable delay to the entrance of the armed boats, and of those destined to land colonel Thornton's corps, by which four or five hours were lost; and it was not until past five in the morning that the first division, consisting of 500 men, were over. The arrangement of the general movement was lost by this delay, and in a point of the last importance to the attack on the left bank of the river, although colonel Thornton ably executed his instructions. The loss of time attending that corps, occasioned a similar misfortune on the left bank, and the attack did not take place until the columns were discernible from the enemy's line at more than 200 yards distance. As they advanced, a continued and most galling fire was opened from every part of the American line, and from the battery on the right bank.

The brave commander of the forces, who never in his life could refrain from the post of honour, and sharing the danger to which the troops were exposed, galloped on to the front, to animate them by his presence, and was seen with his hat off, encouraging them on the edge of the glacis. A few seconds only elapsed before he received two wounds on his knee, and another which

was almost instantly fatal, in his body; he fell in the arms of Mr. Mac Dongal, his aide-de-camp. The effect of this in sight of the troops, together with major-general Gibbs and major-general Keane, being both wounded, at the same time, were irreparable. The preparations in crossing the ditch had been unavoidably delayed, a circumstance which caused a wavering in the column, and which in this situation could not be avoided. General Lambert, advancing with the reserve at about 250 yards from the line, had the mortification to observe the whole falling back upon his corps, in the greatest confusion. After making the best reflections of which he was capable, he kept the ground the troops then held, and went to meet vice-admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, and tell him that he should not renew the attack. The army remained in position until night, in order to destroy the 18-pounder battery which they had constructed in advance on the preceding night. They retired without molestation, resuming the ground they occupied previous to the attack.

In addition to the lamented death of sir E. Pakenham, the loss of the English was severe, and probably exceeded the Gazette account, which represents that loss as follows. One major-general, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, five captains, two lieutenants, two ensigns, 11 serjeants, one drummer, 266 rank and file, KILLED.—two major-generals, three lieutenant-colonels, two majors, 12 captains, 38 lieutenants, nine ensigns, one staff, 54 serjeants, nine drummers, 1120 rank and file, WOUNDED. Three captains, 12 lieutenants, 13 serjeants, four drummers, 452 rank and file missing. TOTAL LOSS, 2137.

HAVING thus brought to a close our account of the military and naval operations against the Americans, it is impossible not to reflect on the inadequate nature of our efforts when compared with our resources and expectations. The disappointment of the nation fell more heavily on account of the contempt with which we had regarded the enemy, and of the glory which we had lately gained against a much more celebrated foe. Both these circumstances infused into the minds of a large portion of the British people a vindictive wish that our government would not make peace with the United States till we had redeemed our naval and military character. But the ministers, with all their faults, deserved at least the praise of good intention, and sacrificed every revengeful feeling to the re-establishment of mutual friendship.

CHAPTER LXX.

GEORGE III.

[1815.]

Attachment of the French Army to Napoleon—National dissatisfaction with the Bourbons—Its causes—Deportment of Napoleon at Elba—He escapes, and advances to Paris almost without opposition—Commotions in the Capital—Treachery of Ney and Massena.

THE most considerable part of the French army, and particularly the imperial guard, had never joined in the execrations with which their chief had been loaded by the French nation. His name, though proscribed, and the imperial eagle, were bound to their minds with indissoluble affection: and as they claimed an important

share in the establishment of his military glory, so they had continued to sympathize in his disgrace. Such were the honourable feelings of a considerable number; but the greater part, who felt not these generous sentiments, looked back with regret on those halcyon days, when the plunder and oppression of conquered and invaded nations administered to their lust, their luxury, and their avarice. To the latter, the banishment of Napoleon had been the death blow of their military hopes, and their enjoyments. With fond regret those heroes of the eagle looked back on the auspicious days in which, till interrupted by the return of peace and the Bourbons, rapacity and carnage had been the business of their lives. The whole of the military were thoroughly embrued with the idea that they alone constituted the nation; that they were the first, if not the only order in the state, and that the rest of the people were nothing better than pequins, *(contemptible wretches.)* Buonaparte was well apprized of the disposition of the army, and of its obedience to his mandate he was no less assured. Concert and preparation with forces devoted to his cause were unnecessary. Confiding in their attachment, he does not appear to have made any specific arrangement, or adopted any regular plan of march; but as soon as a favourable opportunity of escape presented, to have trusted entirely in the treason of the marshals and the defection of the soldiery.

Political and moral causes, combined with the peculiar situation and sentiments of the military order, to favour the success of his unexpected enterprise. The events of the revolution had tended to degrade the Bourbons in the eyes of the people, and to render their names the watch-words of alarm, or the theme of contemptuous ridicule. It was now twenty-five years since they were driven from the sovereignty and the country, during all which time its affairs had been conducted without reference to them or their pretensions. From this great fact alone it is obvious that more than five-sixths of the active population have come into existence since the exile of the Bourbons: those who had attained to manhood before their disappearance, can only have heard of them during that long interval, as objects of contempt or hostility; and the state of things which followed upon their expulsion, however fruitful of crimes and barren of substantial comforts, gave rise to a series of events highly flattering to the national vanity, and captivating beyond measure to the self-ambition of the bold and aspiring part of the community.

The princes, by whose expulsion the military reputation of the country was thus extended, had neither endeared nor distinguished themselves by any great and dazzling exploit, or trait of magnanimity, by which their memory might have been exalted in popular recollection. They had emigrated ingloriously in pursuit of personal safety, and had never headed or animated by their presence, the gallant attempts of their adherents. They had taken refuge and generally resided among the continental enemies of the French nation, who had been reduced by its armies to the lowest state of subjection; and in the estimation of the French people, were little better than the insignificant dependants of those weak and misguided monarchs, who had been compelled to kiss the feet of the republic, and whose kingdoms had been rent, scattered, or given away at the nod of their imperial master.

From this retirement they came back at last, not in consequence of the impatience, or the enthusiasm, or the wishes of the people, but in consequence of a series of disasters, by which the power of France was repressed, its triumphs were overthrown, and the deepest mortification was inflicted on that national vanity which had been their support under oppression, and their delight in the days of national prosperity. The restoration crowned the first triumphs of her enemies, and was effected by the slaughter of her citizens, the desolation of her fields, and the humiliation of her national greatness. The government was overthrown by Russian and Prussian armies, who seated upon the throne a prince who had not been heard of for twenty years, nor distinguished by any imposing qualities.

The internal condition of France had been altered during his absence, at least as much as its exterior relations. The original possessors of property, rank, and office, had all been displaced along with the reigning family; and their various titles and places been settled upon other individuals. The whole state and structure of society was changed;

innumerable multitudes had fairly bought, and diligently improved the property sold and transferred at different stages of the revolution; and almost all who had been promoted to office or obtained distinction, had deserved the elevation they had reached, by the cultivation of their talents or by eminent services. Nor is it to be forgotten, that along with many miseries and wrongs, the revolution was productive of much substantial benefit to the great body of the people. Seignorial tyranny, and ecclesiastical exaction had been entirely destroyed. The barrier between the noblesse and lower orders was thrown down, and the admiration of the people exclusively confined to that military rank which only evinced its deformity in foreign and conquered countries.

The return of the Bourbons was considered as an act of insult and oppression on the part of the allies, even by the enthusiastic admirers of their family and principles. The humiliation of receiving a sovereign at the mandate of foreign monarchs, was deep and universal. Little confidence could be placed in the firmness of the king on subjects of policy, whatever might be thought of his intentions. It was obvious that a thousand amiable and a thousand excusable feelings would induce the king to restore their estates and dignities to the emigrants, their privileges to the nobility, and its original powers to the crown. Such was the impression of these inevitable considerations, that in March 1814, all the considerable men in France, all who by station, or talent, or reputation could guide its opinions, or determine its conduct, had interests opposed to the return of the king; and felt that they would be placed by that event in the condition of offenders to be punished, or delinquents to be forgiven.

This then was the situation in which the present sovereign of France stood at his first accession in April 1814. The virtuous part of the nation was ardently attached to the person of the king, but alarm was the general feeling. This distressing and obvious truth was felt by the sovereign and his adherents. It was evident that even the offer of the crown on the part of the allies, was influenced by no attachment to the Bourbons, but by the expedience of concluding a speedy peace with the government of France, of whatever persons it might be composed. Louis did not claim the crown as his lawful right and inheritance, but accepted the offer that was made, and assented in substance to all the conditions by which it was qualified. By this act he became at once a constitutional king. Yet began by calling himself Louis XVIII, though no Bourbon sovereign after Louis had ever been acknowledged by the nation; and the first hour of his accession he declared to be the 21st year of his reign. He then, without noticing the invitation by which he was called to France, and which he had accepted, declared that he owed his throne, after God, to the "prince regent of England." He ordered a monument to be erected to the memory of deceased emigrants; and ennobled by a special grant the family of George Cadoudal, who had come into the country with the avowed purpose of assassinating its former sovereign. The liberty of the press, which had been solemnly promised on his arrival, was afterwards retracted, and the productions of the loyalists were alone to be circulated without challenge. A royal edict was proclaimed for the formation of schools, and subscriptions were opened for the support of the young nobility, in which no names but those of an antient family could be admitted. The nomination to foreign embassies and other places of dignity, was confined almost exclusively to persons of the same description.

To these alarming indications of the spirit of the Bourbons were added some more substantial, though less provoking infractions of the charter thus ungraciously promulgated. The abolition of the *droits reunis* had been promised with much parade and solemnity, and shortly after, the payment was exacted with more than usual rigour. The charter had declared that no tax or import should be raised without the consent of the legislature, yet a variety of taxes were levied by a mere order of the chancellor. In like manner the charter had declared that all the courts of justice should remain as they were, until altered by a special law; but the king, after proposing a law to the chamber of representatives for new modelling the court de Cassation, and finding that it was not likely to be adopted, adjourned the chamber, and re-organized the court of his own authority;

diminishing the number of judges, and changing several on the reduced establishment.

It is not easy to decide on the justice or injustice of these acts. Some of them may be thought unavoidable, and the rest expedient. But they certainly were calculated to impress a prevailing sentiment of alarm and disgust upon the minds of the nation at large; to offend the most eminent servants of the former government; to convert the neutral into decided enemies, and to supply the hostile with the means of inflaming discontent.

The system of taxation and of feudal tyranny so intimately connected with the existence of the Bourbon dynasty, was remembered with universal detestation by that part of the nation which had experienced its severity; and the rising generation naturally associated the name of Louis with all the evils of which their fathers so bitterly complained. The seignorial and sovereign rights were enforced with a cruelty and rigour, that rendered even the system of lettres de Cachet, comparatively lenient and humane. The gross iniquity, indeed, which attended these lettres and the Bastile, during the whole reign of Louis XV, made them esteemed in England by the ignorant and superficial, as the most prominent features of the despotism of France. They were certainly carried to an excess almost incredible, and were actually sold with blanks, to be filled up with names at the pleasure of the purchaser, who was thus enabled, in the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from the bosom of his family and bury him in a dungeon, where he would exist forgotten, and die unknown. But such excesses were not common, and they were reduced almost to nothing, after the accession of Louis XVI. The great mass of the people could suffer little from such engines; but the feudal and seignorial rights, the weight and enormity of the taxes, the pressure of tythes, the unlimited power of oppression and insult, vested in the landholder and proprietor, were still remembered by the generation which had witnessed the horrors of the revolution, and were deeply impressed on the minds of their children. The return of the Bourbons was considered by the nation at large, as the signal of recurrence to those oppressive and arbitrary exactions which had first awakened the spirit of resistance; and the emissaries of Buonaparte were not unsuccessful in extending and enflaming their first alarm.

Such was the state of parties in France at the moment when Napoleon projected his return from the isle of Elba: nor can it be disputed that a great proportion, if not a majority of the people, ardently expected his restoration. His opponents were chiefly influenced by the personal character of the king, and by the humanity of his general conduct.

Talleyrand earnestly advised that the king should neither grant nor promise the smallest power to the marshals. There was, however, a broad line of distinction between men like Oudinot and Marmont, who were without reproach, and such men as Soult, Suchet, Ney, Massena, and Davoust, whose names were infamous throughout Europe for the excesses and cruelties which they had committed. A regard to public decency, to the moral feeling, and therein the general interests of mankind, to the honor of France, and to its own immediate security, should have led the new government to make this distinction. Louis should as little have thought of trusting power to these men, flagrant and branded as they were, as of recalling Billard Varennes from Cayenne, or appointing Barrere and Mehee de la Touche to offices in the state. There were persons who supposed that those who had risen under Bonaparte, and enriched themselves by pillage, would be contented under any government which should leave them in quiet possession of the rank and plunder which they had obtained; and the manner in which marshal after marshal sent in his *adhesion* to the Bourbons, seemed to countenance this opinion. But there are certain habits from which reformation is nearly impossible; and soldiers who had been moulded to Bonaparte's purposes, must be as miserable in retirement and inactivity, as the drunkard when deprived of the drams with which he exhilirates exhausted nature, and obtains a respite from those wretched sensations which are the consequence and the punishment of habitual excess. Experience has abundantly shewn, that men who make war like robbers, have ever been unable to endure the listlessness, and perhaps the reflection of peace. Thus it was with the *White companies* of the fourteenth century; thus it was with the first conquerors of

America; and they who had acquired political wisdom, where alone it is to be learnt, from studying the history of past ages, and regarding the nature of man, knew that thus also it must be with the soldiers of Buonaparte. The Bourbons thought otherwise; restored to the throne of France, they felt as Frenchmen,—this was to be expected, it was natural, and as it should be; but with the levity of Frenchmen, and perhaps it may be thought, with that moral insensibility which is but too characteristic of the nation, they began to pride themselves on the military reputation which France had acquired under the tyrant, forgetful how that reputation had been stained by every imaginable crime, and every possible disgrace. "Honour," said a royalist writer, "had taken refuge in the army when driven from the rest of France!" In the days of Robespierre this was true; the armies, when they refused to butcher their British and Hanoverian prisoners, were deservedly the pride of France. In the days of Buonaparte it was false; he changed their character; the civic and chivalrous spirit, the honourable feeling which had been cherished by Kleber, and Pichegru, and Moreau, would have counteracted the views of one who aimed at empire; he therefore corrupted the soldiers in order to make them fit instruments for enslaving the nation; he indulged them in pillage, he habituated them to excesses, he fleshed them in massacre, till he made them the scourge of Europe and the reproach of France, the most formidable and the most flagitious of the human race.

"The obstacles," says Mr. Eustace, "which Louis XVIII. will meet with, will arise not from the army; for though discontented and ferocious, they are broken and divided, commanded by officers who are loyal, and checked by the national guards." This was a strange error! Divided!—yes,—like a pack of bloodhounds who run loose in the village, ready to assemble and hunt in company at the first call of the huntsman! It will not now be doubted that Buonaparte had this reassemblage in view when, after his compulsory abdication, he took leave of his old guard.

"During twenty years," said he, "that we have acted together, I have been satisfied with you. Pity not my fate. I shall be happy when I know that you are so. I might have died: nothing would have been more easy for me; but I still wish to pursue the path of glory. What we have done I will write. I cannot embrace you all, but I will embrace your general. Come, general! Let the eagle be brought to me that I may also embrace it! Ah, dear eagle, may the kisses which I bestow on you resound to posterity."

Language like this was well calculated to be long and deeply remembered. The banishment of Napoleon to Elba rather inflamed than repressed the attachment of his partisans; the situation of the island was singularly favourable to any plan of correspondence or escape; and the negligence of the European governments, combined with the treacherous machinations of the secret enemies of Louis, to facilitate the designs of the revolutionists. For many months subsequent to his exile, the time of Napoleon was passed in social and condescending intercourse with the inhabitants of the island, in entertaining them with routs and assemblies, in forming the plan and directing the embellishments of a rural chateau, and in visiting the English frigates; but about the middle of autumn, a marked change was visible in his manners and his habits. He had evinced the greatest predilection for the society of sir Neil Campbell, the English commissioner, and had received innumerable visitors of various ranks and nations with the most conciliating frankness. It was not till the arrival of some of his family and friends who had just left Paris, that he became restless and dissatisfied, secluded himself from social intercourse, and totally neglected the embellishments of the island. At the end of February, sir Neil Campbell, though highly suspicious of Napoleon's intentions, and though he had communicated his surmises to the British government, was absent on important business in Italy. The opportunity was too favourable to be lost, and Napoleon determined on the execution of his long meditated enterprise.

He had purchased at Jenoa some small feluccas, some ammunition at Naples, and a few arms at Algiers. On February 25th, he presided at a fête which he gave to his Lilliputian court, and was unusually cheerful and affable. On the succeeding day, he reviewed his little army, and at their dismissal ordered them to prepare for immediate ser-

vice, and to assemble on the same parade at six o'clock in the evening. At that hour he suddenly appeared among them, formed them into a hollow square, and placing himself in their centre, unfolded his purposes and views. He represented to them, in a speech replete with that popular and military eloquence for which he was so peculiarly distinguished, that fortune now favoured them an opportunity to prove themselves worthy of their former fame, and their general's confidence; that it had been the consolation and delight of his retirement to form them to the discipline and noble daring of soldiers; that France, Belgium, and Italy, invited him to resume the imperial crown; and that he had been compelled to abdicate the sovereignty not by the will of the French, but by an overwhelming foreign force. He asserted that the *grand alliance* had been since dissolved, by the divisions, the jealousies, and the narrow personal views of its members; that Italy was deceived, Germany sacrificed, Poland enslaved, Saxony extinguished, and Russia, Prussia, and England, were the dividers of the spoil. France had now recovered the 300,000 men whom the cruelties of the season had rendered prisoners in Russia: persecuted by the Bourbon government, they now wandered destitute through France; and their well known attachment to his person was rewarded with insult and beggary.

"And will not these men," he continued, "return to the general who remembers them as ardently as he is remembered by them? Fellow soldiers, comrades in glory and in arms! for such you are about to become, judge of them as you would judge of yourselves, and answer me from your own feelings, whether my brave soldiers will pass over to my enemy and theirs, or whether again seeing my standard shining in the sun, and my imperial eagle again elevated in its own skies, they will re-seek their standard, their eagle, and their general, and again conduct them to the throne which belongs to them. What are the Bourbons to them or us? Who is there in France that at all remembers, but recollect at the same time their mad extravagancies and their contemptible debaucheries? In the course of 300 years did they add an acre to the French territory, or an unit to the lasting glory of the French name? Are these kings for the French? No! comrades,—the age and the people demand another kind of leader. What say you, soldiers? Are you prepared to follow me, and to partake my fortune, my glory, and, if they should arise, my perils and my labours." This harangue was answered by the most enthusiastic acclamations; and Napoleon, placing himself at the head of his small army, conducted them at once to the place of embarkation, leaving behind him the following proclamation.

"*General Lassi, Governor of the Island of Elba, Chamberlain of his Imperial Majesty Napoleon, &c. &c.*

"Inhabitants,—Your august sovereign is called, by Divine Providence, to his antient glory, and has left this island, of which he has confided the command to me, and the internal government to six of your most distinguished fellow-citizens; to your own tried attachment and valour he leaves the defence of the place, and the maintenance of good order. I leave, said he, the island of Elba, highly satisfied with the conduct of its inhabitants.—I entrust to them the defence of the island, to which I attach the greatest importance. I cannot give them a stronger proof of confidence than in leaving, after the departure of the troops, my mother and my sister to their care. The members of the junta, and all the inhabitants of this island, may rely on my affection and special protection. Inhabitants, this is a most fortunate and memorable epoch for you: upon your conduct alone depends your glory and future felicity; continue to obey, implicitly, the wise dispositions of the junta, and the orders which the public authorities may have to issue under these circumstances. Rejoice, Elbese, and do not allow yourselves to be contaminated by the pestiferous insinuations of the enemies to good order.

"*Porto Ferrajo, 27th February,* 1815."

His whole force comprehended 700 men of his old guard, 300 Corsicans, and 140 Poles; and his fleet consisted of a brig, (L'Inconstant,) mounting 26 guns, and six small transports. At eight o'clock his little army was embarked. The fire of a cannon gave the signal of departure, and they sailed

from the harbour enthusiastically shouting, "Paris or death!" The night was clear and beautiful, the wind favourable, and fortune seemed to smile on the enterprize. Sir Neil Campbell, the English commissioner, was in Italy: no cruizer appeared in sight, and before the dawn they hoped to double the island of Capraia. But the wind, which at first wafted them gaily on, gradually died away. At day break they had made only six leagues progress, and were yet between Capraia and Elba. To add to their alarm, some vessels were seen in the offing. The danger was imminent. The captain and the greatest part of the crew advised a return to Porto Ferrajo. Napoleon, finding that the cruizers consisted of two French frigates and a brig, determined to declare himself, and try the influence of his name. But he was not required to execute so bold a resolution. He had long and successfully manœuvred to lull suspicion; had frequently visited the English ships, and had made frequent excursions to the neighbouring islands. His own brig and another which he had bought, had frequently sailed to Genoa and Leghorn. The English and French cruizers were thus accustomed to meet his flag, and on the present occasion paid no attention to its appearance. Towards noon the wind freshened a little, and at four in the afternoon they were off Leghorn. Suddenly a ship of war appeared before the wind, in the opposite direction to the brig. A consultation was held, and it was resolved first to attempt to deceive the cruizer, and if unsuccessful, immediately to board her. The soldiers were concealed between the decks, and the two vessels ran a-long-side of each other. The cruizer proved to be the Zephyr, captain Andrieux: Taillade, a lieutenant of the Inconstant was personally known to him, and undertook to conduct the conference. Assuming a careless air, he hailed the Zephyr, and demanded whither she was bound. It was answered to Livornia. Andrieux then enquired in his turn whither the Inconstant was proceeding. Taillade replied without hesitation to Genoa, and offered to undertake any commission which captain Andrieux might have to execute. At the same time he invited him on board to spend a few hours with an old messmate. Andrieux was completely deceived, and thanking the lieutenant for his civility, but excusing himself on account of want of time, sailed on, and the two brigs were soon out of sight of each other. During the night of the 27th, the wind continued to freshen, and at day-break on the 28th, a seventy-four gun ship was seen at a distance of four leagues making for St. Florent, or Sardinia. It did not perceive, or did not think it necessary to hail the little flotilla. At 7 in the morning of the 28th, they discovered the road of Noli; at noon Antibes was in sight, and at three o'clock in the morning of the first of March, they entered the gulf of Juan, at a short distance from Frejus in the department of the Var. Previous to the disembarkation, Buonaparte mustered his troops on deck, and ordering them to throw the cockade of Elba into the sea, presented them with the national colours. They were received amid the shouts of "the emperor for ever."

A CAPTAIN of the guard with 25 men was disembarked to take possession of a small battery which might have annoyed the landing of the troops, but which was found to be completely unoccupied. In the afternoon Buonaparte disembarked the whole of his forces, and leaping upon the French territory exclaimed with exultation, "there is an end of the congress."

AN officer with twenty-five men was dispatched to Antibes to invite general Corsin the governor of the place to join Napoleon, but the commandant rejected the overture with contempt, and imprisoned his unwelcome visitors. Another officer was sent with a second summons, but he shared the fate of his precursor. A third emissary presented himself to reclaim the prisoners, and to command general Corsin under the most dreadful threats of military punishment, to repair to the gulf of Juan with the civil authorities. This last messenger was likewise detained.

IRRESOLUTE what plan to pursue, Napoleon bivouacked on the sea side in a vineyard surrounded by olive-trees; but reflecting on the consequences of this repulse, the necessity of proceeding before the news of it should reach the interior of the country, he commenced his march at one o'clock in the morning, and leaving Antibes unmolested, proceeded to Cannes.

HIS unexpected appearance produced a sentiment of mingled astonishment joy,

and fear; and his presence occasioned in the whole of the country through which he passed, a scene of magical illusion, easier to be comprehended than described. It resembled the effect of a sudden and strange apparition, on a crowd of unreflecting gazers. Continuing his progress to Grasse, he found the town deserted. A report had been spread that a troop of Corsairs had landed, and were ravaging the country; but the fears of the populace subsided as soon as they had learned the truth. The mayor was required to furnish rations for the followers of Napoleon. He nobly replied that he acknowledged no authority but that of Louis XVIII. The inhabitants, however, returning in crowds, opened their shops, and were easily induced to supply the wants of the soldiers. He left here six pieces of cannon, which he had brought from Elba, finding that they incommoded and retarded his march. He now endeavoured to circulate his proclamations; but the printer at Grasse refused to print them, and Napoleon had not time to resort to force. At four o'clock in the afternoon, he arrived at the village of Cérénon, having travelled twenty leagues in the first day. On March 3rd, he slept at Bareme, and on the 4th at Digne. At the latter place, as at Cannes, he was received by the peasants with enthusiastic acclamations. Leaving the main body of his troops behind, who were unable to keep pace with the rapidity of his march, he proceeded with only ten horsemen and forty grenadiers, and on the 5th arrived at Gap, from whence he issued his first proclamations, thousands of which were soon dispersed through the country. They claim the rank of historical documents, as specimens of the peculiar kind of eloquence with which he so successfully addressed the troops and the populace.

"*Bay of Juan, March 1st*, 1815.

"NAPOLEON, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"FRENCHMEN!—The defection of the duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies; the army of which I confided to him the command was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris.

"THE victories of *Champ Aubert*, of *Montmirail*, of *Chateau Thierry*, of *Vauchamp*, of *Mormans*, of *Montereau*, of *Craone*, of *Rheims*, of *Arcy-sur-Aube*, and of *St. Dizier*; the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Compté, and of Bourgoin, and the position which I had taken on the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource: it would have found its grave in those vast countries which it mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the duke of Ragusa gave up the capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of those two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that, at the conclusion of the affair, which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its parks of reserve.

"UNDER these new and important circumstances, my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was, and ought to be, still useful to you. I did not permit the great number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot. I thought their presence useful to France; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

"RAISED to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For 25 years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only be secured by a national government, and by a dynasty created under these new circumstances. A prince who should reign over you, who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law; he would not be

able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who, for 25 years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

"FRENCHMEN!—In my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes; you demanded that government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

"I HAVE crossed the seas, in the midst of dangers of every kind: I arrive amongst you to resume my rights, which are yours. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be for ever ignorant of: it shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. There are circumstances of such a nature as to be above human organization.

"FRENCHMEN!—There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, and which may not withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying a prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V. he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from a prince regent of England.

"IT is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, I account it, and shall always account it, my glory to owe every thing.

"By the emperor. (Signed) NAPOLEON.
"THE grand marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army.
(Signed) Count BERTRAND."

"*Gulph of Juan, March 1st*, 1815.

"NAPOLEON, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

TO THE ARMY.

"SOLDIERS!—We were not conquered: two men risen from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

"THOSE, whom during 25 years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our fine France, shall they pretend to command and controul our eagles, on which they have not dared ever to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labours—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature? They seek to poison what the world admires; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

"SOLDIERS! in my exile, I heard your voice: I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils: your general, called to the throne by the voice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you; come and join him.

"TEAR down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which for 25 years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France: mount the cockade tri-colour: you bore it in the days of our greatness.

"WE must forget that we have been masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

"WHO shall presume to be master over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen, who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came, and there if they please they shall reign as they pretend to have reigned during 19 years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory, the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children, have no greater enemies than those princes whom foreigners have imposed upon us: they are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions, which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

"THE veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the grand army, are

all humiliated: their honourable wounds are disgraced; their successes were crimes; those heroes were rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies.

"Honours, rewards, affection, are given to those who have served against the country and us.

"Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief; his existence is only composed of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no more than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charge-step: the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre-Dame. Then you will be able to shew your scars with honour; then you will be able to glory in what you have done; you will be the deliverers of the country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds; you will be able to say with pride:—'And I, too, was part of that grand army, which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which treason, and the presence of the enemy, imprinted on it.'

"Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of the country; and eternal shame to those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for 25 years with the foreigner, to tear the bosom of the country.

"By the emperor, (Signed) Napoleon.

"The grand marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army.

Bertrand."

On the 6th, Napoleon hastened towards Grenoble. As he passed through St. Bennet with his advanced-guard, the inhabitants proposed to ring the tocsin, to assemble the villagers, and to accompany him in a mass. He refused their offer in a complimentary reply. That evening he slept at Gap; but his advanced-guard was ordered to proceed during the night. They reached the village of Mure, where they met the advanced-guard of the troops from Grenoble, who were approaching to oppose the progress of Napoleon General Cambronne, who commanded the troops of Buonaparte, proposed a parley, but he was answered that all communication was forbidden. The soldiers of Louis, however, retreated three leagues before 40 of the adherents of Buonaparte. As soon as Napoleon was informed that his progress would be contested, he resolved to practise one of those stratagems which do infinite credit to his talents and his courage. He proceeded to the royal troops, accompanied only by one or two officers. Arriving within pistol-shot, he alighted, and, advancing to the right of the battalions, which apparently only waited for the command to fire upon him, he bared his bosom and thus addressed them. "Behold me. If there is one soldier among you wishes to kill his emperor, let him come forward from the ranks and fire upon me!" The effect was instantaneous and sublime. The arms of every soldier were hurled on the ground, and the air resounded with the cries of "Long live the emperor." The guard and the soldiers rapturously embraced: the latter tore off the white cockade and mounted the national colours; and Buonaparte, thus reinforced by troops accustomed to celerity of movement, advanced with rapidity to Grenoble.

The garrison of that place was composed of the 7th and 11th regiments of the line, the 4th hussars, and the fourth of artillery. The last was the very regiment in which Buonaparte 25 years before had commenced his military career, and in which his memory was yet idolized. The 7th was commanded by colonel Labedoyere, who had lately received his appointment from the king, and the decoration of the legion of honour, and who had therefore taken the most solemn oaths of allegiance and fidelity. He had no personal ground of complaint against his sovereign; he had no connexion with the conspiracy, and shared in the general surprise when the landing of Napoleon was announced; but misled, according to his own confession, "by illusions, by recollections, and by false ideas of honour, his country spoke a chimerical language to his heart;" and he suddenly resolved to join the cause of the invader. His soldiers were too well disposed to second his intentions; and he had scarcely begun to acquaint them with his wishes, when he was interrupted by the shout of "the emperor

for ever!" He allowed them no time for reflection; but, affixing an eagle to a willow branch, hastened to effect his treasonable purpose.

General Devillers, hearing from a distance the shouts of the infatuated soldiery, hurried to the ramparts. The regiment had then cleared the gates, and was almost out of sight. He hastened on foot by the road which they had taken, and accidentally meeting a horse, galloped after the deserters. Overtaking the rear of the column, he prevailed on about 100 to return to their duty. But when he reached the head of the column, where the colonel was surrounded by his officers, neither his entreaties nor his menaces were heard. The only reply of Labedoyere was, "My country and honour!" These words sufficiently explain his motives, but do not palliate his crime.

The disaffection of Labedoyere was the signal for general revolt. It encouraged the timid and decided the wavering. He has since atoned for his treason by the forfeiture of his life. Madame Labedoyere was so much affected by her husband's treachery, that she immediately quitted him, and sought protection with her relatives. But she returned to cheer the lonely hours of his imprisonment; and when he was arraigned and condemned, pleaded most pathetically, though unsuccessfully, in his favour.

His forces being nearly doubled by the addition of Labedoyere's regiment, Buonaparte fearlessly advanced towards Grenoble, and at nine o'clock in the evening arrived at the suburbs. The gates were shut, and the ramparts were lined by the troops which composed the garrison, whom the commandant, general Marchand, was vainly exhorting to resist the invader. The keys were formally demanded. It was answered, that Marchand had carried them away. Some little delay occurring, a tumultuous movement took place among the troops and the inhabitants, who filled the ramparts. Buonaparte was recognized at a little distance. A sudden shout burst from every lip; and the cannoneers who stood at their pieces with lighted matches, instantly extinguished them, and joined in the acclamations. The engineers of Napoleon now prepared to force the gates. They had scarcely commenced their operations, when the whole garrison threw down their arms, trampled the white cockade under foot, and, rushing to the gates, burst them open. Napoleon entered Grenoble at ten o'clock, amidst an immense crowd, composed of the populace and the soldiers, who thronged from every quarter to gaze upon his person, and salute him emperor. He was greeted by the mayor and civil authorities; and general Marchand was brought before him, but immediately released. Buonaparte pressed him to assume the government of the town. "I may appeal to yourself," replied the general, "that I once served you faithfully; your abdication released me from my allegiance, and I have since sworn fidelity to the Bourbons. Here is my sword, I can again submit to become a prisoner, but I can never be a traitor."

Napoleon mused for a moment. He was evidently and deeply affected. "General," said he, "take back your sword. You have hitherto used it as a true soldier, and I respect you too much to urge you now to use it in any way which your conscience would disapprove. You are at liberty to depart."

On the morrow, Buonaparte gave audience to the municipality and chief officers of the troops. The harangue of the mayor was couched in the most disgusting and servile language of flattery. At ten o'clock he reviewed his troops, and then proceeded towards Lyons; but his progress was no longer marked by that anxious rapidity which had attended his first movements. He was now confident of success. The treason of the garrison of Grenoble had placed him at the head of an army of 10,000 men, with a considerable park of artillery; and the prepossessions in his favour were too general and too decided to admit the slightest fear of opposition from the people.

The first intelligence of Buonaparte's landing in France was received at Paris on the 5th of March, in two telegraphic despatches, the first of which described the invading army as amounting to 1600 men, and the second as consisting of 1000. Regular information had been transmitted of this momentous event by the prefects and magistrates of the district of the Var; but, strange to say, their letters and communications were found six weeks after, unread and unopened, in the bureau of the minister of the home department. On receiving the telegraphic

dispatches, the dismay and astonishment of the Bourbons were unbounded. Louis immediately predicted the most fatal results. His royal highness Monsieur set out in the night for Lyons. Couriers were dispatched on all sides with orders for the troops to march immediately and form an army of 30,000 men, including 4000 cavalry. Orders were at the same time sent that the duke of Angoulême, then at Bourdeaux, should march to Rheims with the duke of Tarentum (Macdonald) under him, and take the command of the royal guard, whose number, 3800, was to be increased to 13,000, by the accession of troops collected from the 8th and 9th divisions. The duke de Berri, a choleric and haughty individual, was likewise about to join the army, but Macdonald and St. Cyr entreated him to relinquish the design, assuring him that his interference would be the death-warrant of his family. This prince had been unable to reconcile himself to the generals of Buonaparte, and the former enemies of his house, and had rendered himself unpopular by some indiscreet, and contemptuous language which he had used towards the most meritorious of the marshals.

A PROCLAMATION was immediately dispatched to all the departments in which Napoleon Buonaparte was declared a traitor, and all the military and civil authorities, and even private citizens were required to apprehend him, and bring him before a council of war, which on proof of his identity, was to punish him with death. The same punishment was denounced against all who accompanied or assisted his invasion, unless within eight days of the date of the proclamation, they sent in their submission to some military or civil authority. All seditious meetings and seditious language were forbidden under the same penalty, and another proclamation commanded the immediate assembly of the two chambers.

THE ambassadors of every foreign power presented themselves the next morning before his majesty, assured him of their attachment to his interests, and expressed the most heartfelt respect for his virtue and humanity in the midst of the most arduous circumstances. The municipal body of Paris assembled and voted an address to the king, couched in language nearly similar to that which a fortnight afterwards welcomed Napoleon in language not less ardent, nor less sincere. To all appearance the fickle and unprincipled populace were devoted to the king. They assembled in crouds at the Thuilleries. The second day after the arrival of the news, Louis was overpowered by their expressions of grief and affection, and waving his hand to demand silence, thus addressed them. "My heart overflows with joy that my people testify so much affection. I am delighted to behold my children thus surround me."

THE conspirators of Paris were themselves alarmed by these demonstrations. They were well aware of the disaffection of the troops, and that those who were ripest for revolt, had been placed on the very route which Napoleon must pursue; but they were startled at this unexpected display of patriotism in the capital. Their hopes were in some degree revived by learning that the infamous Lefebvre Desnovettes, had attempted to seduce the troops in the north, and that he had marched his regiment of chasseurs from Cambray to Compeigne, with the intention of leading them to Lyons. Owing, however, to the exertions of baron Lyons, the major of the regiment, he was deserted by all his troops except two officers, who were pursued and taken. Lefebvre himself escaped and joined Napoleon.

MARSHAL Mortier the duke of Treviso, who commanded the troops stationed in the north, had left Paris to return to his head-quarters at Lisle, when he met on the indirect road he had taken, a body of troops consisting of 10,000 men, on their march to Paris. The astonished marshal demanded whither they were marching, and found that they had received orders to advance upon Paris to save the city from pillage, and rescue the king from the hands of the populace. He examined the orders, perceived that they were forgeries, and justly concluded that these troops were the agents of a concerted plan to fill Paris with regular troops, to awe the national guards and the populace, and to prepare for the arrival of Napoleon. Without communicating his suspicions, he ordered his soldiers to march back to their former quarters.

MONSIEUR and the duke of Orleans arrived at Lyons, where they were joined by marshal Macdonald. The majority of the inhabitants were favourable to Napoleon, but a strong party of royalists yet remained in

the city, and the young men of the principal families formed themselves into a guard of honour, for the immediate protection of the count D'Artois. On the following day the troops of the garrison were reviewed. To his elaborate harangue, his own escort and the guard of honor replied with acclamations of *the king for ever*, but the troops of the line maintained a mournful and obstinate silence. The efforts of Macdonald were only met by sarcastic and licentious vulgarity. Yet he was unwilling to despair. He ordered two battalions of infantry to proceed against the enemy who had just reached the suburb of La Guillaterie. Macdonald ordered two batallions of infantry to proceed against them, and placed himself at their head. As they crossed the bridge that led to the suburb, a reconnoitring party of the 4th hussars, which had joined Napoleon at Grenoble, followed by a tumultuous populace, exclaiming, "long live the emperor." The moment was decisive. The troops on each side rushed forward, and exchanged the fraternal embrace. The menaces and entreaties of Macdonald were alike unheard. The voice of authority was disregarded; they forgot their allegiance, and increased the army of the invader. In this moment, however, when they shamefully violated their allegiance, they exhibited a sentiment of honour, which it is pleasing to record. Marshal Macdonald was surrounded by the forces of Buonaparte and made prisoner. The troops who had deserted him no sooner perceived his situation than they flew to his rescue, conducted him safely within the gates, and returned to join the followers of Napoleon.

All was evidently lost, and Monsieur hastily quitted Lyons. Even the guard of honour now forsook him, and one horseman alone had sufficient courage and fidelity to attend him. At nine in the evening Buonaparte entered Lyons. On the next morning he reviewed the whole of his army, which now assumed a formidable appearance. He had now nothing to dread, and finding it expedient to halt at Lyons to refresh his harassed followers, he assumed the imperial state, and began to issue his proclamations and decrees.

He first re-organized the government and appointed his ministers, counsellors, and prefects. He named Cambecères minister of justice, Carnot of the interior, Fouché of the police, and Davoust minister of war. He annulled all the changes which had been made by the king in the tribunals. He cashiered all the generals and officers who had been appointed since the restoration. He exiled to the distance of thirty leagues from Paris, every individual attached to the civil or military establishment of the king and the princes. He re-established the imperial guard in all its privileges. He condemned to death all the princes of the house of Bourbon who might be seized on the French territory, and sequestrated the property which had been restored to the emigrants. The rank of *noblesse* was abolished. The white cockade, the decoration of the lily, the orders of the Holy Ghost, St. Louis, and St. Michael were suppressed, and the tricoloured flag and cockade again adopted. In a decree more solemn than the rest, he suppressed the chamber of peers, dismissed the deputies of the departments, and ordered the electoral colleges of the empire to assemble at Paris (where he would arrive before them) to frame a new constitution, and to assist at the coronation of the empress and of the king of Rome.

In the mean time marshal Soult, whose fidelity was at least suspicious, was dismissed from the councils of Louis, and the duke of Feltre (general Clarke) declared minister of war. Intelligence was at this moment received from the south which filled the hearts of the loyalists with transport. It was officially announced by some treacherous prefect of a distant department, that the duke of Orleans had routed the advanced guard of Buonaparte before Lyons. The delusion was dissipated in a few hours by the arrival of Monsieur himself, who reported his unsuccessful mission. The king was then urged to retire to the northern departments or to Belgium, but he determined to remain in the capital so long as a possibility remained of arresting the invader's progress. The marshals, the national guard, the representatives of the people, and the civil authorities, vied with each other in their ardent professions of eternal attachment and devotion.

On the 9th of March, marshal Ney hastened to the Thuilleries, threw himself at the feet of the king, renewed his protestations

of gratitude and his oath of fidelity, and besought his majesty to employ him in the "impious war" which the brigand arrived from Elba had commenced. He drew his sword partly from the scabbard, and pledged himself on forfeiture of his head, to bring Napoleon to Paris dead or alive: adding, that he deserved to be brought in a cage of iron. The sovereign, impressed by these assurances, received the marshal with more than usual favour, accepted his offers of service, and entrusted him with the command of the army which was concentrated at Lons-le-Saulnier. As the marshal retired from the presence of the king, he exclaimed, "that will be the happiest day of my life, in which I shall be able to give the king a convincing proof of my respectful devotion." In the honesty of his heart the good monarch placed the fullest confidence in the fidelity of the general, and meeting madame Ney two days afterwards, he said to her with emotion, "Madame, you have a husband whose loyalty is equal to his courage."

When Ney arrived on the 12th of March at Lons-le-Saulnier, he assembled his staff and harangued them in favour of the royal cause. Finding that they were undecided, he renewed his efforts, but his audience listened to him with impatience, and at length declared that they would only fight for the emperor Napoleon. The marshal retired in a state of extreme agitation, and during the night he was visited by some emissaries of Buonaparte, who delivered to him letters from general Bertrand, replete with the boldest and most infamous falsehoods: assuring him that the enterprize of Napoleon was concerted with the emperor of Austria, and that a useless and vain resistance would expose his country to the horrors of a civil war. The hesitation and perplexity of the marshal presented a striking proof that the most eminent military talents are sometimes combined with a very low degree of mental vigour. He had sworn to be faithful to the king: "his country" (he said in his defence) in the person of the king had exacted that oath: but his country in the person of the emperor absolved him from it. This sophism led him astray, and he joined the partizans of Napoleon. Previous, however, to the actual commission of this act of apostacy, he testified the sincerity of his zeal for the interests of his country and of humanity, by the transmission of a letter to Napoleon, from which the following is an extract. "I am induced to join you, neither by respect for your character, nor attachment to your person. You have been the tyrant of my country. You have carried destruction into every family, and despair into the greater part. You have troubled the peace of the whole world. Swear to me since fate has recalled you, that you will employ the future in repairing the evils that you have brought on France. Swear that you will live for the happiness of the people. I charge you to take up arms for this purpose alone, to preserve our country from invasion and dismemberment, and never again to pass our natural limits, to attempt useless and fatal conquests. On these conditions I consent to join you, to preserve my country from the agonizing struggles with which it is menaced." On the succeeding day he published the following proclamation.

"ORDER OF THE DAY."

Marshal, prince of Moskwa, to the troops under his command.

Officers, subalterns, and soldiers,

The cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost. The legitimate dynasty which the French nation adopted is about to reascend the throne; to the emperor Napoleon, our sovereign, it alone belongs to reign over our fine country. Of what consequence is it to us whether the noblesse of the Bourbons again expatriate themselves, or consent to live in the midst of us? The sacred cause of liberty and of our independence will no longer suffer under their fatal influence. They wished to degrade our military glory; but they have been deceived. That glory is the fruit of attempts too noble to permit us ever to lose its remembrance.

"Soldiers—Those times are gone by when the people were governed by the suffocation of their rights: at length liberty triumphs; and Napoleon, our august emperor, is about to confirm it for ever. Hereafter shall that noble cause be ours, and that of all Frenchmen! A truth so grand must penetrate the hearts of those brave men that I have the honour to command!

"SOLDIERS—I have often led you to victory; now I lead you to join that immortal phalanx with which the emperor Napoleon approaches Paris, and which will be here within a few days, and then our hopes and our happiness will be for ever realized.—*Vive l'empereur.*

(Signed) Prince of MOSKWA,
Marshal of the empire.

Lons-le-Saulnier, March 13th, 1815."

THE prince of Essling, (marshal Massena,) who commanded the department in which Napoleon landed, published at Marseilles, on the 9th, a proclamation, which was calculated to impress the world with the belief, that there had been no previous correspondence or co-operation between him and the invader; and, that he had by no means connived either at his landing or progress.

"INHABITANTS of the town of Marseilles.—The enemy has passed with too great rapidity over the frontiers of my government to admit of his being opposed; but I have given information in sufficient time to all the authorities who can stop him in his march.

"EVERY measure of precaution which circumstances prescribed, has been taken by me; I have written to the governor-general of Lyons, to the lieutenant-general of the 7th division, to the prefect of the Drome; I have ordered a pursuit even beyond the limits of the 8th division, the corps disembarked from the island of Elba, by a lieutenant-general, who has not only sufficient force in troops of the line, but also detachments of the brave national guards of the towns of Marseilles, Aix, and Arles, and who has received orders to call to his assistance all those whom he may stand in need of.

"THE measures which I have advised have had all the success which could be expected from them.

"THEY have prevented the enemy from finding on his passage the auxiliaries on whom he reckoned.

"I AM already officially informed that the debouches of the Val, Drome, and the valley of Nyons are guarded.

"THAT a correspondence has been established between Gap and Valence by the mountains of the Diois, to direct the troops according to occurrences.

"ALL these dispositions ought to tranquillize you.

"ON the other hand, I shall see that the tranquillity of the peaceful citizen is not troubled, and I can assure you, that, seconded by the marejuis d'Albertas, your prefect, and your other magistrates, I shall be able to preserve it in its integrity.

"INHABITANTS of Marseilles,—You may reckon on my zeal, and on my devotion. I have sworn fidelity to our legitimate king. I shall never deviate from the path of honour. I am ready to shed all my blood for the support of his throne.

"THE marshal of France, duke di Rivoli, governor of the 8th military division.

"Prince D'ESSLING."

Marseilles, March 9th, 1815.

THIS hypocritical proclamation must have been calculated to inspire the friends of the Bourbon cause with no little confidence. In addition to this, the duke of Belluno, (marshal Victor,) in an order of the day, announcing to his troops at Sedan the arrival of Buonaparte, made use of the following words:

"ALL Frenchmen will be ready, if necessary, to repel their enemy, the man who has tyrannized over, desolated, and betrayed France during twelve years, as well as the satellites assisting in his robberies. It is the national honour, the king, the constitutional charter, and the country, which must be defended. Soldiers, your sentiments are known to me, and if we are called to assist in the destruction of the factious, we shall fulfil our duty, our oaths, and our august and good king will be satisfied with our services."

LIEUT GENERAL LORD HILL K.B.

CHAPTER LXXI.

GEORGE III.

[1815.]

Buonapartes reception at Melun—His triumphant entry into Paris—Declaration of Congress—Letter of Napoleon to he Allied Monarchs—He arranges the plan of a new Constitution and assembles a Field of May—Sanctions the liberty of the Press.

THE number of national guards, volunteers, and other troops collected at Melun to oppose the progress of Buonaparte, was no less than 100,000 men. The best spirit seemed to prevail amongst them. They appeared devoted to the cause of the king, and eager to meet and repel the invader. A powerful artillery strengthened their positions. Relying on their numbers, they had left the town, the rocks, and the forest of Fontainebleau unguarded, preferring the flat plains of Melun, where the whole of the army might act at once against the comparatively small band of the invader. On the 19th, Buonaparte reached and occupied Fontainebleau, without the least opposition He had with him at the time only 15,000 veteran troops, but other divisions were following his course, or advancing to support his right and left flanks on parallel lines of march.

NEY, whose corps had been augmented to 30,000 men, had previously communicated to the court a declaration signed by the whole army under his command, both officers and privates, in which they stated that they respected him too much to deceive him; that they would not fight for Louis XVIII, but that they would shed all their blood for Napoleon the great. This declaration did not entirely extinguish the hopes of the Bourbons. They still relied on the good disposition of the troops at Melun, and blinded by the addresses sent up by many garrisons and provinces at the very moment of their defection, still believed that their cause would be espoused by the nation as its own. Early on the morning of Monday the 20th of March, preparations were made on both sides for the expected encounter. The French army was drawn up in etages on three lines, the intervals and the flanks armed with batteries. The centre occupied the Paris road. The ground from Fontainebleau to Melun is a continual declivity, so that on emerging from the forest, the traveller has a clear view of the country before him, while those below can easily descry whatever appears on the eminence. An awful silence broken only by peals of martial music, intended to confirm the loyalty of the troops by repeating the loyal airs of *Vive Henri Quatre*, and *La Belle Gabrielle*, or by the voice of the commanders and the march of the divisions to their appointed ground, pervaded the king's army. All was anxious expectation: the chiefs were conscious that a moment would decide the fate of the Bourbon dynasty; and the troops impressed with a secret awe, at the thought of meeting in hostility with the men whom they had been accustomed to obey. On the side of Fontainebleau no sound as of an army rushing to battle was heard. If the enemy were advancing, his troops evidently moved in silence. Perhaps his heart had failed

him, and he had retreated during the night. If so, France was saved, and Europe free. At length a light trampling of horses became audible. It approached. An open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest. It drove down the hills with the rapidity of lightning: it reached the advanced posts,—"Long live the emperor," burst from the astonished soldiery. "Napoleon! Napoleon the Great," spread from rank to rank; for, bareheaded, Bertrand seated at his right, and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course, now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiers, whom he called "his friends, his companions in arms, whose honour, whose glories, whose country, he now came to restore." All discipline was forgotten, disobeyed, and insulted: the commanders-in-chief took to flight: thousands rushed on his passage: acclamations rent the sky. At that instant his own guard descended the hill, the imperial march was played, the eagles were once more exhibited; and those, whose deadly weapons were to have aimed at each other's life, embraced as brothers, and joined in universal shouts. In the midst of these greetings, Napoleon passed through the whole of the royal army, pursuing his course to Paris, and arrived at eight o'clock in the evening at the Thuilleries. It was not till the next morning that his arrival was generally known. His own troops were left at Fontainebleau.

On the morning of this day, (March 20th,) it was known in Paris that Louis XVIII. had left his capital at midnight, and the Boulevards were crowded by thousands of the lower classes, who assembled to witness the entrance of Buonaparte; but he eluded their vigilance, and entered his palace in disguise, after dismissing the 20 infantry, by whom he was attended.

The representatives of the European powers assembled in congress at Vienna, had concluded their deliberations. The continental monarchs had arranged the various territories on which each was to seize and annex to his dominions. The four principal powers had gained as much as the jealousy or the policy of their neighbours would permit them to appropriate to themselves; and the sovereigns had announced their departure for their respective capitals, when information of the landing of Buonaparte at Frejus unexpectedly clouded their self-satisfaction, and disturbed their complacency. The intelligence that he had quitted Elba arrived on the 7th of March at Vienna; and four days of anxiety and suspense passed over before they learned his real destination. They then determined by some prompt and unequivocal manifesto, to declare the line of policy which it became necessary to pursue; and on the 13th the following manifesto was published.

"The powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled at the congress of Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity, and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.—By thus breaking the convention which has established him in the island of Elba, Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended—by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.—The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.—They declare at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts; that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to guarantee against every attempt which shall threaten to plunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.—And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same prin-

ciples, declare that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the king of France, and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it.—The present declaration inserted in the register of the congress assembled at Vienna, on the 13th of March, 1815, shall be made public.

"DONE and attested by the plenipotentiaries of the high powers who signed the treaty of Paris. Vienna, 13th of March, 1815.

AUSTRIA.—Prince Metternich, baron Wissenberg.

FRANCE.—Prince Talleyrand, duke of Dalberg, Latour du Pin, count Alexis and Noailles.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Wellington, Clancarty Cathcart, and Stewart.

PORTUGAL.—Count Pamella Saldonha Lobs.

PRUSSIA.—Prince Hardenberg, baron Humboldt.

RUSSIA.—Count Rasumowsky, count Stacekelberg, count Nesselrode.

SPAIN.—P. Gomez Labrador.

SWEDEN.—Lafmenhelm.

THE return of Buonaparte to France at the head of an armed force, had annulled all the rights which had been given him by the treaty of Fontainebleau, and had again placed him in a state of hostility with the confederate powers. Nor was the zeal of the allied potentates confined to mere declarations. On the very evening that intelligence of the landing of Buonaparte arrived at Vienna, a courier was despatched by the emperor Alexander to St. Petersburgh, to order the immediate march of the imperial guard; and soon afterwards messengers were sent to the dominions of all the princes, with instructions to commence the most active operations, and to march every disposable soldier to the frontiers of France.

AT this moment an event occurred which caused considerable sensation. Several persons arrived in the villages near Schoenbrunn, the residence of the infant Napoleon, the young king of Rome. Among these was count Montesquieu, a near relative of the governor of the child. He gained admittance to the interior of the palace, under the pretence of visiting his aunt, and attempted, by corrupting some of the domestics, to carry off the son of Maria Louisa. The time was appointed, and the carriages were in waiting, when the plan was rendered abortive by the prying curiosity of the waiting maid, who listened to the conversation of the conspirators. She immediately, hastened to the imperial palace with the important information. But the police had been previously informed of the whole plot, and suffered it to proceed to the last moment, that they might secure all the accomplices. At the very moment when a maid, attended by one of the chief conspirators, was ascending the steps of the carriage with the little Napoleon in her arms, the officers appeared, and the whole band was arrested. The scheme was evidently planned, that the infant might be sent to Paris, as a pledge for the conduct of Maria Louisa, and of her father.

ON the 25th of March, the following treaty was entered into by the allied powers.

HIS majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Prussia, having taken into consideration the consequences which the invasion of France by Napoleon Buonaparte, and the actual situation of that kingdom may produce, with respect to the safety of Europe, have resolved, in conjunction with their majesties the emperors of Russia and Austria, to apply to that important circumstance the principles consecrated by the treaty of Chaumont.

WE have consequently resolved to renew, by a solemn treaty, signed separately by each of the four powers, with each of the three others, the engagement to preserve against every attack, the order of things so happily established in Europe, and to determine on the most effectual means of fulfilling that engagement, as well as giving it all the extension which the present circumstances so imperiously call for.

I. THE high contracting parties abovementioned, solemnly engage to unite the resources of their respective states for the purpose of maintaining entire, the conditions of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris the

30th of May, 1814; as also the stipulations determined upon and signed at the congress of Vienna, with the view to complete the dispositions of that treaty, to preserve them against all infringement, and particularly against the designs of Napoleon Buonaparte. For this purpose they engage in the spirit of the declaration of the 13th of March last, to direct in common and with one accord, should the case require it, all their efforts against him, and against all those who may have already joined his faction, or shall hereafter join it, in order to force him to desist from his projects, and to render him unable to disturb in future, the tranquillity of Europe, and the general peace; under the protection of which the rights, the liberty, and the independence of nations had recently been placed and secured.

II. Although the means destined for the attainment of so great and salutary an object, ought not to be subjected to limitation; and although the high contracting parties are resolved to devote thereto all those means which in their respective situations they are enabled to dispose of, they have nevertheless agreed to keep constantly in the field, each, a force of 150,000 men, complete, including cavalry, in the proportion of at least one tenth, and a just proportion of artillery, not reckoning garrisons; and to employ the same actively and conjointly, against the common enemy.

III. The high contracting parties reciprocally engage not to lay down their arms but by common consent, nor before the object of the war designated by the first article of the present treaty, shall have been attained, nor until Buonaparte shall have been rendered absolutely unable to create disturbance, and to renew his attempts to possess himself of the supreme power in France.

IV. The present treaty being principally applicable to present circumstances, the stipulations of the treaty of Chaumont, and particularly those contained in the 16th article of that treaty, shall be again in force as soon as the object actually in view shall have been attained.

V. Whatever relates to the command of the combined armies, to supplies, &c. shall be regulated by a particular convention.

VI. The high contracting parties shall be allowed respectively to accredit to the generals commanding their armies, officers who shall have the liberty of corresponding with their governments for the purpose of giving information of military events, and of every thing relating to the operations of the armies.

VII. The engagements entered into by the present treaty having for their object the maintenance of a general peace, the high contracting parties invite all the powers of Europe to accede to them.

VIII. The present treaty having no other end in view but to support France, or any other country which may be invaded, against the enterprises of Buonaparte and his adherents, his most Christian majesty shall be specially invited to accede to it; and in the event of his majesty requiring the forces stipulated in the second article, be requested to make known what assistance circumstances will enable him to bring forward in furtherance of the object of the present treaty.

Separate Article. As circumstances might prevent his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from keeping constantly in the field the number of troops specified in the second article, it is agreed that his Britannic majesty shall have the option either of furnishing his contingent in men, or of paying at the rate of £30 sterling per annum, for each cavalry soldier, and £20 per annum for each infantry soldier, that may be wanting to complete the number stipulated in the second article.

The eighth article of the treaty which invited the accession of the king of France, seemed to include a determination on the part of the allies to reinstate the Bourbons on the throne; and to obviate the suspicion of any intention to dictate to the French people any particular form of government, the prince regent of England, when he transmitted the ratification of the treaty to Frankfort, accompanied it by the following wise and honourable

DECLARATION.

"The undersigned, on the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of the 25th of March last, on the part of his court, is hereby commanded to declare that the 8th article of the said treaty, wherein his most Christian majesty is invited to accede under certain stipulations, is to be understood as binding the contract-

THE PRINCE REGENT & the ALLIED SOVEREIGNS
REVIEWING THE TROOPS IN HYDE PARK.

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London, Pub. July 1.1815. by Rich.d Evans, White row Spitalfields.

ing parties on principles of mutual security to a common effort against the power of Napoleon Buonaparte, in pursuance of the third article of the treaty, but is not to be understood as binding his Britannic majesty to prosecute the war, with the view of imposing on France any particular form of government.

However solicitous the prince regent must be to see his most Christian majesty restored to the throne, and however anxious he is to contribute in conjunction with his allies to so auspicious an event, he nevertheless feels himself called upon to make this declaration, on the exchange of the ratifications, as well in consideration of what is due to his most Christian majesty's interests in France, as in conformity to the principles on which the British government has invariably regulated its conduct."

Well assured that the liberality and profusion of the British nation would be commensurate with the present emergency, the exertions of the continental powers were unbounded. Every road was thronged with troops hastening by forced marches to the Sambre and the Rhine. One corps followed another in endless succession, and the whole population of Europe seemed to have risen in arms, to overwhelm and destroy the disturber of their peace. The congress was removed from Vienna to Frankfort, a city conveniently situated near the probable theatre of war.

A few days subsequent to his entrance into Paris, Napoleon assembled the soldiers who had remained, and addressed them in a speech replete with invectives against his enemies, and assurances of restoring the glory of France, and of the military character. He told them that he had only landed with 600 men, because he had relied on the affection of his people, and on the remembrance of his old soldiery: that he had not been disappointed; that he thanked them; and that this newly acquired glory belonged to them and to the people. His address to the troops was followed up by an appeal to the nation at large, in which he ascribed to the confederates, intentions the most pacific, and attempted to prove that with the exception of Prussia, their various interests would prevent their interference with the affairs of France. While these representations were assiduously circulated in all the public journals, and through the medium of all the emissaries of the departments, a decree of the congress dated the 13th of March, arrived and put to flight these airy visions of peace, by intelligence that the empress and her son were detained at Schenbrunn. Napoleon now appeared before his ministers and council, convicted of falsehood. The ministers had reason to complain that by a system of wilful delusion he had committed their personal safety, and demanded as the condition of their fidelity, that he should immediately submit to the articles of a new constitution, by which the monarchy should be strictly limited. In order to evade their importunities, Buonaparte consented to assemble at a Field of May, in which the electors of the departments should recognize his title to the throne, and adjust the restrictions on the exercise of the sovereign power.

On the 24th of March, Louis arrived at Ostend, completely enfeebled by anxiety, disease, and fatigue, three weeks after the duke and duchess of Angoulême had entered Bourdeaux. The inhabitants of the maritime towns had suffered the most severely by the protracted wars of the revolution, and they therefore welcomed the return of the Bourbons with the utmost enthusiasm. The duke had lately visited all the southern provinces, and had inspected the fortifications of Bourdeaux, and on his second arrival, a fête was given to him and the duchess by the principal merchants. In the midst of the festivities, a courier arrived with dispatches for the duke, containing the fearful intelligence of the landing of Napoleon. His royal highness was unwilling to damp the public joy, and concealed the purport of his letters, but quitted the city at midnight. In the morning the duchess communicated the news to the magistrates, and on the following day all the civil and military authorities came uninvited, to offer their protestations of attachment and renew their oaths of fidelity. But, as the progress of the emperor became known, the ardour of the troops gradually subsided, and though the citizens gloried in their loyalty, the cries of sedition resounded from the barracks. The commandant of the fort of Blaye, an important outpost, openly defied the commands, and refused the solicitations of the princess By

her orders, a corps of troops was sent to the fort sufficient to occupy it for a short time, if admitted, but too weak to attempt the reduction of the place should they be refused admittance, which proved to be the case. They then returned peaceably to Bourdeaux. The insagacity and humanity of the duchess D'Angoulême in sending so weak a detachment, probably prevented the destruction of he city. Encouraged by the active exertions of M. Laisnes the mayor, the duchess redoubled her efforts to inspire the Bordelese with loyalty, and to place the town in a posture of defence. The troops of general Clausel now approached. The duchess summoned the governor in great haste, and willing to spare the town from the horrors of assault, declared her resolution to march out at the head of the garrison and attack the foe. She ordered a general to conduct her to the Chateau de Trompette, with the purpose of exciting the troops to rally round her in that commanding situation. The general hesitated, observing that she would be in danger. "I do not ask you" said she, "if there would be any danger, I only order you to conduct me. She rode up to a circle of officers on the Esplanade, whom she harangued, exhorting them to fidelity, and to the renewal of their oaths, in presence of the enemy. Observing their coldness and hesitation, she exclaimed, I see your fears, you are cowards, I absolve you from the oaths already taken;" and turning her horse she left them, and immediately embarked on board an English frigate. The inhabitants of Bourdeaux followed her to the shore, with lamentations and with tears. She gave to the populace her shawl, her gloves, and the feathers of her hat, which were cut into shreds and distributed among the crowd. After her departure, general Clausel entered the town.

The expedition of the duke of Angoulême to the south of France, after the unfortunate occurrences at Bourdeaux, were for a while successful; he collected an army of 6000 men, and in his first encounters with the troops of Buonaparte, obtained considerable advantages. But the loyalty of his soldiers was soon seduced, he was betrayed by his confidential officers, and was constrained to surrender to general Gilly. His force was sufficiently respectable to ensure honourable conditions. An universal amnesty was granted. The lives and property of his followers were secured, and the duke received safe convoy to Cette, where he was to embark for Spain or England. He had scarcely set out on his journey, when general Grouchy arrived, and assumed the chief command of Napoleon's army. Imagining that the former commander had exceeded his powers, he would not permit the duke to proceed to his place of destination, and dispatched a courier to Paris for instructions. Buonaparte could not refuse to accede to the terms granted by general Gilly without incurring the utmost opprobrium, and in his present critical situation, he was not unwilling, by performing an act of simple justice, to claim that praise which he had seldom been ambitious of deserving, the praise of clemency. In his orders to Grouchy on this subject he says, "the ordonnance of the king dated March the 6th, and the declaration signed by his ministers on the 13th at Vienna, might authorize me to treat the duke of Angoulême as that ordonnance and that declaration proposed to treat me and my family; but adhering to the views which induced me to order that the members of the Bourbon family should be permitted to leave France freely, my intention is, that you should give orders for conducting the duke of Angoulême to Cette, where he shall be embarked, and that you watch over his safety and protect him from all bad treatment. You will merely take care to recover the money which has been removed from the public chests, and to require the duke of Angoulême to bind himself to the restitution of the crown diamonds, which are the property of the nation. You will also make known to him the enactments of the laws of the national assembly, which are renewed, and which apply to the members of the family of Bourbon who may enter the French territory." The laws thus mentioned subject the Bourbon family to the punishment of death, if they pass the boundaries of France.

On the second of April, he issued a justificatory manifesto, of which the following is an abstract divested of its verbiage.

The treaty of Fontainebleau has been violated by the allied powers, and the house of Bourbon, in what respects the emperor Napoleon and his family, and in what respects the interests and the rights of the French

nation. He produces eight instances to support his accusation, of which the principal are the following:—1. The empress Maria Louisa and her son were to obtain passports, and an escort, to repair to the emperor; but far from performing their promise, the husband and wife, father and son, were separated under painful circumstances, when the firmest mind has occasion to seek consolation and support in family and domestic affections.—3. The duchies of Parma and Placentia were given in full property to Maria Louisa, for herself, her son, and her descendants. After a long refusal to put her in possession, the injustice was completed by a complete spoliation, under the illusory pretext of an exchange, without valuation, proposition, or sovereignty, and without her consent.—4. Eugene, the adopted son of Napoleon, was to have obtained a suitable establishment out of France; but he has had nothing.—7. Napoleon was to have received 2,000,000, and his family 2,500,000 francs per annum. The French government has constantly refused to discharge its engagements; and Napoleon would have soon been obliged to disband his faithful guards for want of the means of paying them, had he not found an honourable resource in the conduct of some bankers and merchants of Genoa and Italy, who advanced 12,000,000, which they had offered to him."

The statements and animadversion contained in the preceding document present a singular contrast to the subdued and conciliating tone adopted in the subjoined state-papers.

Letter to the Sovereigns of Europe.

"Sire, my brother—You have, no doubt, learnt in the course of the last month, my return to France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of those events must now be made known to your majesty. They are the results of an irresistible power, the results of the unanimous wishes of a great nation which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty which force had given to the French people was not fitted for it: the Bourbons neither associated with the national sentiments nor manners—France has therefore separated herself from them: her voice called for a liberator: the hopes which induced me to make the greatest sacrifices for her, have been deceived: I came; and from the spot where I first set my foot, the love of my people has borne me into the heart of my capital.—The first wish of my heart is, to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honourable peace. The restoration of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of the French people. It is my sincerest desire to render it at the same time subservient to the maintenance of the repose of Europe. Enough of glory has shone by turns on the colours of the various nations. The vicissitudes of fortune have often enough occasioned great reverses, followed by great success.—A more brilliant arena is now open to sovereigns, and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will be more delightful to know no other rivalship in future, but that resulting from the advantages of peace, and no other struggle but the sacred one of felicity for our people.—France has been pleased to proclaim with candour this noble object of her unanimous wish. Jealous of her independence, the invariable principle of her policy will be the most rigid respect for the independence of other nations: if such then, as I trust they are, are the personal sentiments of your majesty, general tranquillity is secured for a long time to come; and justice, seated on the confines of the various states, will, of herself, be sufficient to guard the frontiers.

Napoleon.

The proclamations and declarations of the allied powers were secretly circulated throughout France by the counsellors of Buonaparte themselves, in the hope that by reducing him to a state of dependence on the opinion of the people, he might be compelled to surrender many sovereign prerogatives. His counsel chamber became the scene of vehement contention, and he was at length induced to conciliate the attachment of the council of state, by a solemn promise to abide by their wishes and advice in the formation of a new constitution. Having thus divided their strength, and lulled their suspicion, he took advantage of their apathy, fled from the Thuilleries, seized possession of the impregnable palais Bourbon, sur-

rounded by a body of his guard, and published the outline of a new constitution of his own arrangement, under the title of "an additional act." Independent of the arbitrary doctrines it contained, the mode of promulgation without the sanction of any public body, was evidently dangerous to national freedom: the people, who had been elated by hopes of the most sanguine kind, witnessed the publication of so arbitrary a document with aversion, and waited with impatience an opportunity to express their disapprobation in the field of May, which had now been transferred to the first of June. But Napoleon was well aware of the dangers that might arise from the assemblage of a deliberating mass of 20,000 to 30,000 citizens. It was declared that no travelling expenses should be granted to the electors, and that the constitutional act should not be discussed. Votes were taken at the town-houses and other places under the influence of the emperor, instead of personal attendance; and all mayors, municipal officers, and other individuals obnoxious to Buonaparte, were deprived of their official stations. After these arrangements had been made, a spacious temporary amphitheatre was erected in the Champ de Mars; and the sloping banks which rise around it were crowded with people. Its immense plain was filled with cavalry. An altar was placed opposite the throne, which was erected in the amphitheatre. Here the votes collected from the departments or given by the electors present, were cast up, and formally proclaimed, but unaccompanied by the slighest evidence of their validity. Napoleon arrived at one o'clock, accompanied by his three brothers, Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome. The ceremony began with high mass; after which followed a speech from the deputy appointed to harangue the emperor, which he pronounced, standing upon one of the steps of the throne. Then came the declaration of the arch-chancellor, that the new constitution was accepted by an almost unanimous concurrence of votes. This was succeeded by a discourse of the emperor, after which, he signed the additional act, to which he swore upon the Evangelists to adhere. After taking the oath, Napoleon descended from his throne, threw aside his manteau, and, advancing towards the middle of the Champ de Mars, distributed his eagles to the troops of the line and the national guard as they passed before him, and swore to defend their colours. The air was then filled with the sounds, ten thousand times repeated, of You swear! *We swear!* The ceremony being ended, the people returned to their homes, having found what was meant by the Field of May. On the Sunday following, the emperor, in conformity with the ceremonials of the new constitution, went in high military pomp to instal the legislature, which immediately elected M. Lanjuinais, an individual peculiarly obnoxious to Buonaparte, to the presidentship of the chamber of representatives. Notwithstanding the chagrin occasioned by this circumstance, he complacently expedited all his civil affairs, such as the installation of his chambers of commons and of peers; informed them that his first duty called him to meet the formidable coalition of emperors and kings that threatened their independence, and that the army and himself would acquit themselves well: recommending to them the destinies of France, his own personal safety, and, above all, the liberty of the press. When the ceremonials were completed, Buonaparte, smiling within himself at his reshackled slaves, set off for the frontiers. The prize which was now contested was of no ordinary worth: the leaders who were about to meet his hostile presence, bore names of no vulgar renown, and the world hung in dread attention on the deep tragedy about to be performed.

CHAPTER LXXII.

GEORGE III.

[1815.]

Extraordinary promptitude and activity of Napoleon—Co-operation of the King of Naples—Misfortunes of that Prince—First advantages of the French in Belgium—Battle of Ligny—Repulse of the Prussians—Danger of Blucher—Affair of Genappe—Preparations for the last and decisive conflict—BATTLE OF WATERLOO—Noble resistance of the Guards—Fall of Sir Thomas Picton—Gallantry of the Duke of Wellington—Fury of Napoleon—Approach of the Prussians.

NO part of Napoleon's political life, marked as it has always been by the most rapid and extraordinary promptitude in military preparation, presents such a display of activity, as the brief interval which occurred between his resumption of the imperial sceptre and his second abdication. Although the conciliation of the liberalists, and the depression of the loyalists, occupied much time, and though it was necessary to sacrifice many days to the national love of shews, ceremonials, and processions, he was never for an instant diverted from his purpose. While he seemed to be fully engaged in the political discussions of the various parties, with haraugues, and parades, and reviews of corps of children under twelve years old, his more serious preparations for the struggle which he was destined to encounter, were as gigantic in their character, as incessant in their progress. Every effort was used to excite the population to assume a warlike attitude, and to move forward corps of national guards, who might relieve in garrison the troops of the line now called into active service. At the moment when he was invoking in the *Champ de Mai* a mock assembly of the people, and was acting before the nominal representatives of the nation a political comedy, the real tragedy was in active preparation. Cannon, muskets, arms of every description, were forged and issued from the manufactories and arsenals, with incredible celerity. The old corps were recruited from the conscript of 1814; retired veterans were again called forth to their banners; new levies were substituted under the various names of free-corps, federés, and volunteers; the marshal spirit of France was again roused to hope and energy; and the whole kingdom seemed at once transformed into an immense camp, of which Napoleon was the leader and the soul. One large army defiled towards Belgium, where the neighbourhood of the English and Prussian troops excited alarm; other armies were assembled in Alsace, in Lorraine, in Franché Compte, at the foot of the Alps, and on the verge of the Pyrenees. It only remained to be discovered on which side the storm was to burst.

BUONAPARTE, depending on the co-operation of Murat, and hoping that he would be able at least to make a permanent diversion, has destined the north of Italy for the first scene of active and personal warfare. A serious triumph in that quarter would have been sufficient to divert from the main struggle the whole force of Austria, already sensible

from sad experience of the vulnerable nature of her Italian territory. Many of the Russian troops would probably have been detached to her assistance; and, while a triple barrier of fortresses and garrisons of the first order, was opposed on the frontier of Flanders to the English and Prussian armies, Buonaparte himself might have taken the field, on the theatre of his original triumphs, and have removed the war from the French territory with the certainty of success. But Austria, on this occasion of pressing alarm, exerted herself with an activity unknown to her annals; and the troops which she rapidly moved forward to meet Murat, exhibited, in the first conflict, the military superiority of the northern warriors. The Neapolitan army fled with such celerity, and so little resistance, that the campaign was ended almost as soon as it began; and their commander sought refuge in France, unsuspicious of the fate which so soon awaited him. The discomfiture was attended by the most disadvantageous consequences to Buonaparte, who was at this moment threatened by hostile armies advancing from all sides, and compelled to await the conflict on his own ground.

The diversion in Italy was no otherwise felt than as it encouraged the allies, by proving how easily that power is overthrown which has no root in old institutions, nor in the hearts and minds of men. It scarcely interrupted the advance of the Austrians from Italy. A second Austrian army drew toward the Upper Rhine; on the Lower Rhine the Russians and Bavarians were to enter; the Prussians assembled in Flanders to co-operate with Wellington; and the Spaniards, whose armies had taught the French to respect them, prepared to cross the Pyrenees. Thus threatened on all sides, Buonaparte's only hope was to strike a blow which should intimidate the allies, and break up the alliance; on former occasions he had found this policy successful, and he now avowed his intention of opening the campaign on the Meuse and Sambre, and breaking the centre of the allies. Thus to make his plans public was in the spirit of his military policy; if the enemy did not believe him, he took them unprepared; if they did, the confidence which it implied would be likely to depress them as much as it encouraged his own troops. Blucher and Wellington were neither to be deceived nor intimidated. They would willingly have been the assailants; but the allies were to move simultaneously on all points; the enemy had necessarily the advance in his preparations, and he had the advantage not only of attacking *when*, but also *where* he pleased. They could not therefore venture to weaken one part of the long line which they occupied for the sake of strengthening another, and thus were sure that wherever the attack was made, it would be with a great superiority of numbers.

The French never took more pains to inflame the ardour and increase the confidence of their troops. The minister of the interior announced that Louis had reduced the army to 175,000 men, but that Buonaparte had already added 200,000 to its amount, and that before August it would be half a million, exclusive of the national guards. Buonaparte himself, at his first review, assured the troops that if the allies brought 600,000 against him, he would oppose them with 2,000,000. On the 31st of May, when the grand melo drama of the new constitution was exhibited in the Champ de Mars, after the swearing and the Te Deum were over, he delivered the eagles to the troops, and they swore to defend them. "And you, soldiers of the imperial guard," said he, "you swear even to surpass yourselves in the campaign which is about to open, and to die rather than allow the invaders to dictate laws to your country?" As if this were not sufficient to stimulate them, Carnot moved, in order, as he said, to add to the glory and enthusiasm of the armies, that they have deserved well of their country;—a motion which called forth the proper remark, that as yet they had not done any thing fresh to distinguish themselves.

The enemy, who were very desirous of exaggerating their numbers before the battles, have been not less solicitous to diminish them since the event. Fortunately these are good grounds upon which to compute the force that was assembled upon the Sambre and the Meuse. There were five corps of infantry, each amounting to 24,000 men. Of the infantry of the imperial guard, (30,000 in all,) 9000 at least may be supposed to have been with Buonaparte, these being the flower of all his forces on whom he could more especially rely. We have thus 140,000 foot. In cavalry they were very strong; Ney had

four divisions of 2000 each: and Buonaparte had with him on the 16th, a great variety of heavy and light horse, not to be computed at less than 18,000,—26,000 in all. The sum therefore is 166,000 men, and adding no more than 400 artillery, the French army was 170,000 strong. Buonaparte commanded in person, with marshal Soult for his major-general. The ex-king of Westphalia, prince Jerome, commanded on the left, Marshal Ney was in the centre, and marshal Grouchy on the right. The five corps were under generals Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard, and Lobau. Marshal Mortier, who should have commanded the young guard, was confined to his bed at Beaumont, by rheumatism.

The Prussian army consisted of four corps, under generals Ziethen, Bulow, Bortsel, and Thielman; prince Blucher commanding, with count Gneisenau for his quarter-master-general Three of these corps, with cavalry and artillery, are estimated at 80,000, in the battle of Ligny; and Buonaparte afterwards rates one corps, which had been thinned in number at that battle, at 15,000. The full force of the Prussians may therefore be reckoned at 100,000.

The duke of Wellington had under his immediate command a motley army, of which the British part did not exceed 33,000. The German legion, which may be esteemed equal to our best troops, amounted to 7000. There were about 20,000 Hanoverians, raw levies, but who had been trained by British officers, with great care, during the two preceding months; 10,000 Brunswickers, whose fidelity and courage were not doubted, and who proved themselves worthy of their heroic leader; and about as many Belgians and Dutch, who were not so well to be relied on. Of the whole force, which may thus be computed at 80,000, about half were good troops, and half tolerable. According to this estimate, the allied armies in Flanders amounted to 130,000; the French opposed to them 170,000: the trifling difference in numbers was more than compensated by the composition of the French army, which consisted wholly of veteran troops of one nation; and by the advantage which they possessed of chusing their point of attack.

In the second week in June, the French army began to concentrate about Maubeuge and Avesnes: this indicated an intention of entering Belgium at that point where the left of the British army joined the right of the Prussians; of separating the two armies, and taking possession of Brussels, which, if the attempt were successful, would be open to the invaders. On the 14th, Buonaparte issued an address to his soldiers from Avesnes, choosing that day because it was the anniversary of the battle of Marengo and Friedland, and, as he said, had twice decided the destiny of Europe. "Then, said he, as after Austerlitz, so after Wagram, we were too generous! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of princes whom we left on the throne! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France—They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march then to meet them! Are they and we no longer the same men? Soldiers! at Jena, against these same Prussians, who are now so arrogant, you were one against three; and at Montmerail, one against six! Let those among you, who have been prisoners of the English, detail to the hulks, the frightful miseries which they suffered! The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations; they know that this coalition is insatiable! After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians, it must devour the states of the second rank of Germany! The madmen! A moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France they will there find their tomb. Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, hungers to encounter; but with steadinesss, victory will be ours; the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be re-conquered!—For every Frenchman, who has a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or perish!"

His first attack was directed against the Prussians. The points of concentration of the four Prussian corps were Fleurus, Namur, Aucy, and Haunut; at any one of these points the whole army might be united in four-and-twenty hours. The movements be-

gan upon the side of Fleurus—ground upon which Jourdan won that military reputation over the Austrians, which he lost to the English at Talavera and Vittoria. Reille commenced the attack by driving in the Prussian posts upon the Sambre, at three in the morning of the 15th. General Ziethen had collected the first Prussian corps near Fleurus, and, according to the French, was defeated with the loss of 2000 men and five pieces of cannon; they themselves losing only ten men killed, and eighty wounded. Certain it is that the Prussians suffered severely, but they are not men to be destroyed in the proportion of 20 to 1 in battle. Charleroi was taken by the enemy, and Buonaparte made that place his head-quarters. The French continued their march along the road from Charleroi towards Brussels, and, on the same evening, attacked a brigade of the Belgians and forced it back from Frasne to the farm house, on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras, because at that farm the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Namur, intersect each other.

Blucher had intended to attack the enemy as soon as possible; and, with this intent, the three other corps of his army had been directed upon Sombref, a league and a half from Fleurus, where Thielman and Borstel were to arrive on the 15th, and Bulow on the following day. The duke of Wellington's army was between Ath and Nivelles, which would enable him to assist the Prussians, in case, says their official account, the battle should be fought on the 15th. The duke knew that Buonaparte had collected some force behind the Sambre; he thought it probable that he would unite in that quarter several corps which were in the act of moving in different lines—he felt convinced, that if Napoleon assembled the army in this position, Brussels must be his object; and he knew that there were three distinct roads by which he might push forward on Brussels. Bonaparte might come on the side of Namur, or of Charleroi, or of Mons; the British army was therefore stationed near Brussels, in a smaller circle concentric with the frontier line, and ready to be collected in any of the three directions that Buonaparte might take; but the duke further considered it as most *probable* that Bonaparte would advance by Charleroi, and therefore the army, though ready to be moved at either of the three roads, was principally concentrated towards this. On the night of the 15th, the duchess of Richmond gave a ball at Brussels, at which the dukes of Wellington and Brunswick, and lord Uxbridge, with many other officers, were present; there they received the intelligence that the work of death was begun; and many of our officers, who were dancing till mid-night, were, within a few hours, in action, and received their death wounds in their ball-room dress. In the midst of the festivities, the bugle sounded and the drum beat in Brussels. In less than an hour the troops began to assemble in the park; they received four day's rations; and at four in the morning sir Thomas Picton's division marched towards Namur. General Picton himself had arrived from England that very night. In the first uncertainty of the enemy's intentions, the march of our divisions was directed upon Nievelles, Brain le Comte, and Enghilu, according to the situation of the cantonments; but as soon as the movements of the French were ascertained, the whole army was ordered to move upon Les Quatre Bras. Early in the morning, the prince of Orange, reinforcing the brigade which had been driven from thence, had regained part of the ground, and commanded the communication leading from Nievelles and Brussels, with Blucher's position.

The Prussian army was at this time posted upon the heights between Bry and Sombref, and beyond the latter place, and occupied with a large force, the two villages of St. Amand and Ligny, in front of those places. Both these villages are situated upon a small stream flowing through flat meadows; it is called the Ligny in the official accounts, but is too small and insignificant to have obtained a name upon the spot. The left wing of the French, under Ney, was at Frasne, opposed to the British at Les Quatre Bras; the right, under Grouchy, was in the rear of Fleurus. The superiority of numbers with which he attacked the Prussians might have seemed amply sufficient, even to a general less confident and less presumptuous. He brought up not less than 110,000 men against 80,000. First, about three in the afternoon, they attacked the village of St. Amand, and, after a vigorous resistance, carried it; their efforts were then directed against Ligny.

Ligny is a large village; the houses well built of stone, but roofed with thatch. Here the contest was maintained with the utmost obstinacy for five hours; there was little room for manœuvring; the main struggle was in the village itself, each army having, behind that part which it occupied, great masses of infantry, who were continually reinforced from the rear, and from the heights on both flanks. There were several farm houses in the village enclosed with walls and gates; these were occupied as so many fortresses by the Prussians; and the French, notwithstanding their superior numbers, were four times driven out. About 200 cannon from both sides were directed against this unfortunate village, and at length it took fire in many places at once. Sometimes the battle extended along the whole line. About five, the Prussians, with Blucher at their head, recovered St. Amand, which had been twice lost and won, and regained the heights of La Haye and Little St. Amand. At this moment Blucher might have profited greatly by his advantage, if Bulow's corps had arrived; his right wing could then have charged with good prospect of success. But the march of this corps had either been miscalculated, or the nature and state of the roads had not been taken into the account. From the duke of Wellington he could receive no assistance, for as many of his troops as had come up were themselves perilously engaged with superior numbers. As evening advanced, the situations of the Prussians became more hopeless,—there were no tidings of Bulow,—the British division could with difficulty maintain its own position at Les Quatre Bras; the whole of their own force had been brought into action, and the French began to derive that advantage which fresh troops, and a great superiority of numbers, secure, when armies are equal in discipline and in courage. In this emergency, Blucher had nearly closed his long and illustrious life. A charge of cavalry, which he himself led on, failed; the enemy pursued their advantage, his horse was struck by a musket-ball, and galloped more furiously for the wound till it dropped down dead, and Blucher was entangled under it, and stunned by the fall. His own people did not see him,—the last Prussian horseman passed by, and there remained none with him but an adjutant, who, with an honourable self-devotion, alighted to share his fate. Happily, in the eagerness of pursuit, the enemy past him by;—they were in their turn repulsed by a second charge, and in their retreat, past him a second time with equal rapidity; then, and not till then, he was extricated from under the horse,—immediately he mounted another.

Had this excellent veteran been recognized by the enemy, they would probably have butchered him. The hatred between these two nations is of the deadliest kind; France had inflicted the deepest wounds upon Prussia; in her hour of victory she had trampled upon the Prussians, plundered, outraged, and insulted them; and Prussia, though as yet she had retaliated none of her wrongs, had taken full revenge. Blucher was especially hated by the French, because no general, except our own, had so long and so determinedly resisted them. It has been said that the corps of generals d'Erlon and Vandamme had confederated, and hoisted the black flag; whether or not this were done, it is certain that the French gave little quarter in this action, and that the Prussians asked for none. When the night was closing in, a division of the enemy's infantry, favoured by the darkness, made a circuit round the village unobserved, and took the main body of the Prussians in the rear. Some regiments of cuirassiers at the same time forced the passage on the other side. The Prussians, though defeated, were not dismayed; they formed in masses, repelled all the attacks of the enemy's cavalry, retreated in such order that the French did not deem it prudent to pursue them, and formed again within a quarter of a league from the field of battle. Their loss was little short of 20,000 men. The people of the village, who had the best means of judging, affirm that that of the French was greater. No prisoners were made, except those who were left wounded on the field. Fifteen pieces of cannon were taken.

Marshal Ney meantime, with all the rest of the French army which had come up, amounting at the very least to 40,000 men, attacked the British at Les Quatre Bras. There had been much skirmishing about this point during the whole of the morning; the main attack was made after three o'clock. The Brunswick corps of the 5th division had happily arrived, and maintained the position with the most signal intrepidity, under the prince of Orange, the duke of Brunswick,

sir Thomas Picton, sir James Kempt, and sir Denis Pack. The prince of Orange was at one time surrounded; a battalion of Belgians delivered him; he took off the insignia of his order and threw it among them, saying, "Children, you have all deserved it!" They fastened it to their colours on the field of battle, amid cries of "Long live the prince!" They swore to defend it till death, and many fell while they were pronouncing the oath. Picton was wounded—but knowing how much was to be done, he would not mention his wound, lest he should be hindered from being present in the subsequent actions; and it was not till after his death that this wound, so heroically concealed, and dressed only with a piece of torn handkerchief, applied to it in secret by sir Thomas Picton himself, was discovered. The duke of Brunswick, in the ardour of battle, rashly exposed himself amidst the fire of small arms; a musket-ball went through his bridle hand into the belly, and entered the liver; he died in a few minutes. In this action, which was neither less obstinate, nor (in proportion to the forces engaged,) less bloody than that of Ligny, the French had many circumstances in their favour. They were not only superior in numbers, but they were comparatively fresh, whereas the allies had been marching from the preceding midnight. The fields were covered with corn growing as high as the tallest man's shoulders; availing themselves of this, and of an inequality of ground, they posted a strong body of cuirassiers so as effectually to conceal them; and the 79th and 42nd regiments were thus taken by surprise. The former, which suffered most severely, would have been destroyed, if the 42nd had not come up. Forming itself into a square, it was repeatedly broken, and as repeatedly formed again. Of this regiment, which was 800 strong, only 36 privates and four officers are said to come out of the field unhurt. Generals Atten, Halket, Cooke, Maitland, and Byng, successively arrived, and the troops maintained their ground till night.

Bulow's corps arrived during the night at Gembloux. At break of day Thielman fell back in that direction from Sombref, where he had retained his position; and the first and second corps retreated behind the defile of mount St. Guibert. Marshal Blucher determined to concentrate his army upon Wavre. This movement, of which the duke of Wellington does not seem to have been previously apprized, rendered it necessary for him to fall back also. He had travelled through this part of the country at a time when there was no appearance that hostilities would be so soon renewed, and seeing every thing with a soldier's eye, had observed, that were he ever to fight a battle for the defence of Brussels, Waterloo was the ground he should chuse. The retreat began about noon on the 17th, and was well covered by the cavalry and horse artillery. A large body of French cavalry, headed by lancers, followed with some boldness, especially at Genappe, where the little river which runs through the town is crossed by a narrow bridge. But the pursuit was not vigorous, and his corps of lancers paid dearly for their temerity; they were actually *ridden down* by a column of our heavy cavalry, and all perished: the state of the weather and the soil prevented the enemy from acting upon the flanks of our columns; a storm from the south-west had come on with thunder and lightning, and heavy rain, and rendered the fields knee deep in mud. Between five and six in the afternoon the whole army had reached the ground appointed.

The position which the duke of Wellington occupied was in front of the village and farm of mount St. Jean, about a mile and a half in advance of the little town of Waterloo, on rising ground, with a gentle declivity in front. It crossed the high roads from Nievelles and Charleroi to Brussels, nearly at the point where they unite. The right was thrown back to Merki Braine, near Braine La Leude; the left extended on a ridge above Ter la Haye, a hamlet which was strongly occupied: both wings were so posted as to derive all advantage which the nature of the ground would allow. The left wing communicated with the Prussians by a road leading to Ohain. A walled mansion, called Hougoumont, was in front of the right centre; and in front of the left centre, a farm called La Haye Sainte. The position was good, for the country, which affords no strong ones; but the British army and the British generals had driven the French from positions in the Pyrenees, and being accustomed to attack and defeat the enemy on some of the strongest situations in the world they required no vantage-ground, when it was

their turn to be attacked themselves. Lord Wellington wrote to marshal Blucher that he was resolved to accept the battle in this position, if the Prussians would support him with two corps. Blucher promised to come with his whole army; never was there a man from whom such a promise could be better relied on. And he proposed, if Buonaparte did not begin the attack, that the allies should do so, with their whole united force.

Notwithstanding the boasts of the French, they had failed in their chief object; they had not, as marshal Soult asserted, succeeded in separating the line of the allies; and the actions of the 16th, severe as they had been, were but preludes to the dreadful drama which was now to be represented. The junction of Bulow's corps had made the Prussians as strong as they were before the late engagement; lord Wellington's army, having lost about 5000 in killed and wounded, may be computed at 75,000, the united forces therefore would amount to 155,000, and the 170,000 of the French having been diminished 10,000 or 15,000, the armies now to be brought against each other were not unequal in numbers.

The rain, which had continued heavy throughout the night, began to abate about nine in the morning, when Buonaparte, whose head-quarters that night had been at Planchenois, a farm some little distance in the rear of the French line, and about fifteen miles from Brussels, put his army in motion: the position which they occupied was on a ridge immediately opposite to that of the British, at a distance varying from 1000 to 1200 or 1300 yards. Their right was on the heights in front of Planchenois; their centre at a little country tavern and farm, famous from that day in history for its appropriate name of La Belle Alliance; their left leaning on the road to Brussels from Nivelles. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the imperial guards were in reserve upon the heights. Grouchy and Vandamme had been detached toward Wavre against the Prussians; and the sixth corps, under count Lobau with a body of cavalry, was in the rear of the right, ready to oppose a Prussian corps, "which," says an official French account, "appeared to have escaped marshal Grouchy, and to threaten to fall upon our right flank." Buonaparte had obtained information of this, and it was confirmed by an intercepted letter from one of the Prussian generals: but of the strength, temper, and disposition of the Prussian army, he seems to have been wofully ignorant. Reversing, however, his plan of the 16th, and perhaps considering Blucher as in no state to renew the contest, he directed the great body of his force against lord Wellington, thinking to bear down the British army by dint of numbers. He brought, therefore, against their 75,000, three corps of infantry, and almost all his cavalry, amounting with artillery, to no less than 110,000 men, 40,000 more being in reserve, or awaiting the Prussians on the right.

The two points of the greatest importance in the British position, were the farm of Hougoumont with its wood and garden in front of the right, and that of La Haye Sainte in front of the left. In the early part of the forenoon, the French army was paraded almost as if Buonaparte thought to intimidate his opponent by the display of so formidable a force, and about noon, or a little earlier, the action began by a furious attack upon Hougoumont. Soult and Ney attacked it with one corps, and the French came on with their usual shouts and their usual impetuosity. This point lord Wellington had strengthened as much as possible during the night: a detachment of the guards was stationed there, and the garden and wood were lined with Nassau troops as sharpshooters. These troops disputed the ground gallantly, and when they were compelled to retire under cover of the house, the Coldstream and the Third, drove back the enemy. Within half an hour 1500 men were killed here in an orchard not exceeding four acres in extent. Great efforts were made by the assailants: they surrounded the house on three sides, and they set it on fire with shells, and burnt a great part of it nearly to the ground. But they were compelled to desist from the attack, and fresh English troops recovered the wood. Throughout the day the enemy made repeated efforts in great force to obtain possession of this important point, but it was defended with the utmost gallantry to the last. Artillery on both sides was directed against this wood, and almost every tree bears marks of the tremendous conflict; their branches shattered and the trunks pierced. Generations and perhaps centuries hence,

the woodman, when he feels his axe strike upon the imbedded balls, will remember Wellington and the battle of Waterloo.

This attack upon Hougomont was accompanied by a heavy fire from more than 200 pieces of artillery upon the whole British line, and under cover of this fire repeated attacks had been made, first by infantry only —then by cavalry only—and lastly and principally by cavalry and infantry together. One of these latter was so serious, and made with such numbers, that general Alava says it required all the skill of the British commander to post his troops, and all the courage and discipline of his soldiers to withstand the assailants. This was the attack on sir Thomas Picton's division, and in which that gallant officer fell. The duke himself happened to be in this part of the field at that moment. The French advanced up to a hedge, (the only one in the country, and which gives its name to three or four neighbouring hamlets,) which extends along the heights where the British left was placed—some of our foreign corps who were posted behind this hedge, gave way; but the duke moved up some British troops, and the enemy was driven off with immense loss. It was at this time sir Thomas Picton fell: at the moment when the enemy, astonished at seeing their charge met in this manner, fired, and retreated, a musket-ball struck his right temple, went through his brain, and, passing through the skull on the opposite side, was retained by the skin. A helmet might probably have saved the life of one of the most distinguished and gallant officers in the British service. Indeed, the enemy in this action found the full advantage of defensive armour, which we, strangely as it would seem, have not yet adopted. The French cuiraso is made pigeon-breasted, so that unless a musket-ball be fired very near, it is turned off; and it is kept polished that the balls may more readily slant aside; the hinder part fits the back; they are stuffed with a pad, fastened on with a clasp, and are put on and off in an instant. The weight of the whole is about sixteen pounds, not enough to occasion any inconvenience to an able bodied man. The men who were thus armed, were the flower of the French army: it was required that they should not be less than six feet high, that they should have been twelve years in the service, have served in three campaigns, and maintained a good character. Their horses are proportionably good. Thus armed, and thus mounted, they possessed a most important advantage over the British troops; the great points of weight and strength in our cavalry having been sacrificed for the sake of activity and display; the error had been felt in Spain; it was still more severely felt at Waterloo. The enemy had another advantage, in the use of the lance, the most formidable, if not the most efficient weapon with which a horseman can be armed, as had been proved to our cost at Albuhera.

The attack in which general Picton fell, proved fatal also to sir William Ponsonby. He led his brigade against the Polish lancers, and checked their charge. Accompanied by only one aid-de-camp, he got into a ploughed field, where his horse stuck; he was badly mounted, for he had not expected to be in action so soon, and his own charger was not arrived. A body of lancers approached him full speed; these men have always distinguished themselves by their barbarity: sir William saw that his death was inevitable, for the horse was incapable of extricating himself; but he hoped the aid-de-camp might escape, and, taking out the picture of his lady, and his watch, was in the act of delivering them to his care, when the enemy came up and speared them both. The brigade revenged their commander so well, that the Polish lancers were almost entirely cut to pieces before the day was over. Two eagles were taken in this charge; two of those imperial eagles which had been given to the French troops only seventeen days before in the Champ de Mars, and which, in sight of the people of Paris, they had sworn to defend, and to perish if necessary in defending them. The bearer of one had well performed his oath; it was defaced with blood in the struggle, and the eagle was severed from the pole by the cut of a sabre. These standards were inscribed with the names of Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, and Wagram. It has been a matter of surprise to some, why more eagles were not taken—the reasons are, first, that the number of eagles is very small: each regiment has but one eagle, though it has four battalions; so that in our army there are eight colours for the same number of men to whom one

eagle is assigned—secondly, it appears from the order book of one of the French regiments, which was picked up on the field of battle, and is now before us, that the eagles had not been generally distributed to the army, and that only a few favoured regiments had yet had them;—and thirdly, it is surprising that one eagle ever should be taken, for they are purposely made portable, and easily detached from the staff; and it is a practice of the French, with that mixture of rhodomontade and meanness which characterized them under Buonaparte, to boast that they had secured their eagles when the staff and colour were abandoned, and the eagle itself was in the pocket of some runaway ensign.

It was only on the left of the centre that the enemy obtained a temporary success; some light troops of the German legion had been stationed in the farm of La Haye Sainte; the French succeeded in occupying the communication between them and the army, and when all the ammunition of the besieged was expended, they carried the farm house, and, it is said, put every man to the bayonet. This enabled them, about two o'clock, to occupy a small mound on the left of the road near where the *hedge* joins the road from Brussels to Charleroi, and just opposite the gate of the farm; and from this position they never were dislodged till the grand advance of the British army about seven in the evening. The battle continued with the most desperate intrepidity on both sides, Buonaparte continually bringing forward his troops in considerable masses, and the British and her allies resolutely resisting them. The duke of Wellington was every where; always where the struggle was most arduous, in the hottest fire and front of the danger, he was seen, as Waller says of lord Faulkland,

> exposing his all-knowing breast,
> Among the throng as cheaply as the rest.

Never were his exertions more needful; sometimes he was rallying broken infantry, sometimes placing himself at the head of formed squares. No man indeed ever had more confidence in his troops, or did more justice to them. "When other generals," he has said, "commit an error, their army is lost by it, and they are sure to be beaten; when I get into a scrape, my army gets me out of it." The men on their part amply returned the confidence which they so well deserved. "Bless thy eyes," said a soldier in Spain, when lord Wellington passed by him for the first time after he had returned from Cadiz to the army, "Bless thy eyes, I had rather see thee come back than see 10,000 men come to help us." On this day both men and leaders were put to the proof; none of their former fields of glory, many as they had seen together, had been so stubbornly contested, or so dearly won. All this while there was no appearance of the Prussians; and, well as the British army stood its ground, many an anxious eye was directed towards the quarter from whence they were expected.

Blucher had put his army in motion at break of day. The corps of Borstel and Bulow were to march by St. Lambert, occupy a position there under cover of the forest near Fritschermont, and take the enemy in the rear when the moment should appear favourable. Ziethen's corps was to operate on the right flank of the enemy by Ohain, and Thielman to follow slowly, and afford succour in case of need. But the two first of these corps had been placed on the east side of the river Dyle, at Wavre; they had to cross by a narrow bridge, and, to add to the delay which this necessarily occasioned, the houses in the street leading to it were on fire, so that the infantry passed with difficulty, the cavalry and artillery with still greater, and the powder tumbrils not at all till the fire was extinguished. The passage too by the defile of St. Lambert was far more difficult than had been expected, so that when it was half past four in the afternoon, only two brigades of Bulow's corps had arrived at the covered position assigned them. But there was not a moment to be lost, and the general resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. Their way was through the forest of Soigny, which extends over many leagues of country, and from whence Brussels is supplied with fire-wood. By good fortune the peasant who guided them was a man of more than common sagacity; and, instead of coming out of the forest at Fritschermont, he proposed to descend into the valley lower down, and come out in a direction toward

Planchenois, nearly on the French reserve. Then, said he, we shall take them all. In the best concerted plans of war something must always be greatly affected by adventitious circumstances; and the Germans have well observed, how much depended on this peasant, who, had he been less disposed to serve the allies, or less intelligent, might easily have led them into a hollow way, where their cannon could not have past. Buonaparte saw them coming out from the wood, and asked one of his adjutants who they were; the adjutant, looking through the glass, replied, they are Prussian colours; Buonaparte turned pale, and shook his head, without answering a word.

General Bulow had only two brigades and a corps of cavalry. Count Lobau was stationed on the rear of the French right to oppose them, and all the means in reserve were ready to succour him, and to overwhelm the Prussians when they should advance. Relying upon this disposition, Buonaparte says, he led an attack upon the village of Mont St. Jean; (by which he means the heights of Mont St. Jean, with a farm of the same name; the village being, as we have already stated, far to the rear, and on a separate line of hills;) from this effort he expected decisive success, this being, in fact, the vital part of lord Wellington's position: but here he accuses the French of a movement of impatience, so frequent in their military annals, and frequently so fatal to them. The cavalry of reserve, according to his account, having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from the French batteries, crowned the heights of Mont St. Jean, and charged the infantry; a movement, he says, which, if made at the proper moment, and supported by the proper reserve, must have secured the victory; but which, because it was made in an insulated manner, and before affairs were terminated on the right, became fatal. Neither the British nor the Prussian accounts notice any such error; nor indeed does this statement accord with the remainder of the narrative, which was drawn under Buonaparte's direction, or by himself. He says that as there were no means of countermanding this movement, all the cavalry ran to support their comrades; that for three hours numerous charges were made, several squares of the British were broken, and six standards of light infantry taken; that the Prussians in their flank attack were first kept in check, and then repulsed by general Duhesme with the young guard; and that finally they fell back, they had exhausted their forces, and on that side there was nothing now to fear. This was the moment for an attack upon the British centre; it was made; and he proceeds to say 'the day was won, the French occupied all the positions which lord Wellington held at the beginning of the contest; and after eight hours fire and repeated charges of foot and horse, all the army saw with joy that the battle was gained, and the field in their power.' But unluckily the British army were not of the same opinion; they did not know when they were beaten; and making an unceremonious attack upon the rejoicing enemies, the French, Buonaparte fairly confesses, took fright and ran away. Now, as the battle was won before this accident of the panic, it is palpably inconsistent to attribute its loss to the movement of the cavalry three hours before the English thus unaccountably recovered—what in reality they had never lost.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

GEORGE III.

[1815.]

Exertions of Napoleon—Advance of the Prussians—Rout of the French Army—Flight of Buonaparte—Loss of the contending Armies—State of the FIELD of WATERLOO after the Battle—Exultation of the English People—Honours paid to the Duke of Wellington—Return of Napoleon to Paris—His second Abdication—Advance of the Allies to the Capital—It surrenders—Restoration of Louis—Results of that Event—Napoleon seeks refuge on board an English Ship of War and is exiled to St Helena—Conclusion.

IN this decisive and desperate contest, Buonaparte did all for victory which man could do; and his officers and men seconded him with ability and energy worthy of a better cause. His great object—his only hope—his sure means of success was to overpower the English before the Prussians could arrive in any force; he therefore made a perpetual repetition of attacks with horse and foot, supported by the whole of his artillery. It was one of those efforts by which he has more than once decided the fate of a campaign. Under cover of as tremendous a cannonade as ever was witnessed upon a field of battle, he formed his cavalry into masses, brought up the whole of the *elite* of his guards with his reserves, and made an attack upon our centre, which, if it had been possible to quail the spirit of a British army, would have proved successful. Our cavalry was driven to the rear of our infantry;—our advanced artillery was taken. Every battalion that was instantly in square was broken;—more than once did Wellington throw himself into one of these squares, and await the result of a charge, in full reliance upon the steadiness of the men, and ready to stand or fall with them. The troops advanced by echelons to cover the guns. On arriving nearly at the line which their cavalry had occupied, the French infantry appeared, and it became necessary for some battalions to deploy, though almost surrounded by the enemy's horse. For about an hour the conflict at times appeared doubtful: the carnage which ensued was such as the British army had never before experienced. Shocking as the slaughter was, it would have been much greater had it not been for the state of the ground, which was thoroughly soaked with rain; for although this, by preventing dust, afforded better aim to the artillerists, many shots never rose after they touched the ground, and none bounded so often as they would otherwise have done; and the shells frequently buried themselves, and, when they exploded, threw up the mud like a fountain.

THIS continued for about an hour, though Buonaparte would make us believe that the French cavalry had stood their ground in these tremendous circumstances for *three* hours—a manifest impossibility. The fact, as it did occur, is sufficiently surprising: for the French cavalry were on the plateau in the centre of the British position between the two high roads, for three-quarters of an hour, riding about among our squares of infantry, all firing having ceased on both sides. It was now that the duke advanced his squares forward to recover and protect the guns—he called to the centre the cavalry which had been detached to the flanks, and the French cavalry was at length driven off. After this, and till seven in the evening, re-

peated attacks were made along the whole front of the centre, so frequent and so close to one another, that it was impossible to distinguish them. About seven, Buonaparte made a last and desperate effort to force the left of the centre of the British army near La Haye Sainte; he made it with cavalry and infantry, supported by artillery; and the more to encourage the men he deceived both them and their generals. Labedoyre, whom he had made a general and a count, for that treason which has since received its due, but not its appropriate punishment, brought a message to marshal Ney from Buonaparte that marshal Grouchy had arrived and was attacking the enemy; this intelligence he spread among the soldiers as he rode along the lines. However politic it might have been to raise the spirits of the soldiers by this delusion, Ney very naturally expresses his indignation at discovering that Grouchy was far distant, and that the troops who had arrived were enemies instead of friends. The attack, however, was made, and for a few moments, but only for a few, with hope. The first brigade of guards advanced to meet the leading division, and poured in so well directed a fire as literally for a time to make a chasm in it. Ney led the attack: he has disgraced his country and himself by the most abominable cruelty, and the most aggravated treason; but on this day he performed all that could be required from a soldier and a general, and he says that officers and men displayed the greatest intrepidity. General Friant fell by his side, his own horse was killed, and he fell under it. He, however, who knew that if there were to be any punishment inflicted for the foulest crimes, he himself must stand in the first rank of offenders, did not shrink from danger; sword in hand, he remained on foot; and he appeals to those who survived the battle, if he was not among the last to quit the scene of carnage. This attack had been made with what was called the middle guard—the young guard was on the right with Lobau—the old guard, hitherto untouched, was in reserve at the bottom of the ascent up which the middle guard charged—when the latter were routed, a cry, says the French accounts, was heard, 'All is lost, the guard is beaten:' this was natural, and is probably true; and when the remains of the middle guard in their flight threw themselves into the ranks of the old guard, it was impossible but that some disorder must have ensued even in the ranks of those tried veterans.

Blucher, as well as Ney, had been apprized of Grouchy's movement, but more truly. About six o'clock he was informed that Thielman had been attacked near Wavre by a superior force, and that they were disputing possession of the town. This intelligence did not disturb the veteran general; he well knew that the battle must be decided at Waterloo, not at Wavre; any thing which might happen there was of little moment, and he therefore steadily pursued his course. At half-past seven the whole of Borstel's corps and part of Bulow's had successively come up, and *at this time* it was evident that Buonaparte's attack upon the British—the last effort of fury and despair, had failed. Ziethen's first column at this time also arrived in the enemy's right flank near the village of Smouhen, and instantly charged. As the Prussians past our left columns in their advance, they cheered them with that exultation which the determination and sure hope of conquering inspired, and all their bands played 'God save the King.' Wellington perceiving their movements, and seeing the confusion of the enemy, took that great and decisive step which has crowned his glory and saved Europe. He advanced with the greatest celerity the whole line of his infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery; he put himself at the head of the foot guards, spoke a few words to them, which were answered by a general *hurrah*, and then, he himself guiding them on, the attack was made at all points, and in every point with the most perfect success. The Prussians soon after rushed forward on the enemy's right, at the *pas de charge*, and made their attack under the most favourable circumstances; their troops descended into the plain and formed into brigades in the greatest order, and fresh bodies continually unfolded themselves issuing from the forest on the height behind. Even if the British army had not repulsed the enemy, assailed him, and already driven him to flight, this movement of the Prussians would have been decisive; it must have forced the French to retire; if they had succeeded in their efforts

against lord Wellington, it would have prevented them from profiting by the success, but being made at a moment when the British had secured the victory, it rendered that victory complete beyond all expectation, all hope, almost it might be said beyond all former example. *Sauve qui peut* was the cry in Buonaparte's army. A total rout cannot be more fully acknowledged than it is by his own account. "A compleate panic," he says, "spread through the whole field of battle—the men threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communiaction—soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, all pressed to this point; the old guard which was in reserve was infected, and was itself hurried along. In an instant the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers of small arms were mixed pell mell, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder, and such was the confusion owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops and point out to them their error. Thus a battle which *had been* terminated, a day of false manœuvres which *had been* rectified, the greatest success which *had been* ensured for the next day, all were lost by a moment of panic terror."

Buonaparte's station during the battle had been upon the Charleroi road at the hamlet of La Belle Alliance, a little to the right of the middle of the French position. In the early part of the day he had reconnoitred the ground, and directed the movements from a sort of scaffolding, observatory, or telegraph, which had been erected for some ichnographical purposes; but he afterwards seems to have remained personally at La Belle Alliance.—There, says general Gneisenau, he gave his orders; there he flattered himself with the hopes of victory, and there his ruin was decided. Towards this farm, which, because of its elevated situation, was visible from every side, the march of all the Prussian columns was pointed; and there, when night had closed in, and the rout of the enemy was complete, Blucher and Wellington met in the pursuit and congratulated each other as victors. In commemoration of the alliance then subsisting between the British and Prussian nations, of the union of the two armies, and their confidence in each other, Blucher desired that the battle should bear the name of La Belle Alliance. The British general, finding himself on the same road with this excellent veteran, left the pursuit to him, on account of the fatigue of the British troops, who had then been twelve hours in action, and who were by no means fresh when the day began. Blucher assured lord Wellington that he would follow the enemy through the night; he assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit, welcome orders, and obeyed as heartily as they were given. The British army then halted, formed on the hill, and gave the Prussians three cheers as they passed; a moment which all who were present will remember, as having given them the sublimest emotion of their lives. The pursuit could not have been delivered over to better hands; the enemy had deserved no mercy from the Prussians, and they found none. Both on this day, indeed, and on the 16th, the conduct of the French had been brutal. An English ensign, a youth of seventeen, being taken in the first action, was led to Buonaparte, who asked him if he thought he could overtake the British army before they embarked for England! this youth was sent to the rear of the French troops, where he was stripped almost naked, and severely beat when he remonstrated; and when at length getting sight of the general who commanded the division, he claimed his protection as a British officer, the ruffian answered, we will treat you all in the same manner. Their lancers speared many prisoners in cold blood; and when one of our most lamented officers received a wound and fell senseless, and probably dead, from his horse, a Frenchman stept out and beat his head with the butt-end of a musket. Thus insolent, and thus brutal, thus inhuman in success, they were equally treacherous and abject in defeat; many threw down their arms and surrendered, then, watching their opportunity, took them up again and fired at those who spared them. Some of these villains were deservedly sabred; and the Prussians, during the night, took ample revenge for their loss on the 16th, and for the cruelties which the French had then exercised.

The confusion of this rout is represented

as ludicrous by those who witnessed it, when they recollect it apart from its horrors. One letter says, "we were among infantry, imperial guards, and others with large fur caps, who were throwing down their arms, and many of them roaring *pardon*, on their knees." "Our brigade," says another, "darted into a medley of lancers, cuirassiers, infantry, dragoons, guns, &c.—such a scene, I can hardly help laughing at the recollection. They were fairly cowed; great hulking cuirassiers, galloping as hard as they could, tumbling off to save themselves." The strength and stature of these men, which made them so formidable in battle, the moment they were tainted with fear made them appear contemptible; the very advantages upon which they prided themselves in their courage, making cowardice more conspicuous. Here were to be seen cavalry throwing themselves off their horses in the hope that they might better evade pursuit on foot; and in another place the foot soldiers were dismounting the cavalry that they might mount and ride off themselves. At Salamanca, night and darkness saved the French after their defeat; but the moon rose upon the field of La Belle Alliance, and in broad moonlight the Prussians kept up the chace. The French were now routed beyond redemption,—the road, says general Gneisenau, resembled the sea-shore after some great shipwreck; it was covered with cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wreck of every kind. Those of the enemy who were foremost in the flight, and did not expect to be so promptly pursued, attempted to repose for a time,—presently the Prussians were upon them, and thus they were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they seemed to recover courage when beholding only their own numbers, and made a shew of maintaining themselves,—but when they heard the beating of the Prussian drums, or the sound of the Prussian trumpet, the blast of which was as dreadful as if it summoned them to the last judgment, their panic returned, and they renewed their flight, or ran into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. Eight hundred of their bodies were found lying here, where they had suffered themselves (it is a German who speaks) to be cut down like cattle. General Duhesme, who commanded the rear-guard, fell in this place. A black hussar of the duke of Brunswick's corps, sacrificed him to his master's memory. "The duke fell yesterday," said the Brunswicker, "and thou shalt also bite the dust;" and so saying, he cut him down.

THE British army on the preceding day had experienced the inconvenience of crossing the narrow bridge at Genappe, though theirs was a leisure movement, made in excellent order, and with the spirits of the men unchanged. The French had now to cross it in the utmost confusion of haste and terror: Buonaparte, whose first thought in danger had been how to secure his own personal safety, rode off with his staff, and a Wallaon peasant who lived near La Belle Alliance, whom he ordered to guide him by a bye-road to Charleroi. There is a bridge over the Dyle at a village not far from Genappe; Sucotte, being perhaps as much confounded by the events of the day as the emperor Napoleon himself, and somewhat also by the company in which he found himself enlisted, did not remember this bridge, so he led the emperor to Genappe, where the waggons were wedged sixteen deep upon the causeway; and they were an hour and a half before they could make way through the press. Buonaparte effected his flight through this town about half an hour after midnight. The fugitives made their last attempt at rallying here; they entrenched themselves with cannon and overturned carriages, and commenced a brisk fire of musketry, when the Prussians approached; some cannon-shot, followed by a loud hurrah, sufficed to frighten away all thought of farther resistance; and the flight and pursuit were continued with increased fear on the part of the enemy, and unrelenting ardour on the part of the conquerors. Buonaparte's carriage with his hat, and sword, and papers, and the insignia of all his orders, were found at Genappe. His travelling library also was taken, consisting of nearly 800 volumes, in six chests: among these books were a French Homer, a French Ossian, the Bible, and the Pucelle of Voltaire. The spoils which were lying along the road tempted the Prussians and abated their speed, otherwise, it is said, that scarcely a man of the beaten army could have escaped; as it was, the pursuit was not given over during the night. The loss of the enemy was great, even beyond that at

Leipsic; they stopt in their flight till they had passed all their fortresses; the allied armies passed them also; and when Buonaparte, after having excited the French armies to rebellion, and led them for the third time to destruction, reached the capital, he brought with him tidings of his total and irreparable defeat, and that Blucher and Wellington were on the way to Paris.

The French army were never more skilfully directed than in this memorable action, and never had they fought so well. They had, indeed, every motive of which such men are susceptible, for exerting themselves to the utmost; the pride of former victories, shame and indignation for late defeats, and the bitterest hatred of the enemies to whom they were opposed,—nations whom they had wronged, and outraged, and insulted, and despised; and by whom they had been beaten, and humbled, and forgiven. Only by success could they justify to their own country anew the audacious enterprise in which they were engaged; only by success could they legitimate the government of the usurper for whom they had forsworn themselves; only by success could they hope to escape the penalties of treason and rebellion. Victory would have given them every thing; their old supremacy, their old renown, their old days of military license, of rapine and free quarters, would be restored; their leader had told them that the moment was arrived for every Frenchman who had a heart, to conquer or to perish. And it might have been thought that in this instance he would have acted up to his professions; that however he might, on former occasions, have braved public opinion by flying from his armies in their utmost need, he would now at least have played the man, and perished bravely in the ruin which he had brought upon himself and his adherents. But Buonaparte's spirit has nothing of the heroic character,—the love of life with him is stronger even than the love of empire; he clings to the carcase like a ship-wrecked sailor, he knows into what an abyss he must sink when that miserable hold can no longer be maintained. He was therefore among the foremost in flight. Marshal Ney assures us that *before the end of the battle* he had disappeared,—but the soldiers performed their part better; it was not until the defeat was irreparable that they fled, and till every effort of skill, and courage, and fury, and despair, had been exhausted. The British troops were no novices in war,—yet they who had witnessed the bloody conflict at Albuhera, and the murderous assaults at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and St. Sebastian, never beheld such slaughter as at Waterloo. The loss of the British and Hanoverians there and on the 16th, amounted to not less than 13,000 men, and 750 officers,—a proportion which evinces how obstinate and perilous must have been the conflict; of these more than two-thirds must have fallen at Waterloo. The Prussian loss we have no grounds for computing; at Waterloo it could not have been great, because they were scarcely engaged before Ziethen's arrival consummated the defeat of the enemy. On the side of Wavre, where Thielman was attacked by Grouchy and Vandamme with superior force, it must have been greater: the whole loss of the Prussians, from the commencement of the campaign till their triumphant entrance into Paris, has been officially stated at 38,000. But the loss of the French in the last great battle, and the rout, exceeded that of all the allies in the whole campaign twice told. A wide and sweeping destruction overtook them; a vengeance as signal as their crimes. Many of the prisoners had been at Leipsic, but this they said was much worse; *nous sommes ecrases*, was their remark. Blucher's expression in his first despatch was, that the whole French army was in a state of perfect dissolution. Even this was not hyperbolical; their baggage, equipage, tumbrils, artillery, the whole of what is called the *material*, were taken; they began the day 160,000 strong, and by their own account, when the wreck of the army had collected and united with Grouchy's corps, they did not amount to 60,000.

The state of the field of battle is too dreadful for description. Let us rather relate such facts as are honourable to our nature, and mitigate and relieve these horrors. It has been said in the French papers that the British soldiers exerted themselves to form litters and carry off the wounded French from the field. Some of our wounded who had still the use of their limbs, employed themselves in binding up the wounds of their enemies, and administering to their wants:

and in Brussels, people of the first rank attended the wounded night and day. And it marks, in the most gratifying manner, the good conduct of the British army while quartered in Brussels previously to the battle; and the inhabitants sought with the greatest anxiety among the wounded for their former guests, and took them to their houses and their care as *old friends*. It marks too the character of the different nations, that among the pillage of the dead, French novels are enumerated, (we know of what description!) and German testaments. The enemy's cannon was brought triumphantly into Brussels, ornamented with ribbands and flowers: some bore the cypher of Louis XVI, others had the words Liberty and Equality, the greater number had the mark of Napoleon. The joy of the Belgians may well be conceived; however averse they might be to the arrangement which united them to the Dutch,—a catholic to an heretical people,—nothing could be so desirable in its immediate effects as such a victory, which saved them from the license of Buonaparte's army, his contributions and his conscriptions, and relieved them from the presence of the allied armies. They were flattered also by the part which they had borne in the success, and the manner in which the prince of Orange had signalized himself: he had behaved with distinction in Spain, and had now added to his former renown,—but not without receiving a severe wound. Throughout the north of Germany, wherever the heavy hand of France had been felt, (and whither had it not extended?) the people exulted as much now when their deliverance was secured, as they had done in the preceding war, when it was first obtained. At Hamburgh, it is said, such universal joy had never been displayed as when the news of the victory arrived: a public thanksgiving was appointed, a collection in the churches was made for the sufferers, and on the day which had been thus set apart for the duties of religion and charity, the tomb of Klopstock was restored, which Davoust had thrown down, as if in hatred toward the senseless dust of him who had endeavoured to make the Germans feel as a nation, and to keep alive in them the love of freedom and of their country.

The feeling which this battle produced in England will never be forgotten by the present generation. Accustomed, as we were, to victory, upon the land as well as upon the seas, since the star of Wellington had risen; confident, as we were, in our general and in our army, even they who were most assured of success, and of speedy success, dreamt not of success so signal, so sudden, so decisive. The glory of all former fields seemed to fade before that of Waterloo. At Cressy, at Poictiers, at Agincourt, the ease with which victory had been obtained appeared to detract from the merit of the conquerors; there the multitude of the enemies had been delivered into our hands by their own insolence and presumption. Blenheim had been less stubborn in the conflict, less momentous in the consequences; and all the previous actions of our great commander from Vimeiro, or from Eastern Assye, to Thoulouse, now seemed mere preludes to this last and greatest of his triumphs. Heavy as was the weight of private sorrow which it brought with it; severe as was the public loss in the fall of Picton and Ponsonby, and of so many others, the flower of the British youth, the pride and promise of the British army, still we were spared that grief, which on a former occasion had abated the joy of the very multitude, and made thoughtful spirits almost regret the victory of Trafalgar. The duke's aides de camp—men endeared to him by their long services in the career of glory, and by their personal devotion to him—fell, killed or wounded, one after another. Of those who accompained him during this 'agony of his fame,' his old friend the Spanish general Alava was the only one who was untouched either in his person or his horse. At one moment, when the duke was very far advanced, observing the enemy's movements, one of his aid-de-camp's ventured to hint that he was exposing himself too much, the duke answered with his noble simplicity, 'I know I am, but I must die or see what they are doing.'

The first consideration, when joy and astonishment admitted leisure for it, was how to express our sense of this great exploit, how to manifest our gratitude to the army and its leader, how to discharge our obligation—the mighty debt which was due to the living and the dead. There remained no new title for Wellington; from his knighthood

to his dukedom he had won them all; there remained no new distinctions of honour, he had exhausted them all: but the parliament added two hundred thousand pounds to its former munificent grant, in order that a palace, not less magnificent than that of Blenheim, might be erected for the general who had surpassed the achievements of Marlborough. The merits of the army also were properly estimated, and the rewards, as they ought to be, were extended to every rank and every individual. Every regiment which had been present, was permitted from thenceforth to bear the word Waterloo upon their colours; all the privates were to be borne muster rolls and pay lists of their respective corps as Waterloo men; and every Waterloo man allowed to reckon that day's work as two years' service in the account of his time for increase of pay, or for a pension when discharged. The subaltern officers were in like manner to reckon two years' service for that victory; and a benefit not less important was extended on this occasion to the whole army, by a regulation enacting, that henceforward the pensions granted for wounds, should rise with the rank to which the officer attained, so that he who was maimed when an ensign, should, when he became a general, receive a general's pension for the injury which he had endured. These were solid substantial benefits, such as the army had well deserved, and as it became the government to confer. More was yet due, and the legislature were not slow in expressing the universal feeling of the nation. They decreed that a national monument should be erected in honour of the victory, and in commemoration of the men who fell: and upon the suggestion of Mr. William Wynn, it was determined that the name of every man who had fallen, should be inscribed upon this memorial of national glory and public gratitude. Mr. Wynn suggested also that a medal should be given to each of the survivors, of the same materials for officers and men, that they who had been fellows in danger might bear the same badge of honour. And to shew how deeply the sense of honour will act upon the minds of brave men in however humble a situation, he related a fact which we repeat here, because it cannot be too generally known. After the battle of the Nile, a gentleman caused a medal to be struck in honour of that action, and at his own expense gave it to every man in the victorious fleet. Some of these men, common sailors, have been known after many years, when dying upon a distant station, to make it their last request, that this medal should be sent home to their friends. Let us hope that what was done by a liberal individual, may now be done by a wise and grateful government; and if the medal should be given to all the allies who were in the field that day, its moral influence would be such that few subsidies would ever have been so well bestowed.

Lord Wellington described his own feelings, after the battle, in a letter to the earl of Aberdeen, to whom he had the painful task of communicating a brother's death. 'I cannot,' he said, 'express to you the regret and sorrow with which I contemplate the losses the country and the service have sustained,—none more severe than that of general sir William Gordon. The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me, and I cannot imagine that it is any to you. But I trust the result has been so decisive, that little doubt will remain but our exertions will be rewarded by the attainment of our first object; then it is that the glory of the actions in which our friends have fallen may be some consolation.'

Language like this is indeed honourable to him from whom it proceeded. Lord Wellington spake from his heart. This victory had been too severely purchased to bring with it any of that exhilaration with which victory is usually accompanied,—the friends with whom he had so often rejoiced after a victory, had fallen by his side, and during the greater part of the ensuing day he was in tears. But his expectations of the result were not fallacious. The allied armies moved upon Paris, where the proceedings of the ephemeral government evinced how little ability there was to resist their progress. The tyrant, who had twice returned to that capital alone, after leading armies to destruction, seems to have imagined, that he might a third time depend upon the servility and patience of a degraded and deluded nation. Upon his arrival he informed his chamber of peers, that he had come to Paris to consult with the minister of war on the means of restoring the material of the army, and to

consult with the chambers on the legislative measures which circumstances required. The chamber of peers declared itself permanent! they declared that any attempt to dissolve them was a crime of high treason; that whoever might render himself guilty of such an attempt would be a traitor, and should immediately be condemned as such; and they decreed that the army had deserved well of their country! La Fayette also moved the same absurdities, saying, 'that for the first time the chamber then heard a voice which the old friends of liberty might yet recognize, —that this was the moment to rally round the old tri-coloured standard that of 1789—that of liberty, of equality, and of public order.' The old friends of liberty did indeed recognize his voice, but they recognized it with sorrow; the restoration of the Bourbons had given to France as much liberty as he had contended for in 1789; more, far more than she deserved—more, far more than she was capable of enjoying; it had restored also that foreign and domestic peace, that peaceful industry, that public order, which the tri-coloured standard had banished. One member proposed a solemn declaration that the French nation renounced for ever all conquest, and all offensive and ambitious war! That they would never again take up arms but for the defence of their territory, to avenge the outrages committed against their dignity, if reparation could not be obtained by means of negociation, or for the defence of an ally unjustly attacked. The scenes which ensued reminded us of the disorders, the squabbles, and the absurdities of the national convention; doubtless, we should ere long have been reminded of the ferocity and madness of that convention also, if the victorious army had not been at hand. Emboldened by that thought, one speaker ventured to call for the abdication of the emperor, several voices seconded the motion; and Buonaparte, was found as pliable as usual when his own personal safety came in question. Still, however, confiding in his partizans, and in the heterogeneous assemblies who were implicated with him, when he gave in his own abdication, declaring that he offered himself as a sacrifice to the enemies of France, and that his political life was terminated, he proclaimed his son emperor of the French, by the title of Napoleon II. This subterfuge was but coldly received; and when Lucien Buonaparte, whom this measure would have placed in the situation which he most coveted, supported it, he was reminded that he was not a Frenchman, and had no right to deliver an opinion upon the subject, having none to a seat in that assembly. The person who supported it with most vehemence was Labedoyère. The abdication, he observed, was indivisable,—meaning by this phrase, that it was conditional, and became void unless the young Napoleon were admitted to the succession. He said, 'that if the assembly would not acknowledge the son, the father ought to keep the sword in his hand, surrounded by the soldiers;' and he proposed that every Frenchman who quitted his colours should be declared infamous, that his house should be rased, and his family proscribed. 'Then,' said he, 'we shall have no more traitors.' So natural is compassion to an English public, that Labedoyére was pitied when he received the punishment due to his treason and rebellion; but the sentiments which he delivered on this occasion shew that he was ready to renew the horrid scenes which Westermann, and Turreau, and Rossignol exhibited in La Vendée; and little mercy did that man deserve who had thus avowed his own determination of shewing none.

The allies now advanced upon Paris, and the Buonapartes absconded, hoping, as it appears, to try their fortunes in America. But the British fleet completed the work which the British army had begun: the fallen emperor fled from our armies to the coast, he found it so closely watched by our ships, that it was impossible to escape; and no alternative remained but to fall into the hands of the legitimate government, to throw himself upon the mercy of the English, or to escape their cruisers. The first of these measures would have led to his immediate execution, and he therefore set out for Rochfort with a train of faithful officers and domestics amounting to forty persons, who were resolved to ally themselves to his fate. Two frigates had been prepared for his reception at Rochfort, and had not his own indecision, occasioned by his secret wish to join the troops assembled on the Loire, delayed his arrival on the coast, he might have escaped to America before the arrival of the British cruisers to watch his motions.

The duke of Wellington remained at Waterloo till the 19th of June, to provide for the wounded, to rest his troops after so severe an action, and to re-organize them for further operations. On the 20th he marched to Binche, a distance of 30 miles, and issued an order of the day similar to that which he had circulated on his first advance into the French territory. The exemplary conduct of the soldiers under his command, presented a striking contrast to the sanguinary and revengeful acts perpetrated by the Prussians. The provocations, indeed, on the part of the latter to inveterate hatred of the French, had been great and numerous, and they seized the opportunity of sanguinary retaliation. On the 20th, the duke of Wellington continued his march to Malplaquet, a distance of 17 miles, and crossing the French boundary, advanced to Cateau-Cambresis, whence he dispatched a corps to take Cambray. The walls of that place are fifty-five feet in height; but general Colville, unintimidated by this circumstance, attacked the town by escalade at four different points, and the garrison retreated into the citadel, with the loss of 130 prisoners.

In the expression of his good-will to Louis, lord Wellington would appear to have assumed a language which neither the temper of the allies, nor the tone of his own court in particular, can entirely justify. We had disclaimed all intention to stipulate for the return of the Bourbons, and the allies had come to no explicit declaration on the subject. Yet, on the arrival of Louis at Cambray, that city was delivered to him in form, as actual king of France. Meanwhile the troops of Blucher were continuing their march to Paris, while the miserable wreck of the French army under Soult and Grouchy, was hastening in a parallel direction to outstrip the invaders, and defend the capital. At Villars-Catterets, the two armies came in contact. A severe engagement ensued, in which the French were defeated, with the loss of six pieces of cannon, and 1000 prisoners. They were likewise driven from the road of Soissons, by which they had hoped to penetrate to Paris. They then endeavoured to take the road of Meaux, but were opposed by the corps of Bulow, and repulsed, with the loss of 500 prisoners. They eventually, however, succeeded in arriving at the metropolis before the invaders, and Grouchy brought with him the greater part of the artillery he had with him at Wavre. The Prussians continued to advance, and on the 29th of June, had arrived in the neighbourhood of Paris.

The duke of Wellington halted at Cateau, to allow the pantoons and some necessary stores to come up, and on the 26th attacked Peronne. The horn-work, which covered the suburb on the left of the Somme, was carried by storm with trifling loss, and the town then surrendered, on condition that the garrison should lay down their arms, and be allowed to return to their homes. On the 28th of June, lord Wellington was at St. Just, and on the 29th and 30th passed the Oise, and established himself with his right at Rochebourg, and his left at the Bois de Bondy.

In the mean time, the provisional government of France appointed commissioners to treat for peace, who repaired to the camp of prince Blucher, and requested a suspension of arms, while they proceeded to the head-quarters of the allies with pacific overtures. He gave them a peremptory refusal, and would acquiesce in nothing but unconditional submission, and the possession of Paris. He did not, however, refuse their passports, and they proceeded to Hagueneau, where the coalesced sovereigns had now arrived. After a long but unsatisfactory conference, they returned to Paris, and found the duke of Wellington and prince Blucher ready to enter the capital, in pursuance of a convention concluded in their absence. The provisional government had acted with vigour and activity. The fortifications were completed; and additional troops to those of Soult and Grouchy poured in from the south, the national guard volunteered its service, the federates armed themselves with eagerness, and the majority of the people shared in the determination to preserve the *sacred capital* from a second humiliation. Overtures for an armistice, and a private letter of Fouché were, during these preparations, equally disregarded. The troops of the allies bivouacked beneath the walls of Paris, and many conflicts ensued between the detached divisions of Blucher's army, and parties of the French stationed near Versailles. Observing the firmness and prudence of the allies, the

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provisional government invited the marshals and generals to a council of war, at which it was decided that all resistance must be fruitless. Fouché and Caulincourt proposed that the city should be surrendered to Louis XVIII. and argued that this procedure would conciliate a family under whose power it was evident that they must return. But it was finally determined to offer the surrender of the city as a mere military transaction, without reference to any political question.

The main body of the allies was now stationed on the left bank of the Seine, where the city was without defence. They were masters of the village of Issy immediately under the walls, and could chuse the most favourable moment of attack. The French, on the contrary, were ranged out just without the walls, and in the suburbs of Paris, and were compelled to be upon their guard at all the avenues of the immense space which they had to defend. Unacquainted with the determination of the government, they were attacked by the allies on the 3rd of July, and fought with the fury of despair. But the French were repulsed at every point, and fled to the interior gates of the city. As soon as the government perceived that the conflict was taking an unfavourable turn, they despatched a herald to the allied generals, demanding a suspension of arms for a few hours, while commissioners could be appointed to treat of the surrender of the city. To this proposal Wellington and Blucher consented, and the negotiations were not protracted. The following convention was instantly arranged and signed by the commissioners.

The 3rd of July, 1815, the commissioners named by the commanders-in-chief of the respective armies, that is to say, the baron Bignon, holding the portefeuille of foreign affairs; the count Gnillemont, chief of the general staff of the French army; the count de Bondy, prefect of the department of the Seine, being furnished with the full powers of his excellency, the marshal prince of Echmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French army on one side; and major-general baron Muffling, furnished with the full powers of his highness the field-marshal prince Blucher, commander-in-chief of the Prussian army; and colonel Hervey, furnished with the full powers of his excellency the duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the English army on the other side, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall be a suspension of arms between the allied armies, commanded by his highness the prince Blucher, and his excellency the duke of Wellington, and the French army under the walls of Paris.

Art. II. The French army shall put itself in motion to-morrow, to take up its position behind the Loire. Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days; and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected within eight days.

Art. III. The French army shall take with it all its materiel, field artillery, military chest, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the depôts shall be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of administration, which belong to the army.

Art. IV. The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies.

Art. V. The military and those holding employments, to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty, immediately after their recovery, to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

Art. VI. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army, shall be at liberty to remain in Paris. The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.

Art. VII. The officers of the line employed with the federés, or with the tirailleurs of the national guard, may either join the army or return to their homes, or the places of their birth.

Art. VIII. To-morrow, the 4th of July, at mid-day, St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.

Art. IX. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard, and by the corps of the municipal gendarmerie.

ART. X. The commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect, and to make those under their command respect, the actual authorities, so long as they shall exist.

ART. XI. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the government, or depends upon the municipal authority, shall be respected, and the allied powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

ART. XII. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and, in general, all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account, either as to the situations which they hold, or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

ART. XIII. The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital, and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

ART. XIV. The present convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms, at least ten days beforehand.

ART. XV. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris.

ART. XVI. The present convention is declared common to all the allied armies, provided it be ratified by the powers on which these armies are dependent.

ART. XVII. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

ART. XVIII. Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present convention.

Done and signed at St. Cloud, in triplicate, by the commissioners above named, the day and year before mentioned.

(Signed) The baron BIGNON.
Count GUILLEMONT.
Count DE BONDY.
The baron DE MUFFLING.
F. B. HERVEY, colonel.

APPROVED and ratified, the present suspension of arms, at Paris, the 3rd of July, 1815.

Approved (Signed) { Marshal the prince D'ECHMUHL.

CONFORMABLY with the terms of this convention, the allied troops were placed in possession of the out-posts of the city on the day after the capitulation; and on the 6th the barriers were delivered up, and the allies entered the capital. The military posts were surrendered without disturbance. The English and Prussian picquets received the password from the national troops as regularly as if they were merely relieving guard; and, after the opposite parties had saluted each other in all due military form, the national guard peaceably returned to their respective habitations. The chamber of deputies dissolved of its own accord; the tri-coloured flag was torn from the towers of Paris, and replaced by the white standard of the Bourbons. The 8th of July exhibited in a revolting point of view the fickle and servile nature of the Parisians. When the arrival of the king on the road to Paris was announced, multitudes who a few short weeks before had rent the air with plaudits of Buonaparte and execrations against the Bourbons in the Champ de Mai, went out to meet him. The acclamations were loud and universal. On entering the suburbs, he was greeted with enthusiastic cries of "Long live our beloved monarch! Long live Louis! Louis for ever, and none but him! The royal carriage was surrounded by those very marshals, some of whom have been sentenced by this very sovereign to exile or the block; and by the municipal body which had lately sanctioned all the plans and all the arbitrary actions of Napoleon. The garden of the Thuilleries was thronged during the whole of the evening. Groups of dancers occupied every walk and every lawn; and when the king descended into the garden, the populace so violently thronged around him to testify their joy, that he was glad to retire into his balcony, where he gratified the crowd with the sight of him for more than half an hour.

ON the succeeding day the king announced his ministers. The prince de Talleyrand was

appointed president of the council and secretary for foreign affairs; marshal St. Cyr, minister of war; baron Louis, minister of finance; the duke of Otranto, (Fouché,) minister of police; the duke de Richelieu, minister for the department of the king's household; baron Pasquier, minister of justice; and count de Jaucour, minister of marine. The object of the king was to include the leading men of all parties, and thus inspire universal confidence. But he was restored to his throne under the most unfortunate circumstances. He was forced upon the French people by invading armies; the blood of the French had too liberally flowed in the contest; and as the price of his restoration, he was compelled to subscribe to conditions humiliating to the glory of France. General Blucher, immediately upon his entrance into Paris, sent a letter to M. Denou, the director of the Museum, demanding not only the surrender of the pictures and statues claimed last year, as belonging to Prussia, but of all the treasures of art contained in the Museum, as the plundered property of the allies. M. Denou answered that it was an affair which must be negotiated with the government, and that he would not give them up. M. Denon was arrested during the night by 20 men, and was threatened to be sent to the fortress of Grandentz, in West Prussia. From this argument there was no appeal; and the objects demanded were delivered. Sentinels were placed along the gallery of the Museum, at every twenty steps; but this did not entirely prevent the intrusion of the multitude, who bewailed with clamorous importunity this striking and decisive proof of national humiliation. The possession of the most valuable productions of art, obtained by plunder or by artifice, had cherished the vanity of the French people, and had been frequently the theme of triumphant boast in the armies of Napoleon. To lose these trophies of conquest and victory was the subject of general lamentation; not from any unusual attachment to, or superior knowledge of, the arts, but because *La Belle Paris* could no longer be denominated the grand and sole repository of painting and sculpture. If on subjects like these their sensibility was so acute, and their indignation so vehement, it may be readily conceived to what a degree of exasperation those feelings would be enflamed on the disclosure of the following document, with which we shall conclude the diplomatic history of the year.

Protocol of the Conference between the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, Great Britain, Prussia, and France, on Monday, the second of October, 1815.

After various declarations and conferences between the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, on the one side; and the duke of Richelieu, appointed plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of France, on the other, it has been agreed upon to-day, that the relations between France and the allied powers, armed for the re-establishment and maintenance of the general peace, shall be definitively regulated upon the following bases:—

1. The boundaries of France as they were in 1790, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, shall form the fundamental principles of the territorial arrangements, so that those districts and territories of former Belgium, of Germany, and Savoy, which, by the treaty of Paris of 1814, were annexed to old France, shall remain separated therefrom.

2. Where this principle is departed from, the boundaries of 1790 shall be modified and better arranged, according to mutual conventions and interests, both in regard to civil jurisdiction, so as to cut off inclosed districts, and assign, on both sides, a more regular territory, and also in regard to military jurisdiction, so as to strengthen certain weak parts of the boundaries of the centerminous countries.

In conformity to this principle, France cedes to the allies—

Landau, Saarlouis, Philippeville, and Marienburg, with those circles of territory which are more fully laid down in the plan of treaty proposed by the four allied cabinets, on the 20th of September.

Versoy, with the necessary territory, shall be ceded to the Helvetic confederation, in order to bring the canton of Geneva in direct communication with Switzerland, and the French line of customs shall be there established in the manner most convenient for the administrative system of both countries.

The works of Huningen shall be demolished. The French government binds itself to erect no others within a distance of three leagues from Basle.

France relinquishes her rights to the principality of Monaco.

On the other hand, the possession of Avignon and the Venaissin, as well as of the county of Montpelgard, and the possession of every other territory which is included within the French line, shall be anew secured to France.

3. France pays to the allied powers, by way of indemnity for the expences of their last armaments, the sum of 700 million of francs. A special commission shall fix the mode, the periods, and the securities for this payment.

4. A military line of the following seventeen fortresses, viz.—Condé, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Le Quesnoy, Maubenge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, Mezieres, Sedan, Mommedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitche, and the Bridge-head of Fort Louis, shall be occupied by an army of 150,000 men, which the allied powers shall appoint. This army, which shall be placed under the command of a general, chosen by these powers, shall be wholly maintained at the expense of France.

A special commission shall fix all that relates to its maintenance, which shall be regulated in the best way for supplying all the wants of the army, and, at the same time, the least burdensome for the country.

The longest duration of this military occupation is fixed at five years. However, on the expiration of three years, after the allied sovereigns have weighed the situation of things and of mutual interests, as well as the advances which may have been made in the restoration of order and tranquillity in France, they will come to a common decision with the king of France, whether the above term of years may be shortened.

The plenipotentiaries having defininitely adopted these bases, have concerted upon the course to be adopted, in order to arrive, in the shortest possible time, at a formal arrangement, and have consequently determined,

1. That a general treaty shall be drawn up, upon the bases above laid down, and adding to them such articles as, by common consent, shall be judged necessary to complete it. The French government will nominate on its part, the person who is to unite with those whom the four powers have charged with the drawing up of the treaty.

2. That the commissioners appointed for the military affairs shall proceed, conjointly with the commissioners whom the French government shall appoint for this purpose, to draw up a plan of convention to regulate every thing relative to the military occupation, and to the support of the army employed in this occupation. The same commissioners shall also determine the manner and the periods of the evacuation of all such parts of the French territory as are not comprehended within the line of the military occupation.

3. That a special commission appointed for that purpose by the contracting parties, shall draw up, without delay, a plan of convention to regulate the mode, the periods, and the guarantees of the payment of the 700,000,000 of francs, to be stipulated by the general treaty.

4. The commission formed to examine the reclamations of several powers, relatively to the non-execution of certain articles of the treaty of Paris, shall continue its labours, with the understanding, that it is to communicate them as soon as possible, to the plenipotentiaries in the principal negociation.

5. That as soon as these commissioners shall have terminated their labours, the plenipotentiaries shall unite to examine the results of them,—to determine on the definitive arrangements,—and to sign the principal treaty, as well as the different particular conventions. This process verbal having been read, the plenipotentiaries have approved it, and

(Signed) Rasumowsky, Wessenberg, Castlereagh, Capo D'Istria, Richelieu, Humboldt, Wellington, Hardenberg.

From the 3rd to the 10th of July, Napoleon resided at the house of the prefect of Rochefort. He still cast a "longing lingering look" at the prize which he had lost, and in the struggle between ambition and a regard to his own security, neglected the opportunity of flight. In a paroxysm of momentary despair, he took possession with his few attendants, of the isle of Aix, reviewed his

comrades, began to repair the works, and was convinced the next morning of his folly. Every chance of escape was now cut off, and he had recourse to the singular expedient of sending a flag of truce to the British commander of the Bellerophon, requesting permission to pass, and giving his word of honour that he would proceed to America. To this an unqualified denial was returned, and captain Maitland added that he would attack the French squadron the moment it left the harbour. Buonaparte now resolved to make a virtue of necessity, and throw himself on the generosity of the British nation. Two of his officers were despatched to captain Maitland, proposing his surrender, on condition that his person and property should be sacred, and that on his arrival in England he should be permitted to retire wherever he preferred. The captain answered that he had no authority to grant him terms, and that all he could do would be to convey him and his suite to England. His reply was far from pleasing to Buonaparte, but his situation was desperate, and he at last embarked with his suite on board a flag of truce, and proceeded to the Bellerophon. He ascended the quarter-deck, advanced to captain Maitland, and with much dignity of manner, thus addressed him. "I am come to claim the protection of your prince and of your laws." The captain received him with all the respect due to his former rank. The Bellerophon immediately weighed anchor and sailed for England, but did not arrive at Torbay till the 24th of July, when the following letter was transmitted to the prince regent.

"Royal highness,

"EXPOSED to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the safeguard of their laws, and claim the protection of your royal highness, the most powerful, the most constant, the most generous, of my enemies.

NAPOLEON."

BUOYED up by the expectation of obtaining an asylum in England, he was cheerful and affable, and soon ingratiated himself with every person on board. He eagerly read the English newspapers, and expressed with freedom his opinion on every political subject. His suite treated him with the most profound respect; but he familiarly and eagerly conversed with the officers of the Bellerophon, and sometimes addressed himself to the private sailors and marines.

WHEN he was asked his opinion of Wellington, he generally attempted to evade the question, but he never used a single expression derogatory to the duke's military talents. When he was more than usually communicative, he frankly acknowledged that our illustrious commander had proved himself the first general of the age.

HE sometimes spoke with animation, but incoherently, of his own military achievements. "I ought," said he, "to have died when I entered Moscow; then I had attained the very pinnacle of glory: but from that hour reverses and disgrace have perpetually attended me. And yet had I followed the dictates of my own mind, I might now have been great and happy. I would have made peace at Dresden, and at Chatillon; but Maret, with well meaning but fatal zeal, persuaded me against it. Your fine country I had once resolved to invade. It is perhaps fortunate for me that my intention was never executed. The cowardly traitor Villeneuve would not obey the orders which he received. I would have landed as near Chatham as I could, and have dashed at once for London. I might have failed, I might have perished in the attempt, but the prize was worth the hazard of the undertaking."

IN England, Buonaparte could not be permitted to reside with comfort to himself, or security to Europe; nor could he have been suffered to emigrate to any distant neutral country, where intercourse with his adherents might be frequent and unrestrained. It was therefore determined to select some isolated and solitary spot, far removed from the boundaries of political intrigue, and from whence escape might be impossible. In such a situation many unpleasant restraints on his personal liberty, many precautions inconsistent with his private enjoyment, might be remitted, without danger, to the peace of Europe.

THE island of St. Helena presented this

spot. Twelve hundred miles distance from the nearest continent, containing but one harbour within its circumference; strong by nature, impregnable by art, commanding from its declivities a view of the ocean on every side, for more than 60 miles; this island presented a character and aspect so gloomy, and yet so romantic, that providence might seem to have designed it for the residence of some illustrious and unfortunate exile. But though it was evident that in the seclusion of St. Helena, he would experience more real happiness than he could have enjoyed in England, where he must have been subjected to a tenfold degree of espionage and suspicion, Buonaparte learned the decision of the privy council, through the medium of newspapers, with the strongest expressions of rage and indignation. At first he peremptorily declared that he would not be taken from the Bellerophon alive, and his suite fully participated in his emotion. When madame Bertrand learned that she was to be secluded for life on the barren rock of St. Helena, she burst from the cabin, rushed towards Buonaparte, who was then parading the deck, threw herself at his feet, deliriously clasped his knees, and then rushing to the side of the vessel, would have precipitated herself into the sea, had not her purpose been violently prevented. Two days elapsed before the arrival of the British commissioner, during which interval Buonaparte had reflected on the inutility of resistance, and had become reconciled to his fate. He again began to shew himself to the crowds which constantly surrounded the ship, and his countenance sometimes brightened into a smile. Many hours of the day were spent in writing, and among other compositions, he drew up a spirited protest against the right of banishment assumed by the British government; a document, which he afterwards destroyed.

Sir Henry Banbury was the person officially charged with a communication to government, importing that he would be conveyed to the island of St. Helena, with four of his friends, to be chosen by himself, and 12 domestics. He received the intimation without surprise, but protested against the measure with the utmost energy. He said that he had been forced to quit the isle of Elba, by the breach of the treaty made with him by the sovereigns of Europe: that he had endeavoured to avoid hostilities, but he had been forced by the allies themselves; that when his enemies had declared in the face of the world that he alone was the object of their enmity, he abdicated the throne of France in the full confidence that they would adhere to their solemn declaration, and leave the French to the settlement of their own affairs. His first wish had been to retire to the distant country of America, and there devote himself to literary pursuits; but disappointed in that, he had next resolved to seek protection in Britain, and had therefore fearlessly and unconditionally placed himself in the power of the British government. It was not consistent with the principles of the British constitution to doom him to perpetual banishment, without accusation and without trial.

He was now removed on board the Northumberland, and the officers who surrounded him were instructed to address him by no higher title than that of general. Count Bertrand, the countess and their children, count and countess Montholon, count Las Cassas, and general Gorgaud, with nine men, and three women servants, remained with Buonaparte, and the rest were sent on board the Eurotas frigate. Buonaparte's surgeon alone, of all his attendants, refused to accompany him, and his place was supplied by the surgeon of the Bellerophon. After waiting a few days for provisions and stores, the Northumberland sailed for St. Helena, and arrived there on the 18th of October. Buonaparte was lodged in a private house, until a suitable residence could be prepared for his reception. During the first part of the voyage he was the life of the crew, but as he approached the place of his destination, his spirits flagged, and when the rugged and barren rocks of St. Helena presented themselves to view, surrounded by the wide expanse of a vast and almost unfrequented ocean, he hurried to his cabin and burst into tears. A lesson more instructive and sublime, has never been impressed by the moralist, or imagined by the poet. The records of human history contain no other example of vicissitude so awful, of punishment so just, yet merciful, of despotism so rapidly accomplishing its own destruction by the enormity of its offences against the liberties of mankind. But let not us who

assume the merit of essentially promoting this desirable consummation, exult too much in the purity of our motives, and the integrity of our views. Our impolicy has been great, our errors have been numerous; and we are less a debtor to our own wisdom, virtue, and perseverance, than to the misfortunes and indiscretion of our enemies. It becomes our duty to reflect upon the scene that has passed before us with a disposition to improve by the incidents it has displayed, and the examples it has presented, and to close the page of recent history with a conviction that the VIRTUE OF SOVEREIGNS, THE INTEGRITY OF STATESMEN, and the FREEDOM OF EMPIRES, ARE THE ONLY PLEDGES OF THEIR GLORY, THEIR HAPPINESS, AND THEIR STABILITY.

FINIS.

J. M. MORRIS AND CO. PRINTERS, LUNDAY

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